PROFESSOR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

THIS VOLUME
OF ESSAYS AND PAPERS

Written by his Friends, Pupils and Admirers
is presented to

RAO BAHADUR

PROFESSOR K V RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M A

ON HIS SIXTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY

PRINTED AT THE G S PRESS, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS



RAO BAHADUR
PROFESSOR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

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NOTE —*The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the views of the contributors The Editors sincerely thank all the gentlemen who helped them by reading the proofs*

FOREWORD

THE sixty-first birth-day is celebrated by Hindus as an auspicious event in a man's life It is a matter of rejoicing not merely to the individual concerned and his family, but also to his friends, and it is an occasion for felicitations In the case of persons who have rendered distinguished service to the country, it has become the custom to mark the occasion by the gift of a commemoration volume containing not merely tributes of appreciation from their friends and admirers, but also literary contributions offered by workers in the same field as a mark of their esteem for services rendered to the cause in which they are interested The idea of presenting such a volume to Mr K V Rangaswami Aiyangar has received widespread approval from many quarters The messages and greetings and the articles which have been received are an eloquent testimony to the work to which Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar has devoted his life, to the influence he has exercised not merely upon the hundreds of students who have passed through his hands, but upon the progress of University education in South India and especially in Travancore, to his zeal for the promotion of literary and historical research, and to his many-sided cultural activities He is one of the outstanding personalities in our world of education to-day and is among the foremost of great teachers in South India He has won the affection and admiration of his students to an extent which has seldom been surpassed The University of Travancore, which has become an accomplished fact during the regime of her illustrious Dewan Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar, is not a little indebted to the labours of Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar who was the convener of the University Committee and prepared a very comprehensive and valuable report recommending its establishment

At an age when he has earned the title to rest upon his laurels, he is devoting himself to the promotion of higher Oriental studies and research and is guiding the destinies of the Venkateswara Oriental Institute which has been established at Tirupati in pursuance of a scheme prepared by him Not content with this, he is engaged in preparing scholarly editions of various Sanskrit works He has made valuable contributions to knowledge in the field of historical, political and economic studies The range and depth of his scholarship, his versatility and thoroughness,

the vigour and subtlety of his intellect, his avidity for learning and knowledge, his remarkable gifts of exposition and his administrative capacity in the department of education, are all entitled to unstinted praise. He is an exponent of the best culture of the West and the East, and embodies an ideal for the India of the future.

P S SIVASWAMY AIYAR

20—2—1940

President,

The Shashtiabdapurti Celebration Committee

REPORT BY THE SECRETARIES

The idea of commemorating the services of Rao Bahadur Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar in the field of education, and historical, linguistic, and economic research, by presenting him with a Commemoration Volume of essays on different branches of Humanities on the completion of his 60th year, and on the occasion of his 61st birthday, February 23, 1940, was the result of a meeting of pupils, friends and admirers of the Rao Bahadur held on the 5th November 1939, at No 2 Cathedral Road, Madras. The members present together with others who responded to the invitation formed themselves into a committee named "Professor K. V Rangaswami Aiyangar Shashtiabdapurti Commemoration Committee" with power to add to the number The Committee then elected Sir P S Sivaswami Aiyar, K C S I, C I E, as President, Dr P J Thomas, University Professor of Economics and Mr T T Krishnamachari, M L A, as Secretaries and Treasurers As editors of the volume, Professor A Gopala Menon (now Director of Public Instruction, Travancore) and Rao Sahib Professor C S Srinivasachariar of the Annamalai University were appointed An executive committee was formed consisting of Dr Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit, Dr P S Lokanathan, Reader in Economics, Dr Muhammad Hoosain Nainar, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, Mr V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History and Archaeology, all of the University of Madras, and Mr V K Thiruvenkatachariar, B A B L, Advocate, Madras High Court

The Committee further decided to present an oil painting of Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar to the University of Madras with which he has been connected for over a quarter of a century in different capacities, as a member of the Syndicate, Senate, Academic Council, Council of Affiliated Colleges, Boards of Studies in History, Economics, Teaching, and Geography, and as lecturer under different endowments

An appeal was issued to the numerous students, friends and admirers of Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar to co-operate with the Committee by becoming members and by contributing original papers to the *Festschrift* and by making donations. The appropriateness of the memorial was readily acknowledged by the

public and the response was quick, generous and encouraging. About a hundred articles of varied interest, most of them original in character, were received by the editors of the volume, and as many as 88 including the six papers in Sanskrit were accepted for publication These papers have been arranged in seven sections, the names of the contributors being given in the alphabetical order in each section The Committee regrets that as other papers came too late for publication, they could not be included in the volume Besides, the Committee received a number of reminiscences and appreciations from his pupils and friends, which are published in the volume The ready response which we received from a large number of ladies and gentlemen will bear testimony to the high esteem and regard in which the distinguished Professor is held by the enlightened public not only of this presidency but also of the whole of India In this connection a letter received by Mr T T Krishnamachari from one of the *two living teachers of the Rao Bahadur, Mr R S Lepper from Crawfordsburn, Northern Ireland, dated 14th January, 1940, may be read with interest

" I am very much obliged to you for sending me particulars of the forthcoming presentation to my dear old friend and former colleague Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, M A, of the volume of essays on History and Economics, and to Madras University of his portrait, in commemoration of his Shashtiabdapurti, a project which naturally has my warmest sympathy

It gives me therefore the greatest pleasure to enclose for this most happily conceived purpose, a cheque on the Imperial Bank of India for Rupees 100, in favour of the Treasurers of the Committee, and trust it will reach you in due course, and in good time for the celebration. I also hope that the stamp duty on cheques has not been raised above the 1 anna on my cheque enclosed, as I should not like any deduction to be made from the round sum intended If, however, the stamp duty has been increased since my cheque book was issued, perhaps, if you showed this letter to the Madras Agent of the Bank, he could debit my account with increase in stamp duty Should your committee have any difficulty in raising the amount of the estimated cost of the celebrations, as given in your letter to me, and would let me know of this, I would gladly send a further subscription

*The other Mr V V Srinivasa Aiyangar, a former Judge of the High Court, Madras, has been pleased to contribute an appreciation

I am very glad to see that the President of your Committee is so eminent a statesman as Sir P S Sivaswami Aiyar K C S I, and trust he continues in the best of health, and also that you have, as one of the editors of the Commemoration volume, another old friend and colleague of mine, Professor A Gopala Menon, which fact alone should ensure its excellence"

At a later meeting of the Executive Committee it was resolved to appoint Mr V R Ramachandra Dikshitar as a member of the Editorial Committee It was further resolved to invite Dr C R Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University to unveil the portrait of Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar Dr C R Reddy readily agreed to perform this pleasant function, while the Syndicate of the University of Madras were kind enough to accept the portrait on behalf of the University

Having had only a limited time at their disposal, the Committee entrusted the work of printing this volume of more than 100 formes to the G S Press, one of the best printers of Madras, and the thanks of the Committee are due to Mr G Srinivasachari for taking a personal interest in the work and delivering it in time The Committee is also thankful to the Carnatic Studio and their artist for the excellent oil painting of the size 6′×4¼′ Lastly the Committee tenders its cordial thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who have co-operated with them and have contributed in a large measure to the great success of the celebrations to-day in honour of one of the most distinguished savants and educationists of India.

P J THOMAS,

23—2—1940 T T KRISHNAMACHARI,

Secretaries

LIFE AND WORKS OF

RAO BAHADUR PROF K V RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M A.

Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar was born on 23rd February 1880 at Kurichi, near Mannargudi in Tanjore District in the house of his maternal-grandfather He was the only son of the late C R Veeraraghava Aiyangar, Kumbhakonam, late student of the Kumbhakonam College under Mr Porter and Mr T Gopala Rao He received school education in Kumbhakonam, Banathurai High School, till 1889 and at Trivellore from 1889-1894 when he passed the Matriculation Examination He joined the Pachaiappa's College in 1895 and passed in the First Class, the F A Examination (1896) as first in the College He got J B Norton's Scholarship in the B A (1897-98), and passed in the First Class as *first* in the Presidency in History and Economics (Secured a medal and the Northwick Prize in January 1899) He passed also in the First Class simultaneously in English and Sanskrit He joined the Pachaiappa's College as Tutor in English in Feb 1900, and acted as Lecturer in History and Economics in Pachaiappa's College and subsequently became Assistant Professor of History and Economics (1901) retaining the English Tutorship

He left Pachaiappa's College towards the end of January 1902 to take up the Assistant Professorship in History and Economics in the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, under his former teacher, Prof R S Lepper (3rd February 1902) He retired from Travancore Service on the 23rd February 1935, after a service of 34 years In the Travancore service, after acting for several times of long periods as Professor of History and Economics, he was confirmed as Professor in 1910 He was appointed Principal of the Training College in 1923, and as Principal of both the Maharaja's College of Arts and the Training College, a dual charge allowed only in his case, by the University, in 1924

In the interval, he acted as Secretary to the Government in the Education Department with administrative powers in 1907 He served also as Inspector of schools in 1907-08 He acted as Director of Public Instruction from March 1928 to July 1930 He was continuously a Member of the Legislative Council in Travancore from 1914-1930 for 17 years.

He organised a Public Lecture Movement in Travancore as Secretary of Public Lecture Committee for over 10 years, and did considerable propaganda work in starting Cottage industries and promoting public health activities He served in other educational appointments in Travancore opened to him, and was Secretary, and afterwards the President of the Text-Book Committee He was Secretary of a Committee for the preservation of Historical Relics in Travancore and was Chairman of the School Leaving Certificate Board, and Teachers' Certificate Examinations

He was one of the founders of the Indian Economic Conference which he attended regularly in the earlier years As Director of Public Instruction, he interested himself for improving the tone of elementary and vernacular education, personally inspecting during his period over 400 schools He improved the pay and status of Vernacular School teachers, liberalised school grants, provided security of tenure for teachers and found the Travancore Teachers' Association of which he was the first President in the moving spirit till he retired The education expenditure in Travancore reached its peak when he was the Director He tried to secure purity in administration He was pioneer of co-education in Travancore, and initiated many administrative reforms in the Educational Department

He was the moving spirit of the First Travancore University Committee appointed by Sir M Krishnan Nair and the Convenor of the Travancore University Committee for which he wrote a big Report recommending a University for Travancore, which is to develop into a Pan-Kerala University

He was elected a Fellow of the Madras University in 12-11-1912 coming from the Registered Graduates Constituency at the top of the polls for three elections successively He continued to be on the Senate until 1928 He came back to it and served it during 1932-33 He became an ex-Officio on becoming Principal He served in every University Body continuously for over a quarter of a century, as an Examiner, Chairman of Board of Examiners, Member of the Board of Studies in History, Economics, Teaching and Geography He was the President of the Faculty of Commerce, (1926-28), Member of the Syndicate (1921-28), of the Academic Council and of the Council of Affiliated Colleges from 1924-28 He took a prominent part in criticising the New University Act He was a member of the General University Commission, 1928, and also a member of the Ad Hoc Commission in connection with the affiliation of colleges

He presided over the Madras Provincial Educational Conference at Trichinopoly in 1919 and over the 'Peace' section of All-India Educational Conference recently held at Bombay He was appointed by the University to lecture to teachers on the teaching of History for two successive terms The lectures were repeated for the Government of Travancore He helped to modernise the methods of teaching of History

He has been a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society since 1904 and for 20 years a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal since 1914 and was founder and member of the Behar and Orissa Research Society

On retirement from the Travancore Government, he joined the Benares Hindu University as Principal of the Central Hindu College, (1935-38) When he resigned the Principalship at Benares, he was made Honorary Professor of Economics in the Hindu University While at Benares, he was invited by the Punjab University as Visiting Professor of Economics

He delivered the special Readership lectures in the University of Calcutta on India Cameralism *(Ancient Indian Sociology and Thought)* and lectures in Ancient Indian Economic Thought as Manindra Professor in the Benares Hindu University

In the Madras University, besides two courses of lectures on History and Economics, on Indian Land Tenure and Indian Economic Thought, both repeated in Travancore he has been the first Lecturer in the Foundership lectures, named after one Sir S Subrahmanya Aiyar (1912) and two, Dewan Bahadur K Krishnaswami Rao (1938) He also delivered Sir William Meyer lectures for Economics in 1934 He was one of the pioneers in the field of Ancient Indian Political Sociology He has studied Maratha History from original sources in Marathi, and specialised in Indian History Latterly, he has been concentrating on the study of Dharma Śāstra

He prepared a scheme for the Tirupati Oriental Institute when at Benares, and on its sanction in May 1939, he took up the Directorship at the invitation of the Devasthanam Committee

A GOPALA MENON,
C S SRINIVASACHARI,
V R R DIKSHITAR,

Members of the Editorial Committee.

PUBLISHED WORKS (SEPARATE WORKS)

1 *Historical Development of Vaisnavism in South India*
(Madras, 1901)

2 *A History of Pre-Musalman India*
(Longmans, 1909)—Several reprints and editions. Malayalam translation, 1933 (Longmans) Kannada translation, 1938 (Longmans)

3 *Some Aspects of Ancient India Polity*
(Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar Lecture, 1912) Madras University, 1914, Second Edition 1935

4 *Aspects of Ancient India Economic Thought*
(Manindra Lectures, 1927) Benares Hindu University, 1934

5 *Some Recent Trends of Public Finance*
(Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1934) Madras University, 1936

6 *Rajadharma*
(Dewan Bahadur K Krishnaswami Rao Lectures, Madras University, 1938) Adyar Library, 1940

7 *Political Ideals of the East and the West*
(Jubilee Lectures, 1939) Government Press, Ernakulam, 1939

8 *Presidential Address—South Indian Educational Conference*, 1919

9 *History of Jahangir by Francis Gladwin*
(Edited with Introduction and Notes) B G Paul & Co, Madras, 1930

10 *Report of the Travancore University Committee*, 1926

IN THE PRESS AND ABOUT TO BE PUBLISHED

11 *Vyavahāra Nirnaya of Varadarāja*
(On Hindu Law) Adyar Library, 1937-40

12 *Skandaśarīrakam*
(Sarasvati Bhavana Series, Benares), 1940

13 *Brhaspati Smrti.*
(Reconstructed and edited from published and unpublished Nibandhas) Gaekwad Oriental Series

14 *Rājadharma Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* of Lakshmidhara
(Edited for the first time from all available manuscripts) Baroda Oriental Series.

15 *Dāna Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do.

16 *Grhastha Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

17 *Moksa Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

18 *Tirtha Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

EDITED AND GOING TO THE PRESS

19 *Indian Cameralism*
(Special Readership Lectures, Calcutta University, 1934)

20 *Niyatakāla Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* of Lakshmidhara
(Gaekwad Oriental Series)

21 *Vyavahāra Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

22 *Pratisthā Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

23 *Śuddhi Kānda of Krtya Kalpataru* do

24 *Cānakyanīti Sūtra*
(Oriental Institute, Tirupati)

UNDER PREPARATION FOR PUBLICATION

25 The remaining *five Kāndas of Krtya Kalpataru* of Lakshmidhara
(Viz., Brahmacāri, Śrāddha, Vrata, Śanti, and Pūja)
(Gaekwad Oriental Series)

26 *Visnu Smrti with the Bhāsya named Kēśava-vaijayanti* by Nanda-Pandita (Adyar Library)

27 The History of Economics of Indian Land Tenures (Madras University Lectures)

28 *Bicameralism*
(Madras University Readership Lectures)

29 *The Teaching of History*
(Madras University Vacation Lectures)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO COLLECTED WORKS

30 *Evolution of Ancient Indian Politics*
(Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Commemoration Volume, Patna University, 1928).

31 *Manucci in Madras*
(Madras Tercentenary Commemoration Volume, 1939)

32 *Sri Rāmānuja*
("Great Men of India", Oldham Press, 1939)

33 *Studies in the Teaching of History*
(Introduction to C S. Srinivasachari's "Studies from Indian History")

34 *Foreword* to "Messages to Indian Students" by Purushottam Das Tandan, Allahabad, 1936

35 *The Indian Fuel Problem*
(Indian Economic Conference, Bombay, 1919)

36 *Some Aspects of Indian Finance*
(Indian Economic Conference, Madras, 1921)

REMINISCENCES AND APPRECIATIONS

RAO BAHADUR PROF K V RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M A.

O M THOMAS, M A , BAR-AT-LAW,
Advocate, Allahabad

The completion of the sixtieth year is a joyful event in the life of an Indian Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, who has to-day reached this privileged landmark amidst the rejoicings of a wide circle of his friends, admirers, and former students, is justly entitled to a double measure of felicity He can look back with complacence on a long and distinguished record of useful work , and, unlike most of those who happen to arrive at the three score limit only to find themselves in a sad state of senile decay, he yet stands as a happy but not unknown warrior engaged in the strenuous crusade for culture, with all the vigour of a strangely perpetual youthfulness True that Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar is sixty years old , it is truer still that he is sixty years young ! His is the rare good fortune that he can contemplate the prospect and retrospect with almost equal satisfaction And I am glad to have this opportunity to pay my tribute to an intellectual Caesar who has just crossed an invisible Rubicon in order, let us hope, to extend the frontiers of Knowledge

TANJORE MIND AT ITS BEST

It is curious that some places and institutions are associated with a distinctive type of intellectual brilliance Englishmen talk of the " Balliol mind " with respect and admiration Of all places in South India, Tanjore is the most famous seat and stronghold of cultural aristocracy The splendour of its traditions is such as to make its very name a sort of hallmark of the intellect Mr Rangaswami Iyengar's is the Tanjore mind at its best Had he chosen the law as a profession and politics as a pastime, he would have made a great name But he preferred the comparative seclusion of the academy The man who takes to teaching, like the Hindu widow who remarries, may be said to commit civil suicide. He ceases to count in the world of affairs. Who except a few gaping under-graduates would have ever heard of a Gokhale or a Sastri had they remained throughout as teachers ? Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar's truly hieratic devotion to culture has not per-

mitted him to change his vocation This sense of loyalty is one of his marked characteristics It has won him the respect and affection of a larger number of "disciples" than the professed followers of more ostentatious cults could claim I said disciples, no other word could describe the spiritual relationship between Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar and the host of students whom he has taught year after year I have not had the good fortune to sit at the feet of this Gamaliel But that circumstance has its own compensations I can now view him with a certain degree of detachment which would not have been possible had he been my teacher My contact with him came much later when I was better equipped to understand and appreciate his mettle and merits with the added advantage of perfect freedom from bias

BRILLIANT ACADEMIC RECORD

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was born on February 23, 1880, of a respectable Brahmin family in the district of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency He had his early education in a mofussil high school from where he matriculated in his fourteenth year He then went to Madras and joined the Pachaiyappa's College His career is one of the most brilliant in the annals of the Madras University whose standards are the highest in India At Pachaiyappa's he was John Bruce Norton Scholar, Prizeman, and Medalist In 1896 he passed his F A examination in the first class, standing first in his college Two years later he achieved the signal distinction of winning a triple first class in the B A degree examination, that is, he got away with a first class in History and Economics, a first class and third rank in English, and a first class and fourth rank in Sanskrit He performed a more prodigious feat in 1902 when by private study, he secured the first place in the first class in the M A degree examination in History and Economics It was the only first class in History and Economics at the Madras University in the long space of forty-five years since the memorable Mutiny year of 1857!

TAKES TO TEACHING

On the completion of his dazzling University career, with his broad brow wreathed in rare academic laurels, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar had practically all the world where to choose It is significant of his absolute freedom from highvaulting Ambition, that "last infirmity of noble mind," that he preferred the modest role of a teacher While studying for his M A he had served in the Pachaiyappa's College, first as Tutor in English and later as Assistant Professsor of History • That experience had settled his choice of a profession In 1902 he was appointed as Asssistant

Professor of History and Economics at the Maharaja's College at Trivandrum in the State of Travancore. In 1910 he became Professor and Head of the Department of History at the Maharaja's College and continued in that capacity for twenty-three years He was the second Indian to be appointed as the Principal of the Maharaja's College, the premier College in Travancore, teaching up to the M A standard, and held that office from 1924 to 1933 During this period he was also the Principal of the Training College, the first Indian to hold that prize post By reason of his dual position, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was humorously referred to by the people of the state as " the double-barelled gun " This combination of two responsible posts was but a personal tribute to Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar's exceptional efficiency A special University Commission that visited Trivandrum to report on the working of the colleges there have recorded their view that they were fully satisfied that the interests of the two colleges were safe under the composite stewardship of Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar but that the offices should be separated after his retirement That was recognition from above As for the more exacting recognition from below, no professor of South India, with the exception of Dr William Skinner, late of the Madras Christian College, is more highy spoken of by his students than Mr Rangaswami Iyengar He has earned their affection and esteem by his qualities of head and heart, the one keen and exigent, the other kind and indulgent

A GREAT SCHOLAR

He is a distinguished scholar A linguist with a mastery of three or four languages, he has been one of the pioneers of Indian historical research His book, *Pre-Mussulman India*, published by Longmans in 1909, is a popular text-book It has run into several editions, and still holds the field among students throughout India Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar has a number of other works to his credit, among which mention may be made of his *Ancient India Polity*, *Ancient Indian Economic Thought*, and his edition of Gladwin's *History of Jehangir* with an introduction and commentary He has also been engaged by the Government of Baroda to edit the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of books, and Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar hopes to publish shortly the *Brihaspati Smriti* reconstructed and translated, and the *Smriti Kalpataru* of Lakshmidhara comprising over thirty thousand *Granthas* Further, he is preparing editions of Varadaraja's *Vyavahara Nirnaya* and *Akhandadarsa* Besides he has been connected, either as Fellow or as Member, with a number of learned societies like the Royal Economic Society, the Royal Historical Society, the Asiatic

Society of Bengal, the Mythic Society of Mysore, and the Indian Economic Association, and has made occasional contributions to the journals of these societies on research topics •

HIS LEARNED DISCOURSES

But his books are an inadequate outlet of his erudition Like Lord Acton, he finds his *metir* in the lecture-room He has the supreme gift of investing primitive periods and abstruse subjects with a subtle charm of their own A historian is often described as Mr Dry-as-Dust Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar's discourses are at once learned and lively In fact his most interesting books are his collections of special lectures He has been the Sir Subramanya Iyer Lecturer at the University of Madras, the Sir William Meyer Lecturer, on the economic side, of the same University, and the Manindra Lecturer at the Benares Hindu University He has delivered a course of lectures on Indian Sociology at the University of Calcutta, to be published in book form by that University under the title "Indian Cameralism" In February, 1938, he delivered two lectures on the Dharmasastras under the Dewan Krishnaswami Rao's Endowment at the University of Madras, and in 1939 he delivered, the Jubilee Lectures at the Majaraja's College, Ernakulam, on the 'Political Ideals of East and West' These lectures, too, are available in book form

A CYCLOPEDIA ON LEGS

History and Economics are Mr Rangaswami Iyengar's special subjects Nevertheless his pragmatic intellect has made successful inroads upon many other branches of knowledge Sydney Smith said of Macaulay that he was a book in breeches Well, Mr Rangaswami Iyengar is a cyclopedia on legs He has been an examiner in the Calcutta University in Ethnology and Anthropology, member of the Board of Studies in Geography, and President of the Faculty of Commerce at Madras, and lecturer in Education at Trivandrum He excites the wonder that even a large head could carry all he knows His varied lore has not in the least made him a lop-sided savant A rich fund of commonsense redresses his intellectual balance It is this union of knowledge and wisdom that gives Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar a touch of effective statesmanship His Highness the late Sri Rama Varma, who though he was the Maharaja of Travancore, knew state craft and state affairs so well that he was eulogized by the late Sir J D Rees as a man who could have made an excellent Under-Secretary of State for India, held Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar in the highest esteem and often sought his opinion on important matters of policy Successive Dewans of Travancore have engaged Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar as special Private

Secretary whenever they had to meet problems of unusual difficulty The development of the Cochin Harbour under a tripartite agreement between the Governments of Travancore, Cochin, and Madras was one such problem After ten years of partnership, the Harbour Scheme is still a kind of mythical goose that lays golden eggs for legal celebrities in India Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, as Private Secretary to Mr T Raghaviah, the then Dewan of Travancore, played an active part, though from behind the scenes, in the early negotiations in respect of that enterprise A memorandum he prepared in this connection in defence of the interests of Travancore is said to be an excellent essay on the theory of continuous waters in International Law On a perusal of it the late Sir K Srinivasa Iyengar, at that time Law Member in the Government of Madras, and one of the soundest of lawyers, "went very grey in the face," and immediately assumed a more reasonable attitude He knew that Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, layman as he was, could and did return law for law, or a Roland for his Oliver

ADMINISTRATIVE FLAIR

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar is not prone to what Matthew Arnold somewhere calls "cultivated inaction" He has an admirable flair for administration I have already referred to his combined principalship of two leading colleges at Trivandrum A still better proof of his executive talents was furnished when, at a very early stage of his official career, he was, as Education Secretary, the head of the Travancore Education Department In those days there was no such office as that of the Director of Public Instruction This latter office was later brought into existence, and Mr Rangaswami Iyengar was Director of Public Instruction in Travancore for about three years He was one of the most energetic Directors that the State has had He infused a new life into the Department Extended tours, surprise inspections, and weeding out of the inefficient, were the main features of his regime Over and above his skilful and vigorous handling of the details of departmental administration, he exercised a wise control over the entire educational policy of the State which holds the pride of place in literacy in India He achieved so brilliant a success as an administrator that at one time it was widely believed that he would be offered the Dewanship of Travancore It would have been an appropriate climax to a devoted and distinguished career

BENARES AND TIRUPATI

Since his retirement from the Travancore service, he was invited in 1935 by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the Benares Hindu University as Principal of the Central Hindu College He

held that post for three years, and, from my present proximity to Benares, I am in a position to say that, notwithstanding the insidious spirit of provincialism which is creeping into some of the centres of learning in Northern India, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar created a profound impression on those who came in touch with him He was despaired of the lesser men, just like Whewell of Trinity, of whom a wit has remarked that "knowledge was his forte and omniscience his foible" His appointment at Benares, which he did not owe to Fugleman or puffers, was an unmistakable recognition of his sterling worth In fact, as far back as 1918, Sir P S Sivaswami Iyer, then Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, had offered that post to him, but it was not accepted After leaving Benares, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar has taken up the Directorship of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, and is occupied with the task of reviving the oriental tradition of culture in that sacred place of South India

HIS ELOQUENCE

When all is said and done, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar cannot be denied a high place among modern Indian educationists There is no aspect of education that he has not studied with care The Report of the Travancore University Committee published in 1926, of which Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar is the author, is a comprehensive treatise on higher education, second only to the Sadler Commission Report in its range and wealth of information He was a member of the Senate of the Madras University for sixteen years and a member of the Syndicate for eight years His gift of speech was such an asset that the Government of Travancore successively nominated him to the Travancore Legislative Council It was a personal honour which no other official in Travancore has enjoyed What is more, he has several times acted as the Leader of the House in that Legislature Far too much of an intellectual he does not care to appeal to sentiment But words fly from his lips like leaves in autumn. I first heard him twenty years ago at the Madras Presidency College I don't remember the subject of his address, but I have a vague recollection that he spoke on some theory of Dr Spooner I can never forget the wonder his verbal facility provoked in me I sat dazed by the succession of involved and seemingly interminable sentences he poured forth with perfect aplomb And in this strain he went on for a whole hour Pandit Malaviya and Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar are the two men within my knowledge with a marvellous turn for long speeches A function at which both of them are to speak must be a two days' fixture! But neither of them would tire an audience Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar

is also an admirable talker He not so much talks as discourses. I have gone to him for a two minutes' conversation and he has talked to me for two hours Once I happened to ask him how Kashmir, with a majority of Moslem subjects, has come under a Hindu Raj The answer was ready and long He took me at once along the tortuous labyrinths of history, and treated me to an amazing array of names and dates His zest for monologues is worthy of the whimsical story of Lamb cutting off the coat button that Coleridge held him by in the garden at Highgate and going for his day's work, and on return, seeing his friend with the same button between finger and thumb still talking into space!

HIS SENSE OF RELIGION

A fine flower of English education, Mr Rangaswami Iyengar remains as true as ever to the dictates of the Hindu religion He is a Sanatanist He is a regular temple-goer and could say with Ion in the play of Euripides that "the temple hath nurtured me" Religion to him is not only a matter of rites and rubrics It has given him a firm hold on permanent values and an exalted sense of beauty and conduct He is indifferent to money, though not contemptuous of it His private life is free from blemish His feelings are intense He likes and dislikes with vehemence He would extol a friend without reserve and extinguish a foe with withering sarcasm He is slight of build and is of medium height With his white turban, black coat, and artistically worn *dhoti* and above all, the flaming Vishnu trident on his broad brow, he is a suggestive combination of ancient and modern civilization He is never rattled, and, today as he completes sixty years of age, much of which he has spent in directing the mind and spirit of the youth of our country along desirable channels, I picture him as the visible embodiment of that *energeia akinesis*, or energy without agitation, which Aristotle attributes to the Eternal, and which he will devote to beneficial use till sunset and evening star and one clear call for him

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A GOPALA MENON, M.A,

Director of Public Instruction, Travancore

Professor Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyengar, in whose honour this Volume is issued on the auspicious occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, is known and honoured as a great savant and educationist all over India He spent the greatest part of his life in Trivandrum where he was primarily associated with the initiation and development of the History and Economics Department

of His Highness the Maharaja's College The institution of the Honours Courses in this branch of study in the College was entirely due to his enthusiasm and influence, and through this agency many young men trained under him have been enabled to spread far and wide the love of learning, the thirst for knowledge and the desire to lead the young into paths of service, which have been the keynote of the Professor's life and activity The message of his life is the search for truth and devotion to the propagation of honesty and sincerity in thought, word and deed

As a Professor he was loved and respected by all the students and he has been always their sympathetic guide and mentor His classes were of absorbing interest, not only for the clear and interesting exposition of the subject but also for their suggestiveness and inducement to further thinking and reading For some years he was working in collaboration with his own teacher Mr R S Lepper, himself a great scholar, teacher and thinker, who had the greatest admiration and respect for his pupils' earnestness, knowledge and zeal In those days himself and the late Professor A R Rajaraja Varma the eminent Sanskrit Scholar carried on the tradition of brilliant Indian savants associated with the College in previous years, Professors Rangachari and Sundaram Pillai Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar steeped in the lore of the east and the west has been to many of us the unerring guide to the Cambridge tradition in History, Politics and Economics represented by Acton, Sidgwick and Marshall

As an organiser, his ability, industry and driving power have left a deep impression on H H The Maharaja's College of Arts and the Training College, of which he was the Joint Principal for many years The College of Arts was started as a result of the bifurcation of the old Maharaja's College and its organisation was entirely in his hands The Training College also after a period of quiescence passed into a phase of rejuvenated activity and vigour under him which it still keeps up to-day The work he did in these spheres won universal approbation His interest in the welfare of his pupils did not cease with their scholastic career, nor was it confined to the class-room Many an old student has received encouragement and much-needed help and advice from the Master in after life A most punctual correspondent, he can put to shame many a younger and less active adherent by the promptness of his replies and the searching nature of his enquiries At all times he enjoyed the company of his pupils and he always preferred to spend some part of the day discoursing to them on affairs, public as well as personal Nor was this intimacy con-

fined to his pupils alone. Many fellow officers, public men and persons of mature age and ripe experience delighted in his company They were constant visitors who spent many hours of pleasant and profitable discussion with such a versatile and buoyant spirit as they could always fall back upon The Professor's house was the centre of such teeming life and buzz of talk and good-natured intercourse between the young and the old

As Education Secretary to Government and much later as Director of Public Instruction he was given charge of administrative duties of a most intricate and exacting nature. He rose always equal to the occasion and was never at a loss to find the just and equitable solution to the problems with which he was confronted From a life-long intercourse with the members of the profession, not unmingled with an innate sympathy with the lot of the poor sufferers, he was always the champion of the teachers With equal persistence he exhorted them to the loyal and efficient discharge of their duties With every form of evasion, indifference or disobedience, he waged an unceasing war His measures provoked very strong protest but it was always clear that his insistence on honesty and efficiency was a rock on which all opposition had to break down During many years from the Dewanship of Mr S Gopalachariar when he was appointed Education Secretary, to that of Mr M E Watts he was also the spokesman of Government on educational matters in the State Legislature He was a sure source of help in explaining the measures of Government and meeting public criticism also on many measures of public importance His persuasive eloquence, wide knowledge of men and affairs, transparent sincerity and well-known devotion to the public interest gave the quietus to acrid and acrimonious discussions

When at the end of a long and arduous public life he retired from the service of the State he was not content to rest in retirement His love of the Hindu Religion, strong sense of spiritual values, devotion to learning and willing response to the call of duty, led him to Benares where he gained fresh laurels and created many lasting friendships, placing himself at the disposal of all deserving causes and seeking fresh fields to do service to his country and his brethren In the same spirit, he has now taken up the Directorship of the Tirupati Oriental College, which is also to be the venue of the next All-India Oriental Conference A vast arena of valuable and useful work can easily be created by one of such antecedents and achievements, and it is the earnest prayer of all of us that he may be spared long in health and spirits

to carry out the task he has set to himself. Respected and loved by many all over India, it has been given to few among the southerners to rise to such eminence in the affection and sympathy of peoples of such varied traditions and outlook To such of us as have had the supreme good fortune to sit at his feet and be associated with him for however short a time, he will for ever remain an unfailing inspiration, a bond of love and a source of mutual goodwill

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(MRS) M POONEN LUKOSE,

Surgeon-General with the Government of Travancore

The very first thing that strikes one about Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar is his distinguished personality His majestic gait, his ringing voice, his very look that goes straight to the heart and makes the truant boy quail before him, are the result of a confidence which characterises the pure in heart

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar held various offices in Trivandrum as an Educationist—Professor of History, Educational Secretary, Principal of the Arts and Training Colleges and finally—Head of the Education Department But the role by which he is most popularly known in this State is as the Founder and First Principal of His Highness the Maharaja's College of Arts, which is a standing monument to his memory and which bears ample testimony to his untiring energy as an Educationist His greatest contribution towards Co-education in the State was made during the time he was Principal of the Arts and Training Colleges—not that co-education was unknown in Travancore before the Arts College came into being I remember having been admitted as one of the two earliest women students in the then Maharani's College for women, as early as 1908 We can never forget how Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar instilled confidence into us and brought out the best in us at a time when we young women used to tremble at the sight of the then Principal Dr Mitchell But for Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar's fatherly solicitude and interest in us, we two women students would not have had the courage to continue in the Men's College, and perhaps co-education would not have developed as rapidly as it did in the ensuing years

As Principal of the Arts College, Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar had under him perhaps the largest number of women students any similar institution could boast of anywhere in India even in these advanced days. The stern disciplinarian as he was, he was

looked upon as a father by one and all of his women students, who never resented even his openly scolding them when they happened to do some thing wrong It was during his days of Principal-ship that men and women students learned to move together as brothers and sisters having a common 'Papa' in their beloved principal It was he, who by his constant watchfulness over every one of his students, first made the women students of the State feel that after all a Men's College need not be so terrible as it might otherwise appear to them The idea of a 'Women's Club' in a Men's Institution was first conceived by Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar and the Arts College Women's Club was the first Institution of its kind where women students could freely meet together and discuss their various problems in a constitutional manner In "Swami's College" as the Arts College was more popularly known in those days, the lady students could be as free as men students, and any student whether man or woman, would be severely punished by the Principal for misbehaviour The seeds thus sown by 'Swami' (as he is known by all his students), of co-education in the State have now taken deep root and spread to other institutions also, so much so that there is perhaps no Institution where co-education is not successfully carried out

The one distinguishing feature about Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, and the one thing which at once makes him lovable and beloved, is his *Guru Bhakti*—his love of and respectful obedience to his teachers and parents As Physician to his family in later years, I had ample opportunities of observing this side of his life

Trivandrum would never forget the touching incident of how, on the day his pet institution the Arts College was first opened, he prostrated himself at the feet of Professor K B Ramanathan, of late revered memory, who had been his Master, and who was present on the occasion to confer on the Institution his blessings This act of homage to a revered Guru was performed in the presence of all the students and teachers of the Institution, who tried in vain to keep their eyes dry at such a touching sight It created such a deep impression on them that this practical exhibition of love and respect for the teacher was never forgotten by his students and in consequence, the Arts College was known to be the best disciplined institution in the State. Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar's deep love for his parents was proverbial Several students of his, even to this day, bear witness to the fact how, after having spent sleepless nights

by his father's sick-bed, he would come to College the following morning and deliver brilliant lectures as if nothing had happened the previous night Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar was a hard worker himself, and expected and appreciated good and sincere work in others His generosity at times knew no bounds Very few are aware of the countless students and friends he has helped in various ways to get a start in life

Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar's faith in God and in an Almighty Creator who pervades the whole Universe and regulates its entire working, inspired in him a sure confidence that when,

"God's in His Heav'n
All's right with the World"

Though a Professor of History, he distinguished himself also as a literary genius and no English Professor owned so many books on English Literature as Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar had in his Library which had been characterised as the biggest private library in India It was in this room that his students past and present usually gathered round him and it was a real treat to see him in their midst cracking jokes and 'pulling their legs,' much to the embarrassment of some past students who were holding high positions in various parts of India It was a matter of astonishment to many who have come into close contact with him as to how he could manage to find time to do all the voracious reading in the midst of his multifarious duties as Principal All his readings brought him to the inevitable conclusion that God is every where and is watching every little action of ours on earth It is this thought so firmly rooted in him that made him quite upright and noble in everything that he did whether as Principal of the College or in his private capacity as a son to his parents, as a father to his children and as a friend to all those who came in close contact with him In conclusion I cannot describe him better than in the words of Pope —

Of manners gentle, of affections mild,
In wit a man, in simplicity a child"

A S. PANCHAPAKESA AYYAR, I C S

District and Sessions Judge, Negapatam

How time glides on ! One can never associate old age with the irrepressible energy of Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar He is as young at 60 as an average Indian at 30 Indeed, when I saw him last, some months ago, he looked younger than when I saw him

ten years ago! Of course, he was as busy as ever with his research into Indian history and culture

All of us have some passion or other which goes to the root of our being, with some it is food, with others it is sex, with some others it is politics, with still others it is wresting Nature's secrets, with yet others it is pursuit of power, with a very few it is a search for God, with Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar it is Indian history and culture He has not written a comprehensive history of India as, like lesser men who have done it, he is never satisfied with what he knows now, with the vast gaps which have to be filled in the surmises and guesses, a thing he hates Besides, he is well aware of the tremendous difficulty at present in writing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about India's past Britishers will hate their discreditable transactions, and there are undoubtedly some, to be raked up, nationalists will dislike the detailing of our weak points at this critical time when they are engaged in a struggle for Swaraj, Muslims will resent the recounting of some acts of destruction and intolerance which have necessarily to find a place in history, communalists and provincialists will get into a rage if their communities or provinces come in for some adverse criticism, as is inevitable

The truth is that, unlike Egypt, Babylon, Ur, Greece, Rome or Carthage, we are dealing in Indian history with live facts, not dead fossils, from the days of Mohenjo-Daro and the Mahabharata war till today That is, of course, our unique glory, but is also our peculiar difficulty One can write the naked truth about the past achievements of other countries, as their ancient peoples are dead as the Dodo But, in India, the descendants of ancient *rishis*, like Bharadwaja, Kapila Atri, Gautama, Viswamitra and others, are still alive and flourishing, and the sorrows of Sita bring real tears into millions of eyes born of the same earth If Englishmen praised Indian painting, sculpture and architecture less than they did the Greek and Italian ones, it was because there were still Indians descended from those very artists who would take pride in these achievements and make them an additional claim for Swaraj, an embarrassing thing in those days when Englishmen wanted to hold on to the conquest, and did not want to admit that the subject nation could do a thing or two which they could not Hence the faint praise for the Kailasa temple at Ellora (which Vincent Smith called a freak), the immortal frescoes of Ajanta, the rock temples of Mahabalipuram, the black pagoda at Konarak and other products of Indian culture Indeed, some westerners even went so far as to

hint that the Taj Mahal was designed and built by Italian architects though they did not care to explain why those children of Italy did not build in their own country any similar edifice. Now that most Englishmen have, following King George V's lead, recognised Swaraj as India's legitimate goal, a saner view of Indian art has come.

As a student of Professor Rangaswamy Aiyangar, I was struck by his passion for arriving at a true solution of the problems of Indian history. He would allow students to discuss any theory, however untenable, often exceeding the period, and leaving the set curriculum. He discussed with us the arguments for and against the Aryan invasion. One day, a student said to him: "'Arya' is the Tamil and Telugu 'Ayya', and means only 'sir', and has no racial significance whatever. Its derivation from *'arrare'*, *'to plough'*, is absurd, as a Brahmin Arya would have been outcasted if he took a hand in ploughing. In all the four Vedas there is no hint of a home outside India. The three characteristic products of Central Asia, donkey's milk, dates and water melon, were at a discount with the Aryans. Even for drinking castor oil they turned east, and not north-west. So, why do you believe in the Aryan invasions of India?" There was a flash in his eye, a momentary temptation to agree, suppressed in an instant, and he said: "I wish it were so. I am not anxious to prove that any of our ancestors came from abroad. But, the common words of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Lithuanian, German, French and English, admit of no doubt that some Aryans must have either come into India or gone out of India, most probably the former, as the characteristic elements of Indian Aryan civilisation are not found elsewhere. Keep your eyes open, and you will soon see that the people around you have not all had the same racial origins."

On another occasion, he was waxing eloquent about Dr. Spooner's discoveries in Pataliputra, and especially of a palace which that Professor considered to be a replica of the Persepolis one and therefore hinted that the Mauryas might have been foreigners, and Chanakya a Magi. One of the students said:—"Sir, don't you think that the worthy doctor, who was financed by the Parsis for his research, wrote some of those things to please them, just as the official writers of the annual volumes on the material and moral Progress of India write some things to please their masters?" Professor Rangaswami was put out. "Don't read motives into the action of scholars," said he. "Then, sir, don't you think that Dr. Spooner might have fallen into the error of confusing broad and inevitable similarity into imitation, just as a man might, on seeing

the temples of Madura and Tanjore superficially, take one to be an imitation of the other, as both have towers and walls and inner sanctuaries ?" Again there was a flash in his eyes, a momentary sympathy with the questioner, but he suppressed it too, and said "Take scholars seriously Read Dr Spooner's papers through and then pass judgment Don't condemn him unheard, simply because he is a foreigner and his views are unpalatable to your patriotic sentiments Remember there are other people in India with other views, and also that foreign scholars have done for the unravelling of our ancient culture far more than any of us have done" "What if Dr Spooner inferred too much from misleading facts, like a man who worked out the size of the inhabitants of a country from the recorded measurements of a leg, which were the only data available, and which turned out to be an elephantiasis leg ?" pursued the student There was a roar of laughter from all the students "We shall close this discussion now" said the professor "as a serious subject should be discussed seriously, and not frivolously like this" But, I am sure that he enjoyed the discussion, and did not entirely dislike the attitude of the student in refusing to admit anything in our country to be due to foreign influence unless proved beyond dispute

Professor Rangaswami used to become highly moved when lecturing on Asoka or Harsha He liked those great kings of old I think that he felt Harsha's defeat by Pulakesin II at the battle of the Narmada in 620 A D as a personal disaster, though most of his students, sturdy southerners, rejoiced at the victory of Pulakesin, albeit brought about by the fierce charge of elephants drunk with arrack

Professor Rangaswami disliked uncritical changes of opinion, like that of Vincent Smith who, in one edition of his book, was inclined to disbelieve the Jain theory that Chandragupta Maurya committed suicide by *sallekhana* at Sravana Belagola, but, in a later edition, said, without adducing a single reason, that he was inclined to believe the theory!

One day, we had in our class room a grand discussion as to whether the Mutiny of 1857 was an Indian War of Independence Professor Rangaswami closed the doors of the lecture hall, as, in those days, the discussion of such themes was considered to be dangerous, and still he wanted the fullest and freest discussion He refuted the arguments of some students that the Mutiny was a popular rebellion, by pointing out that it was only a military revolt except in Oudh where it was also a landlord's revolt. "Nowhere

was it a popular revolt of the masses" said he. "Is there a single war of independence where the masses fought, sir?" asked a student "Are not all revolutions and wars of independence, the English revolution of 1688, the French revolution of 1789, and even the Russian revolution of 1917, the work of a select few men? Was not the American War of Independence the work of a minority? And, in a war of violence, who but the soldiers will revolt? So, what if the Indian Mutiny was largely a military revolt, though it was really a War of Indian Independence?" The professor smiled and said "There is something in what you say Still I hold that the Indian Mutiny was not a war of Indian Independence The Mutineers wanted only private objects to be achieved, like the restoration of the Moghal emperor and the Peshwa and the Rani of Jhansi They did not aim at the independence of India as a whole The conception of an Indian nation, indeed, of an India one and indivisible, had not come into being then Let us not make the mistake, too common in history, of reading later ideas into earlier actions"

So, first and foremost, Professor Rangaswami is a stimulator of thought There are three classes of teachers, those who cannot teach even what they know, those who can teach what they know, and those who can teach more than they know Professor Rangaswami belongs to the third class of unique teachers who count among their students not only the leaders of their own school of thought, but also some of the leaders of radically opposed schools of thought to whose making they have directly contributed by stimulating their thoughts

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DEWAN BAHADUR T RAGHAVIAH, C S I
Dewan of Travancore (Retd)

I came to know Professor Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar intimately during my Dewanship of Travancore and to form a very high opinion of his brilliant talents, his dynamic energy, his versatility and his down-right honesty and loyalty He is a great organiser and gave me invaluable help in the reorganization of the Trivandrum Colleges in my time and ran two of them simultaneously for a considerable period single-handed His work on the Travancore University committee appointed in my time is very well known By virtue of his rare forensic skill he was a great exponent of the Government's view point on many an important occasion in the Travancore Legislative Council I met him only recently a few days back and I was glad to find that his sim-

ple and active habits had enabled him to maintain his physical fitness and his intellectual vigour unimpaired and take a leading part in the organization and conduct of the Sree Venkateswara Oriental Institute at Tirupati I wish him many more years of useful and distinguished service to the Mother Land

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RAO BAHADUR DR A LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, M D , F R C.O G.,

Principal, Madras Medical College

It was in July 1925 that I had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar when I became a member of the Syndicate of the University of Madras Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar had made a great impression in Educational circles by then and his reputation as a scholar, administrator and eminent educationalist was well known During the years that we worked on the Syndicate together, I am happy to recall the many occasions when we agreed on important issues and even on the occasions when I was not so fortunate, I felt that Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar had a point to stress which could not be ignored and an aspect to present which was well worth further consideration

He was always frank, outspoken, precise and clear in his views and did not worry himself too much whether his views were agreeable or otherwise to his friends or colleagues It was probably due to this quality of his that he was not 'popular' in the modern sense But as an educationist with independent and virile views, he was a power on all academic bodies

Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar was orthodox in the true sense of the word, but his orthodoxy never offended others In fact his convictions were so deep and he gave to them so thoroughly and consistently that one could not help admiring him for the genuineness of his views Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar's work and career are an object lesson to the younger generation in many respects

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S SATYAMURTHI, M L A (CENTRAL),

Mayor of Madras

Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar is one of the finest products of modern Indian education When I say that, I must complete the picture by adding that he is also a fine representative

of ancient Indian culture His industry has always impressed me as his most striking characteristic His learning is profound and wide Throughout his life he has remained a scholar God has been favourable to him because he has been surrounded always with scholars and students I think all his contemporaries and students may rejoice that South India has produced a man of his learning and culture. May he long live and add to the world of knowledge."

THE REV FR P CARTY, S J , B Sc ,

Professor of Economics, St Joseph's College, Trichinopoly

The 60th birthday of Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar is a particularly fitting opportunity to recall the prominent place which he has held in the educational life and the intellectual progress of India during the past thirty years or so In the realization of his life's work he combined two qualities which are rarely found together—versatility and thoroughness The variety of subjects which he handled and the thorough-going manner in which he handled them have always struck me as very remarkable A specialist in Sanskrit, History, Politics and Economics in each of which he has left his mark his versatility did not stop there and, whether in his works or in his words, were also revealed in him the thoughtful philosopher, the keen legal mind, and the enlightened educationist The late Father D Honore S J himself a highly respected figure in the educational world, reckoned it a privilege to have served in Travancore University Commission under the chairmanship of one whose vast knowledge of facts and unrivalled mastery of principles he could not sufficiently praise I have gathered equally vivid impressions from my long contacts with the Rao Bahadur on the University Boards, the Senate and the Syndicate of the University of Madras; but none probably admired more the vigour of his mind, the clearness of his vision and the elevation of his thought than did the late Father Bertram S J , whose weighty and authoritative appreciation is perhaps the highest praise that can be bestowed upon Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami, the scholar and the man

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SADASYA TILAKA T K VELU PILLAI, ADVOCATE, TRIVANDRUM

When Mr K V Rangaswami Aiyangar came to Travancore as Assistant Professor of History and Economics in His Highness the Maharaja's College, he was a slim young man of twenty one

summers He had scarcely recovered from the strain of preparing for the M A. Examination in which, as the event soon proved, he won high distinction and record marks in more than one subject The history class was to the students a great fascination The chair was filled by Mr R S Lepper who was one of the trio of the teachers of history in South India, the other two being F W Kellet of the Madras Christian College and Allen of the Presidency College Mr. Lepper came to Trivandrum from the Pachayappa's College, Madras Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar was Lepper's favourite student who earned the love and esteem of the Professor by his natural talents and strenuous exertion The master and the pupil admired each other so ardently that the former persuaded the Travancore Government to offer the place of Asst Professor to the 'beardless young boy,' and the desire to continue the association with the Professor, and advance the teaching of History induced the pupil to abandon a certain prospect in the fields of government service and the legal profession in a large British Indian Province in favour of the prosaic work of pedagogy in an Indian State far away from the southern metropolis The distance between Madras and Trivandrum has now been considerably been abridged and the time required for the journey greatly reduced But forty years back travelling was difficult and tedious However the young student chose Travancore as the field of his work The choice was also due to the advice of his uncle an Engineer in the Madras Service, who desired that his promising nephew should serve an Indian Maharaja who bore the appellation of *Sri Padmanabhadasa*

The institution of a History chair was an important event in the educational and political history of Travancore It was a circumstance of happy augury that the Principal of the College, Dr A C Mitchell, who led a persistent war against the teaching of Philosophy in the College lent his support to the new chair In the former days the subject was taught by persons who possessed no precise knowledge Even the older scholars and administrators of time did not understand the difference between political economy and political science The Peoples' Library at Trivandrum which had a rather good collection of books, had very few dealing with History, Economics, Politics or Sociology There was however a vague feeling among the younger generation that those who took History and Economics as their optional subjects for the B A Examination would be in a more advantageous position in dealing with political and administrative questions in future years

In addition to this was the attraction created by the famous

Professor and his able assistant It was a privilege, a pleasure, a delight and an inspiration to the history class which was presided over by R. S Lepper and K V Rangaswami Aiyangar. The lectures were so informing and the delivery so fascinating, that we often wished that the hour should be one of hundred and twenty minutes and more and not one of sixty The lecturer looked into no notes nor read any extract The whole thing was like a fountain pouring forth copious streams of information and argument couched in compelling eloquence To our class Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar lectured in Indian History and Economics The former was then an unexplored subject especially as regards South India But the lectures were so interesting and bore such marks of patient study and judgment that the students, all of us, were imbued with a desire to learn the subject carefully and well We were flushed with an intense patriotism, for the views of the past glories of India appeared to us to be founded upon truth and sympathetic reflection

I am tempted also to say a word about the lectures on Political Economy Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar came to the class with a copy of Mill's Principles 'This is a great book', said he, and "every one who desires to learn economics must master this" The opening sentence of the first Chapter was then read out Many of Mill's theories are now exploded, but the value of his contribution to economic thought remains still unimpaired Even to-day his conception of the scope of political economy remains substantially correct, for says he, "writers on political economy profess to teach, or to investigate the nature of wealth and the cause of its production and distribution including directly or remotely the operation of all causes by which the condition of mankind with respect of this universal object of this human desire, is made more prosperous or the reverse" I am quoting this well-known sentence from memory But the idea is substantially correct! So great was the enthralling exposition of the lecturer He gave us many lessons in Mill as well as Adam Smith, giving peremptory orders to make abstracts of whole chapters Failure was prevented by the powerful sanction of what he called 'thundering impositions' Delinquents were severely punished, those who failed to write out the impositions ten times were made to write them twenty times Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar was an advocate of Marshall even before his principles of Economics gained popularity in other colleges

The teacher's influence over the students was not confined within the walls of the college or the playground We were fre-

quently invited to see him in his house and we would fain rule out of existence the interval between one visit and the next The hours we were privileged to spend with him, were to us as pleasant as they were profitable The Professor's house was to us, his students, our own home His father, an estimable gentleman, orthodox, kind, humane and particularly wise, treated us all like his own children The Professor himself, the scholar, thinker and educationist was in his father's presence a child, the *Payyan* as his parents used to call him even when he was fifty His mother was a remarkable lady, highly conservative but absolutely benevolent We regarded her very much like our own grandmother There were two complaints which she always made to us about her son, one was that he attached more importance to his books than to his food, the other being that he would always find some excuse or other for not eating as much as one should legitimately do

Respect for elders particularly to his teachers, was and still is, one of the prominent traits in the Professor's character He always spoke to us of Goodrich, K Ramanujachariar and K B Ramanatha Aiyar with affection They were all of them estimable men He used to tell us that K Ramanujachariar was the best master of the art of teaching that he had seen and that Ramanatha Aiyar concealed within an unassuming manner and inclination to reticence, a rare scholarship in English Years afterwards in 1921 when the Maharaja's College of Arts was inaugurated Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar, who was appointed Principal placed on record his respect for his former *guru*, now a subordinate in a peculiar, I may say an extraordinary, manner At the opening ceremony the Principal prostrated before K B Ramanatha Aiyar, performing *Dandanamaskaram* in the manner of disciples at the *Gurukulas* of old This was a great object-lesson to the young people and a matter for admiration to the assembled crowds

Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar was very fond of his pupils He is still so and his academic children of the fourth and fifth generations have in him a kind, benevolent and assertive *pater familias* with a never-decreasing fund of *genuine love* 'My students' he once told me 'are my students' His memory is so faithful that he can distinguish the handwriting of those who were his pupils forty years ago Others he can pick out from the structure of the sentences, and even from the nature of the ideas and the way of their marshalling The enthusiasm he kindled in the subjects taught by him was such that even the indolent set was benefitted I was rather an indifferent student but my association with the

Professor added greatly to my knowledge and ultimately created in me a desire to learn, and engendered the habit of reading "I tell you T K " he used to say, "you must read the great masters, Shakespeare, Burke, Morley Read history, especially the history of political movements Master the fundamentals of Economics, and Politics You will find use for it all some day Knowledge is never lost" Stubb's Constitutional History of England, Dicey's Constitutional Law, Bryce's American Commonwealth, Bastable's Public Finance, and Cunningham's History of British India and Commerce, Green's History of the English People, Cicero's Speeches, the Plays of Aeschylus, were some of the books which he first recommended and then commanded me to read, and he took care to find out for himself whether the prescribed reading was done with care That was by introducing allusions to various passages in the books which he remembered and, I am sure, remembers still Mistakes, if any, were corrected When, in later years, I became a member of the Legislative Council and the Popular Assembly, and did my work with some measure of success, he used to say with evident satisfaction that he was very glad When I was elected Deputy President of the Sri Mulam Assembly in 1933 it was my proud privilege to take his blessings before entering upon my duties The knowledge I obtained from him, the thought which he helped to stimulate, and the independence of judgment which he fostered by precept and example, stood me in very good stead in the discharge of my duties, as a member of the Legislature and as Deputy President

I must turn back a little to an earlier period In the course of his lectures in class he sometimes liked to indent upon the previous batches of his pupils for illustrations His humour was often scolding but generally pleasant. On one occasion, some years after I had left College, and was supposed to be learning for the B L, the Professor heard from one of my classmates that my copy of the Indian Penal Code (Nelson's) which I had inadvertently left on the veranda was partly eaten by a stray cow The next day he addressed a question to the class "Who is the greatest authority on the Penal Code ?" Many were the guesses ventured But the Professor pulled up to the height of authoritative importance and said, "No, the greatest living authority on the Penal Code is T K Velu Pillai's cow"

The cow's command over the Penal Code did not save me from the justice of the B L Examination. However, I was able to pass the B L the next year and was enrolled as a Vakil Within a few months I was elected to the Sri Mulam Popu-

lar Assembly and the year after that to the Legislative Council When I was preparing to proceed to the Council Chamber, a carriage was heard to stop at my gate It was the kind Professor, who had come to take me with him "I am happy to take you with me to the Council, where I am sure you will soon make a mark Need I say I was particularly gratified and grateful" That evening he sent me a present—a valuable present, Bentham's Theory of Legislation, a book, which he said "no legislator can afford to neglect" The affection which prompted the present and the advice persuaded me to read the book more than once It was a highly profitable exercise In the Council we have taken opposite views and voted on opposite sides But though the Professor was partial to his own ideas he permitted differences of opinion on the part of his pupils, differences expressed with all the vehemence of youth

In 1916 I accompanied the Professor to Madras whither I was going to take my B L Degree, long overdue We travelled in the same compartment He read the Ramayana in the moving train, not omitting the slightest portion of the usual chapter He ate very sparingly saying that as the body had no manner of exercise food should be reduced in quantity That was perhaps a good preparation, for compulsory hunger was in store About midnight nature was in an uproar There was thunder and rain and the wind blew very hard It was a terrible cyclone and the train had to be stopped It was detained at Nellikkuppam for many hours Hunger and worry weighed heavily on the passengers but there was no danger to life and limb At last the line from Nellikkuppam to Tiruvannamalai and Katpadi was clear, and taking that way and transhipping in more than one place we reached Madras The Professor took me to several of his friends all of whom treated me with great consideration Through the good offices of Sir C P Ramaswamy Aiyar I was admitted to the Senate House It was a stormy meeting We reached the Senate House a little before the meeting commenced I believe it was the budget of income and expenditure which was being discussed The Vice-Chancellor guided the proceedings with dignity and a consciousness of easy superiority The discussion grew warm I heard many of the well-known debators of the time There was Dewan Bahadur L A Govinda Raghava Aiyar, the famous orator, who rose to rhetorical heights with his long sentences, so long that grammar would have lost its way if it was in another's hands There was Dr T M Nair with his mighty personality and stentorian voice, who among other things,

made the observation that when people who did not know finance ventured to make a budget they would make it a hoplessness. A legal question cropped up in the course of discussion and the suggestion was made that a lawyer might be consulted Justice Oldfield objected to it saying that it was not matter enough to take legal advice and that the University could not afford to pay the heavy fee which would be demanded Mr C P got up with suppressed indignation and said that the lawyers in India knew to distinguish between case and case and that there was enough public spirit in the country which should prevent an Indin lawyer from demanding any unreasonable fee or perhaps any fee whatever The learned judge was effectively silenced K V Rangaswami Aiyangar also spoke on the occasion and was listened to with rapt attention He was quite as good in the Senate House as he was in the lecture room On our return home he said, "You must become a member of the Senate T K" I became a member some years afterwards and my Professor was gratified

The Professor and myself had occasion to work together in the Travancore Legislative Council He was a member of the Council when I made a motion in the Council demanding that a committee should be appointed to consider the question of a University Sri K V Rangaswami Aiyangar gave me his strong support. The Government accepted the resolution, and appointed a committee to examine the question. Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar was the Convenor of the Committee and drafted the report The document is a monument of knowledge and industry a storehouse of useful information on matters educational The committee expressed its gratified appreciation of the knowledge and ability which Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar brought to bear on the work Their report however was shelved for over ten years It was reserved for Sir C P Ramaswami Aiyar to pull it out from oblivion and advise His Highness the present Maharaja that the Travancore University should be established

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was a member of the Travancore Legislative Assembly consecutively for more than a dozen years There was no subject on which his opinions were not looked up to with eagerness by all parties The Government consulted him on many matters which demanded a knowledge of economics, history and politics His views on administrative questions were always respected He was the reserved force of knowledge and judgment during successive administrations Many were the references made to him from beyond Travancore, from the Governments of India and that of Madras, from prominent Indian princes

like His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, and academic bodies such as the governing authorities of the Benares Hindu University. On one occasion I saw a letter addressed to him by a President of the Indian National Congress asking for his views on certain matters for the Presidential Address.

I do not propose to dwell at any length on the Professor's learning, talents for debate, and powers of organisation They are so well-known But it is my privilege to say that I have known him for a period of forty years, known to respect him more and more as years advanced, and to regard him as one who contributed a great deal by precept and example to advance the bounds of knowledge and make it filter down He was accessible to all and there was full 'democracy' in his dealings, for in his presence the youngest and the humblest felt his equality with those in the heights His visitors were so many that almost every evening his library,—he liked to be in the library—was the rendezvous of a public meeting We learned a great deal from him in his evening conversations It has often struck me that he would do well if he did not express his opinions of men and things so unreservedly On one occasion I made bold to tell him that as he was administrative head of the Educational Department he would be well-advised to keep a little aloofness, talking to one individual at a time especially when official matters formed the subject of conversation This he promised to do But the promise was soon violated and the old order was restored The atmosphere of what may be called a 'public meeting' was the only one congenial to him Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar is remembered with esteem and affection as an efficient officer and a high-souled man But the greatest title to his popularity is his work as Professor, the friend philosopher and guide of generation of men and women He had a warm corner of his heart for the thousands of low-paid teachers whose interests he advanced by justice and sympathy Sri Rangaswami Aiyangar is respected throughout the whole country and nowhere more than in Travancore May he live long and happy May he be enabled to carry on his noble work for the good of India and the world of scholarship and thought, is the genuine prayer of all who know him.

PROFESSOR T M KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M A,
Trivandrum

Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar comes of an aristocratic and wealthy Vaishnavite Brahman family of Tanjore Rather delicate in health in the early years of his life he seemed

to require a care which was lavished upon him by his devoted parents Completing his secondary education at Tiruvallur in Chingleput District, he came over to Madras where he entered the portals of Pachaiyappa's College to undergo his collegiate Course That institution was then in the zenith of its reputation and claimed as its Professors Messrs R S Lepper, W J. Goodrich and E Drew Of these the statement can be safely ventured that there has not existed anywhere a better professional combination noted alike for deep scholarship, brilliance in lecturing and the power to inspire the young with high ideals of life and conduct Amongst the Indian members of its staff were such eminent preceptors as the late Messrs N Ramanujachariar who moved with equal ease amidst mathematics, physics and philosophy, K Ramanujachariar who towered over all, intellectually as well as physically and was noted for great impressiveness in teaching, K B Ramanathan of whose M A , B L , and L T , his students were as proud as of his encyclopaedic knowledge which he wielded with the sureness of a master, and Krishna Sastriar that beau ideal of a Sanskrit Pandit, whose sweet ways competed with his fascinating discourses for the love and regard of his students Rangaswami, then, small in stature and young in years was the acknowledged favourite of all these great teachers and the happy recipient of their sincere affection His avidity for reading and power to master even difficult classics revealed itself even during his college days He worked through almost all the important books of the libraries of the college , and attained to a great command of English and History. His striking performances at the examinations made his fellow students go in awe of him which his affable demeanour could scarcely mitigate The triple first class—in English, History and Sanskrit—with the Northwick Prize and the Ramaswami Mudaliar Economics Medal in the B A Degree Examination of the University of Madras held in 1899, was the appropriate reward for his ability and unremitting zeal in work It made him an object of universal admiration for it was an achievement rare before his days and surpassed only by his first class in History in the M A , the first of its kind in the annals of the University. All sorts of interesting stories came to be set afloat by his fellow students to account for his great successes One of them was that he resorted to special medicines for keeping himself awake whole nights at a stretch for the better prosecution of his studies It is a matter worthy of note that even in later days when Mr Rangaswami attained to fulness of years and honours the memory of his achievements as a student has dominated every other impression of him in the minds of his 'student' contemporaries.

Mr Rangaswami started life as Assistant Professor of History at his own college, i e, Pachaiyappa's when Mr Lepper, Professor and Principal, left the institution to take up the post of History Professor at His Highness the Maharaja's College at Trivandrum and organise its History Department His immediate successor at Pachaiyappa's not proving equal to his task, the B A students, when he left them near the time of the University Examination, found themselves in a condition of utter unpreparedness and despair Mr Rangaswami then came to fill the breach. The confidence which he inspired in the mind of the new Principal as regards his sense of responsibility was not belied by his performance as lecturer In absolute disregard of his personal inconvenience especially when his health was not very good, Mr Rangaswami worked tremendously hard, infected his students with his perseverance and determination of purpose and snatched a glorious success for them in the University examination In those days the Ramanuja Hostel was to him a centre of attraction because two of his best friends resided there, Mr S Varadachari, now a Judge of the Federal Court of India, then the warden of the Hostel, but always a warm friend of 'Rangaswami' and Mr S V Vijiaraghavachari well known to the readers of the *Hindu* as the celebrated contributor 'S V V' whose humour was already beginning to reveal itself much to the confusion of his friends on whom it was practised by no means rarely and not always tenderly

At this time a call came from Travancore for Rangaswami's services in the History Section of the Trivandrum College The place of Assistant Professorship in History was offered to him, presumably through the influence of Mr Lepper, then the Professor of the College, who must have been anxious to annex to his staff such a distinguished old student of his At that time, Rangaswami was preparing to compete for the Madras Provincial Civil Service Examination And many promising candidates were said to be making up their minds not to compete with him as he appeared to them to be a formidable rival With success at the examination easily assured to him if he sat for it, he was for a moment in a dilemma as to whether he should accept or not the call that hailed from distant Travancore. Eventually, two considerations probably prevailed upon his wavering mind and induced him to make his choice They were the resolve to respect the wish of his Professor, and the desire not to postpone the assumption of responsibility for the maintenance of his family His friends have not even now left off speculating about the official heights to which

his great attainments would have borne him had he but entered the Madras Provincial Civil Service. But that was not to be He himself has never wasted valuable time on such profitless speculations Sri Padmanabha was evidently drawing him on to his shrine to fill the mind of the young devotee-to-be with the effulgence of His Divine Grace So Rangaswami accepted the offer from Trivandrum and repaired to the land which was to make his destiny and monopolise his talents and attachments for the best part of a very active life

After a few years of service as Assistant Professor, during the Dewanship of Mr S Gopalachariar, he was drafted into the Secretariat as Secretary to Government in Education and later came to fill the post of Inspector of Schools After this short break, he returned to college where, on the premature retirement of Mr Lepper caused by persisting illhealth he found himself promoted to his place as Professor There was a prejudice prevailing at the time against the appointment of an Indian to that post but it was specially waived in his case owing to his undisputed eminence in the collegiate world Triumph followed triumph At first the grade of salary that was fixed for the Indian Professors of whom he was one, was lower than that of their European Colleagues, involving a corresponding inferiority in status Sir P Rajagopalachari, the Dewan, a great believer in education and Indianisation of services soon thought it time to drop invidious distinctions of race in regard to appointments in the College He equalised the two scales in spite of the protests such a step provoked from interested quarters, mainly moved to this step, it was then widely believed, by the case of Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar

For the quality of the work of Mr Aiyangar as Professor no praise can be deemed to be too much His reputation spread far and wide and brought to the College, students from various parts of South India who wished to sit at his feet and drink deep of the fountain of his wisdom The most distinctive contribution he made to the College during his Professorship was perhaps the elevation of Indian History, ignorance of which was in many institutions almost a matter of pride, to the pinnacle of respect which it has been occupying since not only in this institution but over the whole Presidency Through his efforts the College came to be affiliated to the University of Madras in the Honours courses in History, Economics and Politics and thus the History Department attained a high status In the study of all subjects, wherever possible, Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar took great trouble to instil into the minds of his Honours students a sense of the importance

of a study of original records as a prime condition for the proper comprehension of the past, for the acquisition of the historical sense and the formation of correct historical judgment To aid this purpose, a number of costly conveniences were provided to the students and the staff in the department of History through the generous support of Government A good collection of coins was made in Indian History as an indispensable aid to the numismatic study of the subject A map section was organised under the direction of a draughtsman and members of the staff were encouraged to undergo technical training in map-making A large number of original maps and historical illustrations drawn in all history subjects for use in the classes to supplement the available printed maps and illustrations soon came to be the pride of the college and the envy of other institutions A few thousand volumes, comprising not only text books, elementary and advanced, but costly editions of rare works embodying advanced research and numerous original documents, involving a prodigious cost came to occupy the long rows of almirahs in the splendid History Library Hall of the College and earned for the History Library a great reputation abroad Photographs of important historians not easily available, which were taken in the College Studio adorned the walls of the halls and the class-rooms Savants like Winternitz and Trevelyan, who had occasion to visit the State did not miss their opportunity to look up the History department of the college and carry away with them a good impression of its work, ideals and traditions Many members of the History staff as Mr Aiyangar's students were saturated with his ideas of scholarship trained in his methods of work and anxious to maintain the high standard of achievement he constantly held before them

In his classes the Professor held his students spellbound by his vast learning which was unfolded to their wondering vision with a wealth of interesting practical illustrations, lit up with his inimitable humour and dressed in very felicitous diction For illustrating the operation of economic laws, Mr Aiyangar would often take instances from the neighbouring coffee hotels If a lady student came to the class, dressed too gaily, she provided him for the day with examples to give point to his statements with the result that, she would automatically relapse into a formal academic decorum The Professor was a great believer in the enduring advantages of co-education in the College as a preparation for the new and enlarged life that awaits the citizens of to-morrow, but he felt that it was yet in the region of great experiments and had to be launched only under efficient though sympathetic direction

and guidance He always maintained that there was only one sex in the College and that was the 'student' sex His paternal solicitude for women students and his full appreciation of their numerous difficulties in a 'mixed' institution made the life of those students very pleasant in the College and brought him their universal regard and devotion

There was a break in his History Professorship for a few months in 1923-24 when he was appointed as Principal of the local Training College In the latter year without relinquishing this office he received the appointment of the Principalship of the College of Arts, a new institution that came into existence as the result of the bifurcation of the old Maharaja's College into two institutions, one for the Sciences and one for the Arts subjects including History Thus he held two Principalships simultaneously for the rest of the period of his collegiate service—an honour which he was the first to attain This unique position brought him unprecedented opportunities for establishing contact at once with all the grades of education But Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was not only found fully competent to face these complex responsibilities but seemed to revel in the wealth of his new experience He had however to limit his lecturing work now because he had to transact a large number of administrative duties and keep himself in touch with all the activities of two big institutions He delighted in moving with the students under his care on all conceivable occasions He specially loved to be in the midst of the children of the primary school classes who assembled round him without any fear or nervousness to greet him with their stiff salutes To the College of Arts which was to him the apple of his eye, he perhaps gave of his best His memory will be specially cherished in that institution for his strenuous endeavour to promote social and extramural activities amongst its students He organised a College Union with a number of branch Associations affiliated to it and assigned to it the duty of conducting periodical lecture meetings and parliamentary debates, ordinary and extraordinary, and of arranging for the fitting celebration of the College Day every year Of the daughter associations organised, the Musical and Dramatic Association and the Women's Club deserve a special mention as pioneer ventures of their kind and for their astonishing success

That Mr Aiyangar is one of the most eminent educationists of the day is a point that need not be laboured hard His experiences in the field of education have been vouchsafed but to a very few indeed In addition to his qualification as a Professor

of a long standing, he has been the Principal of three Colleges, one of which is in the Benares University. For a time he was Secretary to the Government of Travancore in Education and an Inspector of Schools He was the Convener to the Travancore University Committee and the author of a voluminous report on the prospects of the successful establishment of a University for Travancore He was the founder of the All-Travancore Teachers' Association which had many hundred members on its rolls and functioned regularly and vigorously for long He acted for two years as Director of Public Instruction, Travancore and, in that capacity, was President of many Text-book Committees The title of Rao Bahadur was conferred upon him by the Government of India for his services to the cause of Education He presided over the proceedings of the Eleventh Madras Provincial Educational Conference held at Trichinopoly in 1919 and over the 'Peace' section of the All-India Educational Conference held recenty at Bombay For many terms he was a very active member of the Senate, the Syndicate, the Academic Council and the Boards of Studies in History, Economics and Commerce of the Madras University In Travancore, he was a member of the Legislative Council for about a decade representing Education

Mr Rangaswami Aiyanger won his laurels even in his teens as an impressive lecturer The eminence he attained as a successful Professor cannot be explained adequately apart from this aspect of his activities His audience varied from time to time in quality according to the auspices under which the lectures were delivered the occasion of the addresses and the nature of the subject matter But he was ever listened to for hours on end with rapt attention by the whole audience which he swayed by his learning, his command of English and his intimate acquaintance with human nature Where, as on a few occasions the cause that earned his advocacy was not acceptable to the hearers, his courage in the face of murmerers carried him through to a successful conclusion His impressive mien brought out the high seriousness of his mind while he developed the various aspects of his theme, piling argument on argument earnestly pleading for his view point in rolling periods, dignified language and stentorian tone of voice, and returning to the burden of his speech again and again to compel conviction on the minds of the hearers That he was a first class debater will be easily seen from a perusal of the proceedings of the University Bodies of which he was an active member for many years

As a research scholar, Mr Aiyangar is known widely in the country and his reputation has travelled beyond the limits of India He has been a member of the Royal Economic Society, London, for long a member of the Royal Historical Society The Behar and Orissa Research Society conferred on him the title of Ithihasacharya for his proficiency in Indian History Of his work as a scholar it has to be said—what has been said of Lord Acton's —that the profundity of his knowledge and his high ideals of historical performance have favoured quality at the expense of quantity Only those who have been at the game of teaching and of discharging administrative duties will appreciate the impediment they offer to a zealous prosecution of historical research But Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar's passion to know Truth first hand and to bask himself in the sunshine of past historical scenes and epochs reconstructed by the triumph of modern research made him surmount the many obstacles that lay in his path Two books, 'The History of Pre-Mussalman India' and 'Gladwin's History of Jehangir' exhibit the marks of his particular genius the one, in a masterly introduction, reconstructing the reputation of the Emperor Jehangir and that of his famous consort Nur Jehan, the other, closely based on original sources and done in simple language, presenting a very vivid view of the kaleidoscopic scenes of India's eventful past The learned lectures delivered by him under the auspices of many Universities of India and learned Associations include a variety of themes like 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity', 'Ancient Indian Economic Thought', 'Cameralism in Ancient India' 'Rajadharma,' 'Political Ideals in the East and the West,' 'Some Recent Trends in Public Finance ' All of them bear an unmistakable stamp of patient research, rich historical imagination, a rare power of interpretation, unrivalled critical judgment, a matchless gift of historical synthesis, an abiding spirit of patriotism and a forceful presentation of the subject The Professor is now engaged in editing some of the rare Hindu Law Texts and is living in the congenial atmosphere of the Oriental Institute at Tirupati which he has organised under the aegis of Sri Venkatesa, and which bids fair to develop, in fulness of time, into a great Oriental University of international reputation combining the best cultural traditions of the East and the West As a man, those who have been privileged to move with him closely have found in him qualities that generate love, esteem and devotion A devoted son, an indulgent father and a fond brother he has been an object of adoration in his family circles His moral loftiness has been surpassed only by his readiness to help others even at

a serious sacrifice to his comfort The number of men who have benefitted by his kindness and benefaction is legion He has always cherished a supreme regard for his gurus To those that witnessed the touching scene at the opening of the College of Arts at Trivandrum when he began the proceedings by humbly prostrating himself at the feet of his revered guru Prof K B Ramanathan, it is a memory to be treasured up for ever. His attachment to his old pupils with many of whom he continues to maintain contact by correspondence is almost emotional in nature His great conversational powers have made his residence a centre of attraction to a large number of visitors to whom nothing is a greater entertainment than the enjoyment of seraphic talk enlivened by sparkling humour He is very orthodox in his ways His deeply religious nature compels him to devote many hours of his daily life to the service of God His adoration of Sri Padmanabha in Trivandrum has clothed him with a veneration paid only to a rishi

That Sri Padmanabha shower His choicest blessings on him, give him long life, good health and happiness to enable him to carry on his labours in the service of his motherland will be the prayer of his well-wishers on the auspicious occasion of his Sashtiabdapoorthi

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Prof S. C De, M A

Principal, Benares Hindu University

Nearly five years ago I met Rao Bahadur Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyangar for the first time at the residence of Pujya Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University At the very first sight, Professor Aiyangar struck me as one extremely orthodox, possessing inexhaustible energy and indomitable courage, one fully conscious of his own ability and power As our acquaintance grew I found him to be a real scholar, veteran teacher, excellent speaker, strong administrator, strict disciplinarian and extraordinarily quick despatcher of business Although as Vice-Principal of the Central Hindu College, of which he was the Principal, I soon came in close contact with him, yet it took me a little time to understand the inner man—I mean the humanitarian side of his nature But before long it was discovered that although he was a hard task-master, he had a very soft corner in his heart for all those who were entrusted to his care and protection Every one who has worked with him knows him to be a hard and conscientious worker, kind and loving

master and a faithful friend He is a gentleman whom his friends and acquaintance cannot but love, respect and admire.

DR D R BHANDARKAR, M A, PH D,
University Professor (Retd.), Calcutta

I came to Calcultta in 1917 as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University I was preparing myself for the first Series of my Research Lectures which I delivered in February 1918 For these Lectures I had selected an epoch which was immediately prior to the Mauryan period At that time the subject of Ancient Indian Polity was being popularised by the late Dr K P Jayaswal. Most of his papers however were then published not in learned Journals, but rather in popular magazines Nevertheless, I devoured the contents of them all Just about that time came to be published two lectures which Sri K V Rangaswami Aiyangar delivered in 1914 as the first Lecturer on the Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar Foundation on "Considerations on Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity" I had never heard of the Rao Bahadur being then known as a scholar at all Besides, uptill that time Madras was looked upon, wrongly of course, as a benighted Presidency, and as the Rao Bahadur was then connected with a College of Trivandrum situated at a long distance from Madras, I thought that he was a native of a most benighted part of the benighted Presidency I was not sure that the reading of his Lectures would be of any use at all Nevertheless and in spite of some diffidence, I set myself to the task of making a study of the book I had hardly pored over the contents of the first chapter when I was convinced that it contained as good a stuff as that comprised in the late Professor Hermann Jacobi's 'On the Authenticity of the Kautiliya' translated by Dr V A Sukhtankar and published at my instance in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XLVII, pp 157 *ff*, and 187 *ff* Jayaswal's work was unfortunately vitiated by the patriotic bias,—which every Indian scholar has ruthlessly to eradicate from his mind if his work is to prove of first-rate quality at all Besides, Jayaswal was known not only for misquotations but also experiments at translation One has only to read Mr Harit Krishna Deb's criticism on Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* which he published in the *Calcutta Review*, April 1925, pp 141-46 When therefore I completed my reading of K V Rangaswami's book, I was delighted to find that I had studied a publication on the constitutional history of ancient India, which, though it was written by an Indian

at the southernmost and obscurest point of India, was more interesting, instructive and authoritative on Arthaśastra than *Hindu Polity* though this last was written at Pataliputra where Kautilya composed his work.

It was no wonder that before long K V Rangaswami's fame spread northwards as an authority on the sociological literature of Ancient India and was appointed to deliver Manindra Chandra Lectures, 1927, on *Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic Thought* before the Benares Hindu University under the auspices of the then Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji They represented the second of a group of three studies made by him to interpret the sociology of Ancient India, the third study being devoted to the Special Readership Lectures which he gave in March 1934 under the auspices of the Calcutta University These last have not yet seen the light of the day But his Manindra Chandra Lectures have been published and are as good and solid as those on Ancient Indian Polity In both these series of Lectures he has not only evinced the German scholar's infinite capacity of taking pains but brought his sound and impartial judgment to bear upon the evidence, the whole again being presented in a lucid ravishing style

Though in 1917 K V Rangaswami was a stranger to me, we met thereafter pretty frequently in Calcutta and Benares The impression produced on my mind was that he knew not only something of everything but also everything of some things Sometimes I feared that he pretended to be conversant with matters which he was not expected to be I was waiting to see whether I could pull his leg somewhere and somehow Once he remarked that he was so fond of reading the *Progress Reports of Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle,* that he bought most of them for his own Library That was a good opportunity, I thought, of heckling him I straightly but politely asked him what parts of my Reports had enraptured him But I was astonished to find that his knowledge of the contents of these publications was almost as intimate as mine,—especially of those contents which related to the social structure of the Rajputs He also threw out a hint that the greater portion of the Reports should be re-published in the form of a Memoir by the Archaeological Department with an exhaustive Index.

With frequent contacts our acquaintance ripened into something like friendship But I confess that the prominent sectarian marks on his forehead at first frightened me But familiarity

breeds boldness, and I soon ceased to be afraid of them. Then at times he used to describe what he was and what he was not at Trivandrum—how he was Principal at first of the Arts College, then of the Science College at Trivandrum and lastly the Head of the Education Department in Travancore, never however losing his hold on the Syndicate of the Madras University. At first I began to be amused by these talks, because I thought there was some self-conceit in them But soon I was undeceived It was really the náiveté of the child which is always fond of saying what it did and what it did not do in the course of the day It is this trait in his character which was misinterpreted as self-conceit There was a time when he was similarly misunderstood in Benares. But the Marathas there who can distinguish between self-conceit and náiveté never misunderstood him and always entertained a high opinion of his intellect and character

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DEWAN BAHADUR DR S KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR, M A, PH D,
University Professor (Retd), Madras

I record with pleasure that Professor K V Rangaswami Aiyengar, whose Shastiabdapurti is now being celebrated was introduced to me at a meeting of the Board of Examiners of the Madras University by the late Mr K Ramanujachariar, his own Professor, as among the most brilliant of his students, and a very promising member of the educational profession at the time, so long ago as 1904 I have since had opportunities of knowing him, and appreciating his work as a brilliant lecturer in Indian History and Economics For almost thirty years he has been engaged in teaching work, except for a few years when he was drafted on to the administration of the Department in Travancore After retirement from Travancore he went over to Benares as Principal, wherefrom he has come back to Madras as Director of the newly started Research Institute in Tirupati Apart from his work as a teacher he delivered courses of lectures at the Benares and Calcutta Universities on subjects connected with Indian History He has also delivered the Sir William Meyer Lectures in Economics by invitation of the Madras University He is now in a position where he could find full scope for further original research work, and I wish him God speed in his new mission and length of life to achieve it

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MRS LAKSHMI N MENON, M A, M L,
Advocate, Lucknow.

I have great pleasure in associating myself with the Shashtiabdapurti celebrations of Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar It was my privilege to be his student in the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum It has also been my privilege, on account of the deep interest he has always taken in the welfare of his students, to be in touch with him ever since I left college And as a woman-student of his, it is on his deep interest in co-education that I would like to say a few words on this occasion Prof Rangaswami Aiyangar's conservatism in certain matters is well-known What therefore struck us in "Swami" (as his students affectionately call him still), was the extreme radicalism of his ideas in educational matters, and nowhere more than in respect of co-education As Professor, as Principal, and as Director of Education he always encouraged the common education of boys and girls, young men and women, wherever possible But that was not all Only those of us who were his women-students know the peculiar gift he had, possessed hardly by any other teacher of his time, of making us feel at home and unselfconscious in the atmosphere of a men's college, within the class or outside He did not treat us so much as women-students as just students, encouraging us in the most natural way to participate in the various activities of the college And I am sure that all of us are still grateful to him for the interest he took in us and the guidance he gave us then

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RAO SAHIB S R RANGANATHAN M A, L T, F L A,
Librarian Madras University Library
and
Secretary, Madras Library Association

Sri K V R's activities as a librarian are worth recording though it was only a side line for him Many who run libraries as their main occupation may have to blush at his success as part-timed and honorary librarian and as member of library committees.

WHERE IT CAME FROM

Sri K V R inherited his love of books from his father and uncle who were devoted students of Mr W A Porter and Sri Rao Bahadur T Gopala Rao of Kumbhakonam from whom they caught the fire Even when his father was hard up he never denied him books Once when the home exchequer was empty, he asked for

a copy of Seeley's *Political science* His father gave him the price readily, though he could ill-afford it, but he added. "Payya, I am giving it to you with difficulty Try to get a first class" But there had been no 'first class' among the Pachaiyappas for many years and it looked so much an impossible ideal The 'Payyan' wished that he had not asked the book! And yet the entry against the name 'K V Rangaswamy Aiyangar' is only 'I Class' wherever it occurs in the University calendar

AS A BACHELOR OF ARTS

In his book-hunting as a bachelor of arts (1899), Sri K V R once scored heavily against the redoubtable J Causee Chetty, the well-known book-seller of Madras at the turn of the present century He thence forward became a warm admirer and dissuaded him from purchasing books for his M A studies He insisted on lending them to him along with the necessary shelves

Knowing his being a book-addict Sri K V R's maternal uncle, who negotiated his marriage promised him a set of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* But it went the way of most of marriage promises He was not however left without a set of the *Encyclopaedia* For Sri K V R was not evidently alone in his addiction to books in his generation of his family A cousin of his had bought a set on the hire purchase system Sri K V R was asked to house it Merely house it? Was he to be the old-janitor-type of librarian for these volumes? That was impossible for this born votary of the First Law of Library Science, (Books Are for Use), nor was it the intention of his cousin In that family, housing a book always meant its use whether its use meant housing or not For a month Sri K V R was doing nothing but using it—or can it be—devouring it! Literal satiation set in Apparently this accounted for there being no *Britannica* among the 8 000 books which he later collected for himself This does not mean that he did not use the *Encyclopaedia* any longer since the Arts College Library was next door to his home

EARLY BEHIND THE COUNTER

Sri K V R has had much of Dewey in several senses, though his junior by two decades For like Dewey he became the student-librarian of the history library at the Pachayappa's College His principal, Mr Lepper, made considerable additions to this library Sri K V R was not behind Dewey in kicking about a good deal about this library He drafted rules to regulate its use, re-catalogued it and provided dust covers for each book to prolong its life and yet push on its use These covers lived long on the volumes

reminding succeeding professors of history of the enthusiastic student-librarian that once cared for them

FURTHER IN DEWEY'S LINE

Soon after graduation, like Dewey again, Sri K V R was appointed (1899) honorary library superintendent of the entire library of the Pachaiyappa's College and retained the office as an additional charge (his main work was teaching) till he left Madras to take up his appointment as Assistant Professor of history in the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum Pachaiyappa's College library is said to have been in a chaotic condition when he took charge · the catalogue was severely out of date and hundreds of books disappeared year after year , and there was no means of knowing how many did so Sri K V R revised the catalogue He conceived the mobile form of catalogue and improvised one by writing the entries in buckram-backed sheets eyeletted and strung up with leather laces in special half-leather cases of foolscap size—original, though clumsy On these sheets slips containing the description of the book with the date, edition and collation were pasted by the 'honorary library superintendent' himself Evidently this part-timed teacher-librarian was also a do-all-librarian Slips were prepared for each of the 8,000 volumes in the library—two sets, one to form a subject catalogue and the other an alphabetical one Separate stock registers were prepared to emancipate the catalogue from the grip of the inventory spirit The *Theory of library catalogue*[1] of 1938 has still to plead for this reform in other libraries ! The library was centralised in administration, the supervision of the several sectional libraries being vested in the library superintendent—another Dewey touch

LIBRARY OR BEAR-GARDEN

This was all behind the screen But the chaos outside needed no less attention The library and the teachers' reading rooms were two noisiest places in a college in which noise was normal One of the earliest disciplinary measures which were taken was to get a rowdy teacher of the school department who insisted in making the reading room a bear-garden strictly called to order by the principal The rules were obsolete A large number of persons unconnected with the college were freely taking away books as if they were students of the college They were traced out and the misappropriated books were recovered Among such persons was a

1 Ranganathan, (S R) *Theory of library catalogue* 1938 (Madras Library Association publication series 7) Chapter 1

member of the teaching staff of another institution and he was caught red-handed The result was the blocking of the way to steal and a violent attack on the 'young honorary library superintendent' in the local daily—*Swadesamitran* Mr Lepper took up the matter with the editor, threatened to run him in for damage and made him publish an apology and an exposure of the untruths which built up the attack.

PEACE AND ORDER

Eventually the 'young honorary library superintendent' even became popular Peace and solemn silence began to reign supreme in the Pachaiyappa's College Library Its dignity made it difficult for anybody to disturb it any longer The members of the faculty led by Prof K B Ramanatha Ayyar lent their enthusiastic support in full measure One of the things claimed is the prevention of the mutilation of books and periodicals and the removal of pictures and pages—an ideal which the library profession is yet to realise anywhere in the world! The 'honorary library superintendent' worked three or four hours a day in the library—after the full load of teaching work—every day of the week, vacations included—another Dewey way

STRENGTHENING OF STAFF AND STOCK

Sri K V R influenced the principal to persuade the trustee to vote larger sums for the library and improve the strength and emoluments of the staff Among the outstanding additions of his time, the two most considerable were to the philosophy and Sanskrit sections for which was bought up the complete collection of Mr A J Cooper-Oakley who was a scholar and lover of books and died suddenly when he was registrar of the University The hunt for rare and out-of-print books and the scanning of second-hand book catalogues became a necessity with Sri K V R at this time and have remained a serious if expensive hobby of his life

FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST

When Sri K V R joined the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, (1902) the history library which had been started by Mr Lepper contained about 2,500 volumes When he retired as the principal of the Arts College—into which the old college partially transformed itself—the same history library had increased by 12,000 volumes It was all virtually his work Very early in his career at Trivandrum the College Council divided the administrative work of the College between the members of the Council who were all professors The library fame of Sri K V R had travelled from the east to the west and the care of the library was assigned to him

and he built it up with his wonted enthusiasm and success Once again he obtained large sums of money which were spent most economically, avoiding investment in worthless books or those of doubtful value He used to spend all his leisure time in the library Time, industry and incessant attention are some of the secrets of building up a library—a fact which Sri K. V R realised intuitively though part-timed and honorary—but a fact, alas, which even many a full-timed well-paid professional ignores in his pursuit of what he can grasp out of public institutions rather than give them more than what he takes, Sugriva-like[2] he forgets the very noble cause which secured him his training, emoluments and status But the honorary librarian Sri K V R anticipated Bernard Shaw and lives the life of a gentleman of the Shavian ideal

EXTENDED LIBRARY SPHERE

Sri K V R had an effective hand in the building up of the treasures of most of the libraries of Travancore for nearly a quarter of a century He was a member of the Committee of the Trivandrum Public Library One of the big purchases made at his instance was the entire collection of books and manuscripts which belonged to Rev T Foulkes, the antiquarian, though here too he got his share of abuse in the local papers "for wasting public money on books" As the convener of the Travancore University Committee he set apart an entire chapter all for the library in his *Report* When he became the Director of Public Instuction he gave large grants to the libraries of colleges and other institutions and gave liberally to the public libraries He took the inspection of these in his personal charge Every library was visited by him at least once and many, two or three times

THE SAME IN BENARES

When he migrated to Benares (1935) after retirement from Travancore service, the library of the Hindu University received a

2 Having obtained the grace difficult to get, he remembers not the greatness of help rendered He has swerved from propriety, he has forgotten his duty Let alone love, he does not know our prowess He covets and gets himself lost in the pleasures of wordly elevation

பெறல் அரும் திருப்பெற்று உதவிப்பெரும்
திறன் நினைந்திலன்; சீர்மையின் தீர்ந்தனன்;
அறம் மறந்தனன், அன்பு கிடக்க நம்
மறன் அறிந்திலன், வாழ்வில் மயங்கினான்

Kamban *Ramayanam*, Kishkindhakandam, VIII, 2

good deal of his attention His stay there was, however, too short for any great changes to be effected But, though baffled by the forces that militated against going the whole hog in the reconstruction of the library as a whole, he managed at the very beginning to take away most of the economics books from the general collection and constitute them into a special library where they may have a full chance to get their full quota of readers which they had been denied for a long time, the Third Law of Library Science (Every Book Its Reader) notwithstanding Use meant growth too They were added to considerably with this usual eye on economy and the collection was brought up to date before Sri K V R left Benares (1938)

NOW AT THE SERVICE OF SRI VENKATESWARA

Sri K V R wrote to me in his characteristic way, "With all my chronic weakness (for libraries) I am now building the last (God forbid) public library of my life at Tirupati As usual, the building up of a library means a rich addition to my worries But I contrive to enjoy the worries" One of the first larger issues to which he turned his attention shortly after assuming the Directorship of the newly established Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute (this was on 21-5-1939) was the library of the Institute Though steeped in library lore from student days Sri K V R put himself down as an amateur in library matters and realising the amazing dimensions to which library science has now grown he sought the co-operation of those whose main thought is centred on its enrichment on the theoretical as well as the practical side Once again, he instinctively adopted Deweyism He did not commit the common layman's blunder of erecting the building and thinking of the librarian thereafter His experience had taught him how effectively a badly designed library building, library furniture and library administration could prevent the normal growth and progress of libraries And so he began this job of building up the library of the Institute by a full dressed consultation with library experts He had the site and the existing plant thoroughly inspected by them Armed with their considered report on every aspect of library organisation from the design of the building down to the minutest details like the application of tags to the backs of books, Sri K V R has set about the business of building up what may prove to be one of the most 'live' oriental libraries May God Venkateswara whose name it bears and whose funds it will enrich itself with, foster it and bless it with His wealth and grace

R. SIVARAMAKRISHNA IYER,
Retd Divisional Inspector of Schools
Travancore

Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Aiyangar is one of the most arresting personalities in South India Intimate association with him in official as well as private life has but served to enhance the respect I once used to feel for him from afar I first came under his spell nearly forty years ago when he was just out of his teens and I was still in nine The occasion was a meeting of a school association at which he presided and spoke on the French Revolution I might say of that lecture what a great poet once said of the subject of that lecture 'Bliss was it then to be alive, but to be young was very heaven' For over two hours the young Professor held his audience in thrall by a vivid account in the choicest diction of the Revolution, its causes its leading personalities and its effects on the life and literature of Europe His knowledge of the subject was vast and his presentation picturesque He was not the Dry-as-Dust on whom Carlyle has heaped so much scorn Small wonder, I thought, that as a Professor he commanded universal admiration and respect and infected his students with something of his limitless passion for knowledge

A quarter of a century elapsed before I came into intimate contact with Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar and then it was in connection with the activities of the Travancore Teachers' Association of which he was the founder and the patron He took a keen interest in the Association and kept it alive and active for several years, during which it conducted a useful journal, held meetings and conferences ran a co-operative store and did much for the promotion of professional solidarity among teachers Though Mr Rangaswami Aiyengar was then not directly connected with secondary and primary schools he maintained a close connection with them and interested himself in their problems attending all meetings of the Travancore Teachers' Association and taking a leading part in the discussions His service to the teaching profession in this respect cannot be too highly estimated

My most intimate association with Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was however during the period he was Director of Public Instruction in Travancore In this capacity he showed a profound knowledge of problems connected with all branches of public instruction, a quick grasp of things and a capacity to take quick decisions Above all he brought to bear on his work extraordinary energy, and driving power He was like a live wire and his energy was felt in the remotest parts of the State and kept every one on the *qui vive* He was ever on

the move and even schools in the inaccessible interior were prepared for a surprise visit from him His notes of inspection were prepared on the spot and sent to the officers concerned immediately after the inspection His prodigious memory enabled him to draft replies to letters as soon as they were received, even without reference to previous papers His reports were generally long because he wanted each letter to be as far as possible self-sufficient and self-explanatory His subordinates in the office had to strain themselves to keep pace with him and the typists and stenographers in particular had a hard time One sometimes wished that he slept a little over his papers and did more justice to himself and his subordinates by taking things somewhat easy But *Festina lente* was a counsel that never appealed to him

One of his services as Director was the revision of the salaries of teachers in vernacular schools The question had been hanging fire for a long time, but it was reserved to Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar to push it through I remember the skill and patience with which he worked out the details of the scheme and piloted it through the Legislative Council In view of the very large number of teachers who were affected by the scheme the increase of salaries could not be very high, but it was a distinct improvement on the old scales of pay and was warmly appreciated then and is still gratefully remembered by the teachers

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar was at his best in drawing up reports on academic and administrative questions Here his wide knowledge of educational problems and his skill in quick draftsmanship stood him in good stead His first administration report of the education department submitted during the time of Dewan Mr Watts was a departure from the accepted model and contained an able resume of educational progress in the State during a period of twenty years The masterly report of the Travancore University Committee was drafted by Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar and though for financial and other reasons no immediate action was taken on the report, the University has at last come into being during the brilliant administration of his friend Sachivothama Sir C P Ramaswami Iyer and is being ably guided by him and the talented Pro-Vice-Chancellor Mr C V Chandrasekharan towards a future full of promise

I turn now to the more personal qualities of Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar, the qualities that have endeared him to his friends and admirers He will go far to do them a good turn when necessary A letter to him from even the humblest of them asking for counsel or help will invariably bring back a prompt and sympathetic reply His respect for elders and men of character is well

known Many persons in Trivandrum recall even now with a thrill the occasion of the opening of the Arts College when in the presence of a large concourse of people Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar laid down the keys of the College before his old and revered Guru the late Mr K B Ramanatha Iyer, prostrated himself before him and took back the keys from his hands

Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar does not grow old Age does not wither his freshness Time writes no wrinkle on his brow He seems to have discovered the secret of perpetual youth If one may venture to hazard a guess at the secret it must consist in the exceptional purity of his life While essentially modern in his outlook he yet lives the life of an old-world orthodox Brahmin His religious routine takes up no insignificant part of his day and as long as he was in Trivandrum he was one of the most regular worshippers at the temple of Srī Padmanabha When he was Director of Public Instruction I used to wonder whether he visited more schools or more temples He has had his share of the sorrows of life, but his faith in God has enabled him to bear them with fortitude and hope

It has been given to me to enjoy the privilege of Mr Rangaswami Aiyangar's confidence and affection and it therefore gives me genuine pleasure to felicitate him on the happy occasion of his Shashtiabdapoorthi with this humble tribute of regard and to wish him a long life of ever-increasing usefulness and of uninterrupted peace and happiness May God shower on him His Choicest Blessings

Om Shanti ! Om Shanti ! Om Shanti !

V V SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, B A , B L ,
Advocate, Madras

Last but not least—this note of appreciation from one who has known him from perhaps even before his teens I seem to remember the very place and time when he was first introduced to me It was one morning, and in the inner pial of my house known as Vani Vilas in Park Town, Madras It was his cousin, the late R Rangaswami Aiyangar later of the Servants of India Society, a brilliant young man at the time full of promises which never came to be performed It was as a brilliant student with a brilliant future that the subject of this appreciation had my interest first attracted to him This was about 50 years ago Recollecting that event from this distance of time, I cannot help feeling how much achievement in life and being able to render a good account of one's life depend not merely on brilliant capacity but on steadiness of purpose, high character, and devotion to duty

Almost from that day till now I have been more or less privileged to watch his career I am glad to be able to record, with steadily increasing measure of appreciation and admiration By one of those fortuitous freaks of fate having been for some time before I entered the profession of the Law appointed to do some teaching work in Pachaiyappa's College, I acquired the privilege of being claimed by him, even to this day, as one of his teachers I think it will do me good to believe that I was

It strikes me that I can sum up his whole career in a single sentence—What Pachaiyappa's lost Travancore gained, what Travancore lost Benares gained, what Benares lost Tirupati gained His work everywhere has been conspicuous and such as always and everywhere to evoke the devotion of enthusiastic and affectionate pupils But, all the same I am not sure that his real life-work is not before him in the future and not even in the praise-worthy and praised past With good and sufficient reason I like to believe so

If there is one word in the English language by which I can characterise the real spirit of his life and work it is the word "Pieties" It is the pieties of life that have distinguished him characteristically—the pieties of the family—the pieties of work and duty, the pieties of the searching mind, the pieties of friendship and the pieties of religion

We Hindus believe that the completion of the sixtieth year, that is to say the return of time of birth in the Indian cycle of 60 years marks a kind of new birth We may perhaps say with some appropriateness that Dwija then becomes a Trija

I feel no doubt that the qualities of his own disposition receiving a lively impetus from the striking measure of appreciation of his life and work by so many of his friends and admirers will enable him in the long remaining period of his active life achieve for the culture and the country he loves much that would make his name and fame memorable

Human life on earth if full of interest is also a great mystery, and oftentimes the very strength of a man constitutes his defect and *vice versa* And to-day at the portals of his new life which Mr Rangaswami is about to enter I cannot but give way to the feeling in my mind that he has never betrayed any levity or lighter side of his during all these years and that perhaps accounts for his having been all these years so self-centered and terribly serious of purpose And to-day when all his friends are joined together in celebrating his Shashtyabdapurthi it is my earnest prayer that his God whom he never could forget even for an hour amidst all his distracting pre-occupations, may be pleased to grant unto him strong and robust health, a long and happy life and all prosperity and success in his endeavours.

SECTION I

GENERAL INDIAN HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

NĀVISNUH PRITHĪVIPATIH
OR
THE THEORY OF THE DIVINITY OF THE KING IN HINDU POLITY

BY

DR A S ALTEKAR, M A , LL B , D LITT ,
Benares Hindu University

There is a general impression that Hindu Polity expounds the doctrine of the Divinity of the King and as a natural corollary, requires the subjects to obey their rulers implicitly It is proposed to examine this theory in the present paper and find out how far it is well founded

If we examine our earliest source of history,—the Rig-vedic literature,—we do not come across this theory or anything remotely resembling it Several kings like Pijanava, Sudāsa, Purūravas etc , are mentioned in the Rig-veda and their exploits are also often described In some cases we *have the glowing description of the unstinted generosity of* some of the kings given by their admiring priests But nowhere do we find any statement,—nay, even a hint,—to the effect that these kings were thought to be divine They were regarded as ordinary human beings like their subjects Only one king, Trasadasyu, is described as '*ardhadeva*' or semi-divine in one hymn of the Rig-veda , but the reason for his being so described is the myth that his mother Purukutsānī got him as a special favour from gods Aśvins after her husband's death [1]

In the Brāhmana literature, we can notice some fresh developments, which eventually paved the way to the theory of the divinity of the king King's victories over his enemies begin to be attributed to the divine help of God Indra;

obviously people began to think that he must be Indra's special favourite to receive this special attention. The coronation Mantras maintain that a number of gods like Savitri, Aśvins, Pūshan, enter into the person of the Purohita, when he proceeds to besprinkle the king with the holy water As a consequence, the king becomes invested with their glory and prowess,[2] which makes him something more than human. The Brāhmana literature further declares that as a result of the performance of various sacrifices, the king is united with a number of deities, becomes *saloka* with them,[3] this obviously was regarded as establishing his kinship with gods For various reasons into which we need not enter here, the Brahmana came at this time to be regarded as *bhūdeva,* or a divinity in human form , it was felt in some quarters that such a claim could be made on behalf of the king with a still greater justification, because, as the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* observes, though one, he rules over many like god Prajapati [4] Both the king and the *śrotriya* were further regarded as capable of doing and speaking only what is right ,[5] why then should not each of them be regarded as divine or semi-divine in origin ?

Perhaps the earliest instance of such a claim being made on behalf of the king is to be found in the latest book of the *Atharvaveda,* XX, 127, 7-10 Though technically now included in the *Samhitā,* this book really belongs to the Brāhmana period In this passage the greatness of king Parikshit is being extolled probably by his court panegryist, and he maintains that his patron, who was a universal sovereign, was really a divinity, excelling all mortals [6]

The obvious resemblance between the functions of a king and those of some gods gave a further impetus to the theory of the divinity of the king The great epic observes that the king is no doubt a great divinity in human form And what is the reason for advancing this doctrine ? The functional resemblance between the two. The king assumes the forms of five deities, when he discharges his different regal functions. When he burns the wicked, he becomes

Pāvaka ; when he surveys his whole kingdom by means of his spies, he becomes the Sūrya , when he tortures the vicious, he becomes Antaka , when he rewards the virtuous and condemns the sinners, he becomes Yama , when he bestows wealth upon the deserving he becomes Vaiśravana [7]

While talking of the divinity of the king, the Smritis and Purānas usually refer to his functional resemblance with the eight protectors of the quarters Deities other than those above stated, who are mentioned in this connection are usually Indra, Vāyu, Varuna and Candra Like Indra, the king is the supreme ruler over the kingdom , like Vāyu, he sets in motion good or bad tendencies and fashions in his kingdom , like Varuna, he nourishes his subjects, like Chandra he delights them [8] All Smritis and Purānas however naturally do not agree about the precise functional resemblance between the king on one side and the particular deity on the other, and this is but natural

It is however to be noted that in the vast majority of the passages referred to above, the king is only compared to the various deities; they say, for instance, that the king is *like* Indra,—*yathendro nripatistathā,*—and not that the king is Indra himself The king becomes an *Antaka* when he issues orders of execution , at other times he is a human being

When the functional resemblance between the king and the Dikpālas and other gods began to be frequently emphasised, it was but natural that some persons should take a further step and declare that the king is not like a particular god but that god himself The Mahabharata in one place makes such an explicit statement [9] Manu also subscribes to this view, and has tried to support it by his crude doctrine that the body of the king is fashioned out of the particles taken from the persons of the eight Dikpālas [10] Brihaddharma Purana perhaps expresses the same idea a little more elegantly by declaring that it is not physical particles but the qualities like sovereignty, valour, cruelty, splendour, etc.

which the king inherits from deities like Indra, Vanhi, Yama, and the Moon.[11] Since these qualities reside in the king in the most unmistakable way, he must be obviously regarded as combining their joint divinity The help of alliteration was also taken to popularise the doctrine , it was obvious that the Brāhmana was *sarvavedamaya,* there is then no wonder that the king should be *sarvavedamaya* [12]

Northern India was under the Kushāna rule during the 1st and 2nd centuries A D The Kushānas were considerably under the Chinese influence and had brought with them a number of Chinese notions One of them was the theory of the king's divinity, which was a matter of cardinal faith in the Chinese civilisation. In China the king was universally regarded as the Son of Heaven The Kushāna rulers like Wima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva began to claim the same status for themselves. In their inscriptions they definitely describe themselves as *devaputras* or Sons of heaven [13] They tried to impress this fact upon the ordinary man in the street by a novel device on their coinage Flames are shown there as issuing from their person in order to indicate their divine origin [14]

The Guptas who succeeded the Kushānas in the sovereignty of northern India were naturally not uninfluenced by this claim, which was so vividly put forth by the Kushānas. Harishena, the court panegyrist of Samudragupta describes the several superhuman qualities of his patron and concludes with the observation that he was really a *god* residing on the earth, who could be called human only because he graciously consented to follow the human conventions [15]

Courtiers and flatterers were naturally inclined to popularise this theory , so were also some of the Brāhmana thinkers, who were perhaps not uninterested in getting royal support for their theory that the Brāhmana is a *bhūdeva* The vast majority of political thinkers however did not accept this theory and its dangerous implications They admitted readily the functional resemblance between the king

and a number of gods They were even prepared to subscribe to the doctrine of the Divinity of the King, but on one important condition This condition was that it should apply only to the good, virtuous and ideal king. And conversely they maintained that if a king was bad, vicious and reprobate, he should be dubbed as *rākshasānśa* [16] They further made it clear that the subjects owe the duty of obedience only to the former and not to the latter The vicious king cannot claim the protection of the doctrine of the divine origin of kingship for his misgovernment He cannot say that like the actions of god, his own doings are above public scrutiny The moment he forsakes his duty, falls from the high ideal and begins to oppress the subjects, he ceases to be divine Śukra describes him as a dacoit in the form of the king[17] and declares unhesitatingly that the most sacred duty of his subjects is not to support his government, but to put an end to it as early as possible

Let us now see what means are suggested to accomplish this end Firstly people were to threaten non-co-operation and declare that they would invite a neighbouring ruler to oust him, of course after making sure that he was a just ruler and would govern according to law [18] If this threat was insufficient, they were to depose the vicious king and offer the throne to another virtuous member of the royal family [19] If this course was impracticable, and it was feared that the deposed ruler would carry on intrigue against the new government, then the subjects were called upon to kill the offending king like a mad dog [20] The tyrant Vena no doubt claimed that being divine in origin, his subjects could not execute him [21] But the plea proved of no avail, the infuriated sages and subjects killed him immediately after this impious utterance.

It need not be supposed that to depose or kill an unjust ruler is just like the problem of belling the cat, as many of us may be inclined to think in the present age. Circumstances however were considerably different in ancient India There was no suzerain or outside power to support an op-

pressive ruler in spite of his misgovernment. Armies usually consisted of hereditary troops and maladministration could not but affect their loyalty. On several occasions troops are known to have co-operated in deposing oppressive or incompetent rulers. The last Maurya and Śunga kings both lost their thrones because of the active support lent by the army to the revolution

But even if the army was unwilling to rebel, people could still carry out the plan of deposition or execution They were not unarmed An average adult in ancient India could wield the spear and use the sword almost as efficiently as the professional soldier in the king's army It is further to be noted,—and this is a very important point,—that the royal army possessed and fought with just those weapons, which were in the house of every citizen In the modern age, the oppressed subjects naturally find it almost impossible to rebel against an unjust administration , for while armed with simple *lathis*, they have to meet soldiers armed with rifles, machine-guns and aeroplanes This hopeless and desperate inequality did not exist in ancient India So the right to rebel which has been given to oppressed subjects by ancient Indian political thinkers, was no empty right It could be exercised with success The Jātaka literature refers to several cases of wicked kings being driven out or executed for outraging women, showing ingratitude, or conniving at or encouraging misgovernment [22] And Manu himself, who advances the theory of king's divinity, does not fail to include in his code a list of tyrants who met a well-merited end at the hands of their oppressed subjects [23]

In the West the doctrine of the divinity of the king was mainly advanced in order to invest the ruler with an arbitrary power Blackstone has maintained that an erring prince must be left to the rebuke of his own conscience and to his personal accountability to God Bishop Bossuet has contended that it is wholly wrong to look upon a king as a mere man ; he is in fact an image of the majesty of God himself Even open impiety on the part of a king does not absolve

his subjects from the obedience which they owe to him Hindu political thinkers have advanced no such ridiculous claims on behalf of the king, even when they were prepared to admit his divine origin in a figurative way They were prepared to regard a king as divine in origin only if he was an ideal ruler ; if he was of an opposite type, he was pronounced to be a devil and then the duty of the subjects was not to obey him, but to oust him and free the kingdom from his oppression.

It is further to be noted that not even those writers like Manu who were advocating the divine origin for the king, were prepared to clothe him with an inherent infallibility on account of his superhuman origin They were not prepared to subscribe to the theory ' the king can do no wrong ' They point out that the phrase, to err is human was applicable to the king of divine origin with a greater vengeance than to ordinary mortals On account of his power, position and prestige, the king was more liable to err and fall a victim to temptations than was the case with ordinary human beings Manu earnestly draws the attention of his king of divine origin to the fact that *Kâma*, *Krodha* and *Lobha* would expose him to numerous pitfalls, and that therefore he should be always on his guard to avoid them [24]

The advocates of the divine origin of king did not believe that the king comes in this world endowed with an innate superhuman wisdom He is at his birth as innocent of wisdom as the meanest of his subjects His divinity does not dispense with the necessity of a careful and comprehensive training As a matter of fact it can be unfolded only by the latter Manu therefore is careful to point out that the education of the prince has to be carried out with very great care He must learn modesty He must cultivate self control He must wait upon the *gurus* He must study the different sciences. He must be himself virtuous and religious [25] Then alone could a claim to divinity be put forth on his behalf

2

Nor did the so-called divine origin invest the king with omnipotence or omniscience. He could not claim the right to govern the kingdom all alone on account of his superhuman origin. Even Manu who has put forth the rather crude theory that a king's body is fashioned out of the particles taken directly out of the persons of the *dikpālas*, reminds him that he could never hope to govern a kingdom well except with the willing and genuine co-operation of his ministers and advisors [26] Different people have different aptitudes and capacities. Even the divine king can never hope to combine them all [27]

We have seen above that the divinity of the king was not regarded as investing him with an immunity from mistakes or sins But this was not all. The sins and mistakes of the subjects were attributed to the king and the king was held accountable for them Śukra points out that it is the king who sets the fashions, people follow them more or less out of helplessness. If therefore he leads a vicious life and the subjects follow his example, he is accountable to God for not only his own sins but for those of his subjects as well.[28] It is needless to add that the divinity of the king was never regarded by any thinkers as investing him n any immunity from the law of Karma He would s r his sins and misdeeds as surely as his meanest subjec er by a long torture in hell or by a series of low births. must add in passing that these were far more important sanctions in the past than they are at present

If the king was in a way divine, the Dha ma was still more so, and it was the king's duty to enforce it He could not take any liberty with it At the time of the coronation he had to take an oath that he would faithfully carry out all the provisions of the Dharmic laws [29] The figurative divinity of the king was thus counterbalanced by the genuine divinity of the sacred law

Side by side with this doctrine of the figurative divinity of the king, there were other important theories in the field

which we have also to survey while trying to assess the hold of the divinity theory. The Dharmasūtras advance the view that the king is a servant of the people, receiving as his wages the sixth portion of the corn.[30] In return for these wages, he was bound to protect the people including, according to Medhātithi, even those who were not paying any taxes on account of their poverty.[31] Kauṭilya, Nārada and Śukra all subscribe to this theory[32]

Another theory that is frequently advanced about the king is that he is a trustee for his subjects. The taxes he collects are not intended to be spent merely for his own needs , he is to hold them in trust for his subjects and spend them for their welfare [33] He is of course at liberty to take a reasonable amount for his private expenses, but he must always remember that the bulk of the revenue is with him in trust, and must be spent for the uplift of his subjects

The *Agnipurāna* however goes a step further and declares that the king is something much more than a trustee A trustee is never required by the modern law to sacrifice his own interest in favour of the person for whom he is a trustee It is sufficient if he refrains from taking any direct or indirect advantage from his position as a trustee and discharges ably and conscientiously all his duties The *Agnipurāna* maintains that the king's position is really like that of an expectant mother Just as she sacrifices her own convenience and pleasures with the laudable object that the expected baby should prosper in the womb, so also the king must sacrifice his own ease, convenience and happiness in order to promote the prosperity of the subjects committed to his charge According to Kālidāsa also he is the ideal king, who is indifferent to his own pleasures but toils for the happiness of his subjects [34]

The above survey of the political thought of the ancient Hindus will show that the theory of the divinity of the king was half-heartedly propounded only by a section of social thinkers. Even they however did not hold that it invested

the king with a divine right to rule in any unrighteous or arbitrary way he liked. There is evidence to show that the kings who took their divinity seriously exposed themselves to the ridicule of society.[35] The vast majority of the political thinkers did not at all subscribe to this theory of divine origin They held that the correct view is to regard the king as a trustee for the subjects, whose sacred duty it was to promote their progress and welfare even at the cost of his own convenience and pleasures.

NOTES

1 ते अजायन्त त्रसदस्युमस्यै इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धदेवम् ।
पुरुकुत्सानी हि वामदाशद्धवेभिरिन्द्रावरुणा नमोभिः ।
अथा राजानं त्रसदस्युमस्यै वृत्रहणं ददथुरर्धदेवम् । IV 42, 8-9

2 देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवेऽश्विनोर्बाहुभ्यां पूष्णोर्हस्ताभ्या मग्नेस्तेजसा सूर्यस्य वर्च-सेन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियेणाभिषिञ्चामि । *Ait Br*, VIII 2-7

3 तद्येदेनं देवैस्संगमयति देवैरेवैत सलोकं कुर्वन्ति । *Śat. Br* , XIII 4 4-3.

4 एष वै प्रजापतेः प्रत्यक्षतमा यद्राजन्यो यदेकः सन्बहूनीष्टे ।
Ibid, V 1 5 14

5 *Ibid*, V 5 4-5

6 राज्ञो देवो विश्वजनीनस्य यो देवो मर्त्यां अधि । XX, 127.7

7 यदा ह्यासीदतः पापान्दहत्युग्रेण तेजसा ।
मिथ्योपचरितो राजा तदा भवति पावक. ॥
यदा पश्यति चारेण सर्वभूतानि भूमिपः ।
क्षेमं च कृत्वा व्रजति तदा भवति भास्करः ॥
अशुचींश्च यदा क्रुद्धः क्षिणोति शतशो नरान् ।
सपुत्रपौत्रान्सामात्यांस्तदा भवति सोऽन्तकः ॥
यदा त्वधार्मिकान्सर्वांस्तीक्ष्णैर्दण्डैर्नियच्छति ।
धार्मिकांश्चानुगृह्णाति भवत्यथ यमस्तदा ॥
यदा तु धनधाराभिस्तर्पयत्युपकारिणः ।
तदा वैश्रवणो राजा लोके भवति भूमिपः ॥ *Mbh*, XII, 67, 41 *ff*

8 *Śukranīti*, I, 75 *ff*

9 नहि जात्ववमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिप. ।
महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥
Mbh., XII 67 40, Manu, VII 8

10. यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभिर्निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ VII, 5.

11 इन्द्रात्प्रभुत्वं वह्नेः प्रतापं यमात्क्रौर्यं श्रियं विधोः ।
धनं कुबेरात्सत्वं च नीत्वा राम जनार्दन ॥
राज्ञः शरीरं क्रियते विधात्रा धरणीतले । *Uttarakhanḍa,* 3 8

12 सर्ववेदमयो विप्रः सर्वदेवमयो नृप. । *Bhāgavata,* VII 11, 20

13 महाराजातिराजदेवपुत्रहुविष्कस्य ······|
Mathura Inscriptions, J R A S , 1924, p 379

14. Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Coins in British Museum, Pl XXV, Nos 6-7.

15 लोकसमयक्रियाविधानमात्रमानुषस्य लोकधाम्नो देवस्य ॥
Allahabad Praśasti

16 गुणिजुष्टस्तु यो राजा स ज्ञेयो देवतांशकः ।
विपरीतस्तु रक्षोंऽशः स वै नरकभाजनः ॥*Sukra* I 87.

17 हिताहितं न शृणोति राजा मंत्रिमुखाच्च य. ।
स दस्यू राजरूपेण प्रजाना धनहारकः ॥ II 257.

18 अधर्मशीलो नृपतिर्यदा तं भीषयेज्जनः ।
धर्मशीलातिबलवद्रिपोराश्रयतः सदा ॥ IV 1.13

19 गुणनीतिबलद्वेषी कुलभूतोऽप्यधार्मिकः ।
नृपो यदि भवेत्तं तु त्यजेद्राष्ट्रविनाशकम् ॥ •
तत्पदे तस्य कुलजं गुणयुक्तं पुरोहितः ।
प्रकृत्यनुमतिं कृत्वास्थापयेद्राज्यगुप्तये ॥*Ibid* , II 275-6

20 अरक्षितारं हर्तारं विलोप्तारमनायकम् ।
तं वै राजकलिं हन्यु. प्रजाः संनह्य निर्घृणम् ॥ *Mbh* , XIII, 36 38
Compare also *Śivapurāna*, 20, 125 which is a paraphrase of the above verse

21 नावध्येयो महीपालः प्रजाभिरघवानपि ।
यदसौ लोकपालाना बिभर्त्योज. स्वतेजसा ॥

22 Thus Sachchankira Jātaka tells us how the nobles and Brahmanas of Benares killed their wicked king when he proceeded to execute the virtuous Bodhisatva who had saved his life In Padakusalanayana Jataka, we find a king being killed by his infuriated subjects because he wanted to punish a thief whom he himself had instigated Nay, if a king caused famine by his unrighteous acts, he had to forfeit his life

23 VII 41

24 दश कामसमुत्थानि तथाष्टौ क्रोधजानि च ।
व्यसनानि दुरन्तानि प्रयत्नेन विवर्जयेत् ॥ VII 45
द्वयोरप्येतयोर्मूलं यं सर्वे कवयो विदुः ।
तं यत्नेन जयेल्लोभं तज्जावेतौ गणौ उभौ ॥ VII.49.

25. तेभ्यो (वृद्धेभ्यो) धिगच्छेद्विनयं विनीतात्मापि नित्यशः । *Manu*, VIII.39.
इन्द्रियाणां जये योगं समातिष्ठेत्प्रयत्नतः ।
जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे स्थापयितुं प्रजा. ॥ *Manu*, VII 44
शुचिरास्तिक्यपूतात्मा पूजयेद्देवताः सदा । *Sukra*, I 172

26 अपि यत्सुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।
विशेषतोऽसहायेन किं नु राज्यं महाफलम् ॥ VII.56.

27. पुरुषे पुरुषे भिन्नं दृश्यते बुद्धिवैभवम् ....।
न हि तत्सकलं ज्ञातुं नरेणैकेन शक्यते ॥ II.5-6

28 युगप्रवर्तको राजा धर्माधर्मप्रशिक्षणात् ।
युगानां न प्रजानां न दोषः किंतु नृपस्य हि ।
प्रसन्नो येन नृपतिस्तदाचरति वै जनः ।
लोभाद्भयाच्च किं तेन शिक्षितं नाचरेत्कथम् ॥ IV 1 60-1

29 प्रतिज्ञां चावरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ॥
यश्चात्र धर्म इत्युक्तः सर्वलोकव्यपाश्रयः ।
तमशंक· करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥ Mbh , XII 59, 115-6

30 षड्भागभृतो राजा रक्षेत्प्रजाम् । *B D S* ,I 10.1

31 सर्वस्य करदस्य दीनानाथादेश्च (कर्तव्यं परिरक्षणम्) ।
On Manu VII 2

32 स्वभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः कृतः । ,*Śukra*, I 188
अन्यप्रकारादुचिताद्भूमे षड्भागसंज्ञितात् ।
बलिः स तस्य विहितः प्रजापालनवेतनम् ॥ Nāɪada, XVII 48

33 बलप्रजारक्षणार्थं यज्ञार्थं कोषसंग्रह· ।
परत्रेह च सुखदो नृपस्यान्यश्च दुःखदः ॥ *Śukra*, IV 2 3

34 स्वसुखनिरभिलाषः खिद्यसे लोकहेतोः ।. Śākuntala, Act V

35 प्रतारणकुशलैर्धूर्तैरमानुषलोकोचिताभिः स्तुतिभिः प्रतार्यमाणाः······आत्मन्यारोपितालीकाभिमानाः मर्त्यधर्माणोऽपि दिव्यांशावतीर्णमिव सदैवतमिवातिमानुषमात्मानमनुप्रेक्षमाणाः प्रारब्धदिव्योचितचेष्टानुभवाः सर्वजनस्योपहास्यतामुपयंति ।
Kādambarī, Śukanāsa's advıce

FOREIGN INVASIONS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON INDIAN ART

BY

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On this subject, the last word has, perhaps, been said by Roger Fry Speaking about Indian art he says . " It is one of the most original and self-contained arts of which we know, proceeding upon principles which distinguish it in some ways from all other known arts. The surviving monuments of Indian art begin at a relatively late date, viz, third century B C , and though in this and the subsequent period foreign—Persian and Graeco-Roman—influences are apparent, it developed almost immediately that specific quality that was to distinguish it throughout " Roger Fry is thinking here only about the early history of our art, but what he says applies equally to later periods, and let us hope that the tendencies we note in our own day towards a blind—even feeble—imitation of Western art are as ephemeral as those in the eclectic phase of our art history to which he refers But not all writers are as emphatic as he is on the essential independence of foreign influences that our art has exhibited through the ages There are those who would only accept this view with some qualifications , there are others who roundly maintain that the much vaunted originality of Indian art is a figment of the imagination The latter probably have an unconscious feeling that nothing really good has come out of India The critics, for example, who stress the importance of the Gandhara school of art show, as Havell shrewdly points out, a rooted conviction that everything Greek is necessarily superior to everything Indian However that may be, our

task here is merely to estimate the degree of influence, if any, that foreign invasions have brought to bear on our art.

In the face of all the evidence that is before us, it would be futile to insist that Indian art has borrowed nothing at all from foreign sources It will be found on examination that this is not really inconsistent with Roger Fry's view, which it may be mentioned here, is shared by Havell and Laurence Binyon. None of these writers are so foolish as to maintain that Indian art is completely free from foreign elements. They only believe that these elements have been thoroughly Indianised, assimilated rather than merely incorporated. It would, in their opinion, be going too far to say that Indian art has been strongly influenced by, or derived inspiration from, Western Asia or Greece merely because it has borrowed a few motives from them We may summarise their argument by saying that the spirit which has informed our art has always remained the same, whatever foreign elements may have been absorbed It has changed, rather than been changed by those elements

Let us look for instance at what happened to Indian art after the invasion of Skylax of Kariandia, the general sent by Darius, son of Hystaspes Grunwedel gives us a formidable list of various ideas for which Indian art is indebted to Western Asia If numbers alone were a sufficient argument, this list would conclusively prove that the art was almost bodily imported from Persia But let us fortify our spirits with the thought that numbers are *not* enough and pursue Grunwedel's analysis He mentions as an example of strong Persian influence the hall with Perso-Indian columns represented in a relief on the east gateway of the stupa at Sanchi The Persian pillar with the bell-shapped capital, according to him, was copied directly It was often set up in Asokan times as an inscription pillar When standing alone, the bell-capital served as a basis for one or more lions or elephants or a religious symbol, e g, the Wheel. When it supported a building, it provided a basis for an abacus on which, turned towards the sides, winged

figures of animals winged horses, gazelles, goats, lions or sitting elephants were placed A host of hybrid forms of birds and animals were employed for which it is difficult to find Indian names. Mythical plants figured here and there in the reliefs, suggested probably by the Assyrian Tree of Life

Let us mention a few of these imaginative forms Among the most frequent are the Nagas, represented sometimes as human beings with the hood of a snake above their heads, rather in the manner of the Egyptian Uraeus-Snake But they are also quite often represented with the bodies of snakes and with the hood above their heads This form is used when they are shown in their native element—water Grunwedel suggests that the latter was almost certainly derived from West Asian prototypes The frescoes at Ajanta abound in both types A further notable example of the use of these monstrous inventions is provided by the relief on the inner side of the second architrave of the east gateway, Sanchi Along with animals like the buffalo and the gazelle, rendered with surprising fidelity to nature, we find oxen with human faces, with long, pointed beards and finely twisted manes, every lock represented according to rule, reminding us very strongly of the Assyrian cherub Let us end the list with just one more mythical figure—Garuda The modern Garuda has a double origin It may be traced on the one hand to the native parrot-type to be seen in Sanchi and on the other to the West Asian griffin Buddhist art retained the griffin, but soon, we do not know when, the griffin received human arms And now Garuda resembles the Chinese Thien-Kou (Celestial Dog)

We have no need to deny all or any of the points in the argument just outlined All we have to say is that nothing has so far been mentioned to suggest that Indian art was Persianised in the least—Persianised, that is, in the underlying spirit Now Grunwedel is one of those writers who believe that the originality of Indian art has been over-empha-

sised. But let us catch him making an important admission. "Types required by Buddhist art for different beings were borrowed from the hybrid forms of Western Asia but the art imagination *adapted the borrowed forms for its own needs, nationalising them,* and some cases succeeded admirably in re-animating and developing them—evidently because indigenous types of a similar character already existed." On this point, therefore there is really no fundamental difference of opinion between the two opposing schools of thought At the risk of annoying the reader, it may be repeated that the men who believe in the originality of Indian art believe only in an originality of spirit It may be true that most of the buildings raised by Asoka used the architectural devices that adorned the edifices at Persepolis; in fact, it is true The little that remains of the stupa at Bharhut points clearly to this fact But it points to another fact as well which in our impatience we are likely to ignore. It points to a long and worthy tradition that has gone before it Persian artisans were probably employed in it, but so were Indian craftsmen As Havell remarks, the stone railing at Bharhut reveals an indigenous style, evolved probably by the Dravidian, Saka and Yue-Chi elements of the population—for these formed the artisan class The difficulty with regard to this period is that so few monuments that have survived The stupa at Bharhut is the earliest in existence The richly carved stone pillars seem to be translations in stone of ideas appropriate to wood-work And the buildings before Asoka's time, it may be remembered, were in wood—none of which has survived. Further, the examples in stone showing Persian influence are too few and too far between to enable us to form a proper estimate of that influence

And the Persian elements that have been definitely borrowed have suffered a change into something rich and strange. Let us look for instance at the queer hybrid creatures that have found their way in the stupa at Sanchi The Indian has too great a love of animal life to reduce animals

to the position of mere decorative elements. So with a charming naivete he revitalised the Assyrian cherub, the griffin and all the rest of those fantastic creatures He has no interest in purely geometrical designs, and so, in between mythical plants—which receives a surprising vitality at his hands—he introduces birds that seem to flit about and which certainly reveal a fine observation of nature One word more on this point The way these hybrid forms are mixed—without any sort of apology—along with real animals seems to point to a deliberate theory—a view of life, essentially Indian Grunwedel suspects that it has some connection with the theory of re-incarnation It is interesting to note here that the Chino-Japanese tradition assigns to the Centaur-like art-forms the name of Tiryagyonis as the representatives of quadrupeds within the transmigratory gradation

We have been talking so far about the details from the reliefs at Sanchi Possibly we are missing the wood for the trees Let us therefore turn from the details to the great stupa itself—to that colossal hemispherical dome simulating the blue vault of heaven and the stone umbrellas on top, representing various stages in the ascent to Nirvana Standing in deep silence and overlooking a vast expanse of land—the Buddhists always sought the loneliness of hills and the distant view it seems to fill our souls overpoweringly with a sense of the futility of all desire, what is this structure but an eloquent symbol in stone—eloquent in its very silence—of the deepest convictions of the Indian race?

Let us now turn to the invasion of Alexander and see what influence it had on the development of Indian art Students of history, even those who are not particularly keen on art, are acquainted with that hybrid school of art, known as the Gandhara school We shall come to it presently, but we might just note here that there was another similar school within Indian borders—less known perhaps, but not less interesting This was the Indo-Hel-

lenic school (to borrow the name from V. A. Smith) which flourished in Mathura, where a few examples of their work may still be found Among the products of this school may be mentioned the Silenus relief Hercules with the Nemaean lion appears here But just as prominent as the Hellenic influence are the typically Indian features The figure of the woman in the relief is, in its rhythm and its exaggerated outline, definitely Indian. This is but one instance of the general tendency in Indian art gradually to Indianise foreign elements The same process is clearly at work in Gandhara, though not quite so apparent Here too we find peculiarly Greek figures The pigmies in Gandharan sculpture are like Cupids—compare them with those at Sanchi In the Jamalgarhi stupa, the usual representations of Jataka stories are followed by convivial scenes, obviously of foreign origin The wine-press, figuring in the relief, was, it may be mentioned, unknown to the Indians. The Buddhas carved in Gandhara resemble Greek gods—there is one which might easily pass for Apollo The treatment of the hair and the drapery—the latter, it must be admitted is often very finely done—betrays Greek craftsmanship Needless to multiply instances The strong tendency to idealise is plain enough This, even more than the use of Greek images or the Greek technique, is what makes the Gandhara school so distinctive a branch of Indian art The influence of this school was not confined to the place from which it takes its name, nor was Mathura the only sphere of Gandharan influence, which seems to have penetrated as far south as Amaravathi The Gandhara school, more than any other factor, was responsible for the introduction of the image of Buddha in Indian sculpture It is notably absent, it may be remembered, in Sanchi, where Buddha's previous births and some scenes connected with his life are represented, but never Buddha in person. In Amaravathi his image appears—naturally in the centre of the reliefs, with lesser people around him in the order of their importance . The single figures seem more refined

and the draperies betray slight Gandharan influence The austere type of face is more or less abandoned

But here let us remind ourselves of a few facts of the opposite sort We have been talking so far about Gandhara and Amaravathi And at this point a very interesting adaptation of a Greek motif comes to mind. There is a frieze in Swat, depicting a few boys bearing a huge garland The idealised bodies of the children, and the composition, are all definitely Greek The same theme is repeated with interesting local variation in a rail coping at Amaravathi The boys become men and the garland is transformed into a snake-roll, and the whole thing is nothing if not Indian Another noteworthy point Right in Gandhara, the centre of the new art, Indian ideas prevail in spite of the Greek workmen employed In the stupa at Jamalgarhi, we find the Buddhist Wheel with two couchant gazelles beside it, a kind of Indian hieroglyph for Buddha's first sermon In many reliefs, we find Indian terraces with round dormer windows according to the Indian pattern as it appears in Sanchi and Bharhut Coming back to Amaravathi, the single figures, as we have noted, are *refined,* but they are merely over-refined figures of the older Indian art The composition of the relief, good or bad—that is a question we cannot go into now—is *different* from that which had received the blessing of the Gandhara school It has a crowded effect which contrasts strongly with the economy of the Graeco-Roman composition

There can be no doubt that the art of Gandhara itself was moulded by Graeco Roman ideals and that it would have been different if the Greek invasion had not happened But it is fatally easy to over-estimate the importance of the Gandhara school in Indian art Listen, for example, to Sir George Birdwood, who goes so far as to say that Indian art has received its finest inspiration from the Greeks and the Mughals We shall come to the Mughals later on, but here we shall quote what Havell has to say about it Quite emphatically he disputes the theory of Birdwood and says :

"Gandharan art is decadent and lifeless; the more it becomes Indian, the more it becomes alive."

What effect has the Greek invasion produced on Indian painting? Now, one of the mysteries of the history of our art is the complete absence of any evidence of painting for a thousand years after Ajanta and Bagh. And when painting does re-appear in the seventeenth century, it is totally different Not only different, but comparatively primitive Rajput and Mughal paintings were entirely in two dimensions, whereas the painters at Ajanta and Bagh, particularly Bagh, had a wonderful plastic sense. They showed a remarkable facility in rendering difficult aspects of vision —an excellent example of this is afforded by the elephant procession in Bagh, here there is pictured a "movement not merely across the space before the spectator, but obliquely from the background towards the front" (Binyon) How does one account for this? A rather facile explanation has been advanced that this points to Mediterranean influence But this theory cannot bear the slightest examination The figures in the frescoes are absolutely Indian in character Nor do we find the same freedom of narrative style, the same rhythmical felicity, the same ease in rendering difficult positions of the body anywhere else at the time We may, therefore, accept the verdict of Laurence Binyon who says that the relation is more with early Indian sculpture, e.g, the stone dryad at Sañchi "There is the same seizure of living form, the same feeling of exuberance" Why no tradition of this art was left behind is nothing more or less than a mystery

We have mentioned Mughal and Rajput painting just a while ago, and so we are led almost by a natural transition to the Mughal invasion With this came a resuscitation of Persian culture in India Mughal art is greatly indebted to Persian art—so is the Indian style that developed later on. But even here it is easy to exaggerate And one is also apt to forget the influence of European art that came into

India with the Portuguese, who, it might be said, initiated as invasion of a novel type which was to end in the establishment of the British empire What exactly was the extent of Persian influence on Indian art during the Mughal period? The strength of the new school was in portraiture—but portraits were rare in Persian art The Mughal painters excelled in rendering the features of the emperors and noblemen so varied in race and type, who thronged the court—as one may see from the portraits and the miniatures that have come down to us. The Hindu artists who worked at small courts away from the imperial capital evolved a style that was genuinely Indian They probably owed to the Persian example "something of the suavity flow which is special charm of their line-drawing" (Binyon) Here it would be interesting to compare the famous line-drawing of a camel and a groom by a sixteenth century Persian master and the Rajput animal drawings A notable example of eloquent line-drawing may be found in the Rajput drawing of two lovers in a pavilion Reproductions of these pictures may be seen in Laurence Binyon's 'Spirit of Man in Asian Art'

Western influence in our art dates from the seventeenth century It begins with the introduction in India of engravings of religious subjects by Fleming and Dutch artists Although these were of rather poor quality, they had the freshness of novelty in their feeling for the third dimension and atmospheric effect Tentative attempts were made by Mughal artists to introduce light and shade (there is a famous example of this in the British Museum representing Shah Jehan visiting a hermit), but no revolutionary change in style occurred Western influence, however, has survived the Mughal empire as may be seen today by the way in which the various schools of painting after having had their day in Europe, find their heaven here—Impressionism, Cubism and all the rest of them. Surrealism and Abstract Art have not yet worked their way to India. These attempts lack the sincerity that comes with spontaneity. They do not express anything vividly experienced, but

are merely imitative. Three distinct tendencies may be noted today First of all, there is a complete departure from the Indian tradition as regards style as well as subject-matter. Our art exhibitions are flooded with pictures that would have shocked the artistic consciousness of the ancient Indians—Still-Life pictures in particular would have seemed frivolous. Landscape-painting has also now captured our fancy Our forefathers, with all their love of nature —one has only to look at the bull at Mahabalipuram and the elephant at Konarak to be convinced of that—never represented Nature as a whole in their art Our present landscape painting is, therefore, solely inspired by foreign examples—the plain-air pictures of the Flemish school, the Venetian masters, the English and French schools and last, but not least, the Chinese landscape painters A second tendency a rather unfortunate one—attempts a naive compromise, treating old, classical themes in the modern manner—the sort of art popularised by Ravi Varma This artist's rendering of scenes and people from ordinary life is certainly more honest and more pleasing A third tendency is to revive Indian art in its ancient glory Kshitish Mazumdar depicts classical themes in the classical manner—Chaitanya and Krishna being his favourite subjects Tagore, Mazumdar and others of the Bengal school also explore new ground as regards subject-matter, and the technique employed by them is not wholly a revival Perhaps something new is being achieved in this direction But with all their reverence for past tradition, these artists have not closed their doors entirely to Western influence. The spirit that informs their work, however, remains truly Indian Are we then witnessing once again the tendency of Indian art to absorb foreign elements without losing its individuality? Has the future then in store for us an authentic Indian style, beside which the work of our time will appear feeble and uninspired ?

We wonder . .

AN INTRIGUING STATEMENT IN ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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Professor K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar is one of the few scholars who take the view that Aśoka could not have been a Buddhist as has been made out in the last century mostly by European scholars. And this paper is a fitting tribute to his scholarship and erudition.

In the first Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, the following statement is made:

> " Yā Imāya Kālāya Jambudipasi Amisā devā husu te dāni misā Katā | pakamasi hi esa phale | nō ca esā·mahatatā pāpotave khudakena pi, pakama minenā sakiye pipulē pā svaye Ārōddhīve " (Rūpanāth Rock Inscription).

This enigmatical sentence, as Hultzsch put it, has been interpreted and re-interpreted by scholars and unfortunately it is so intriguing that the last word has not yet been said on this I shall give below the translation as rendered by some scholars who have been at pains to arrive at a correct interpretation.

' Those Gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men) in Jambūdvīpa have now been made (by me) mingled (with them) For this is the fruit of Zeal And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is Zealous' (Hultzsch, *Corpus* P 168).

'The Gods who upto this time had been unassociated (with men) in India have now become associated. For this is the fruit of exertion Nor is that to be obtained by greatness only because even by the small man who exerts himself immense heavenly bliss may be won'. (V. A Smith 'Aśoka'.)

'During this period Gods, who were unmixed were caused to be mixed (with men) throughout Jambūdvīpa For this is the fruit of exertion This is to be attained not by the superior one only. But, indeed it is possible for even a subordinate one, if he exerts himself, to cause (people) to attain much heavenly bliss' (D. R Bhandarkar 'Aśoka')

'Thus during this time the people in Jambūdvīpa who had remained unassociated with the Gods became associated with the Gods Of exertion indeed is thus the result! But this cannot be attained by the great alone For the small, too, can attain to a wide heaven of bliss by sustained exertion! (R K Mookerji 'Aśoka' pp 110 & 113)

We thus see that the translation of the passage by different scholars is almost identical but for slight alterations in meaning here and there In commenting on it Hultzsch made the remark that it is a reference to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects in *effigies* the Gods whose abodes they could reach only by rigid practice of *dharma* He believed that the term 'deva' corresponded to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Girnar Edict Dr Bhandarkar almost agrees with this Aśokan scholar and refers to the Rock Edict IV where instituting spectacles of vimāna, hastin, and agni skandas by the King, possibly in the Samājas, of the pomp and glory of the Gods, is a paraphrase of the passage under review This exhibition not only provides food for amusement but also a means to attain heavenly felicity It is highly doubtful whether the passage bears any relation to the Samājams of Gods etc, referred to in the Fourth Rock Edict The commingling, in the Minor Rock Edict, need not all be in the form of the ex-

hibitions suggested. The exhibitions are more for amusement than for a life of piety, though the educative value of such shows may not be questioned Kautalya in his *Artha-śāstra* makes mention of such shows only to placate the masses, and thus contrive to enrich the treasury of the state by levying a fee for admission It appears that Aśoka who is a close follower of the Kautalīyan school refers to revenue and accounts in R E III and IV The passage relating to the shows is to be read in continuation of the concluding sentences of the R E III Unfortunately a tradition has been built to look upon all these ordinances as religious in character, though actually most of them are administrative and political edicts

Let me examine what other scholars have commented on the passage in question. Dr V A Smith reads in here 'true teaching raises men to the level of the Gods—Ye shall be Gods' This seems to be a possible explanation. Dr Mookerji makes a searching examination and thinks only two interpretations can be justified One is that men who had no Gods, became worshippers of Gods The other is that the war of jarring sects had been put an end to A certain harmony of religions, it is said, has been brought about by the earnest efforts of Aśoka This seems to be a little far-fetched Another possible explanation is that sought by Dr. F. W Thomas who says that Aśoka has brought the Brahmana Gods to the knowledge of people viz, wild tribes (C H I Vol I P 505)

But this again seems to be rather far-fetched Most of the scholars quoted above have taken for granted that Aśoka had joined the Buddhist Saṅgha and had since essayed to inculcate religious discipline among all classes of his people, high or low, wild tribe or civil population But these had entirely discarded the fundamental fact that this passage refers to *deva* or gods, and to *svarga* or heaven In the Buddhist system there is no place for God, and as has been rightly pointed out by J M Macphail the followers of the Buddha who felt the need for a god used the Buddha himself as a

God. If Aśoka speaks of association of Gods with men, and believes in the existence of Gods and their pomp and glory, it is ten to one that he was not a follower of the Buddhist faith but that he was a follower of the Brahmanical faith which believes in numerous gods and their commerce with men

The second point to be noted is the mention of the expression *svarga* and heavenly felicity The Buddhist as such does not believe in the bliss of heaven. It is the Brahmanical Hindu who alone has faith in the attainment of its pleasures The repeated reference to *svarga* in various inscriptions of Aśoka shows Aśoka to be an out-and-out adherent of the Brahmanical faith. The Buddhist, as every one knows, believes in the Nirvāna, a state of cessation of renewed birth in this world He is born again who does not reach Nirvāna. Thus in the scheme of Buddhist religion there is no place for *svarga* But Aśoka mentions it in season and out of season In the light of this fact the explanation offered by Dr. F W Thomas that Aśoka introduced the Brahman gods to people who were godless like wild tribes can perhaps be accepted

Much more plausible is that this interesting statement is based practically on an aphorism of the great lawmaker Āpastamba who lived about the fifth century B C Āpastamba says .

सह देव मनुष्या अस्मिल्लोके पुरा बभूवु ।
अथ देवा कर्मभिर्दिव जग्मुरहीयन्त मनुष्याः ।
तेषां ये तथा कर्माण्यारभन्ते सहदेवैर्ब्रह्मणा चामुष्मिन्लोके भवन्ति ।
अथैतन्मनुः श्राद्धशब्दं कर्म प्रोवाच । प्रजानिश्रेयसा च ॥

II. 7-16 1-2.

—cf Bhandarkar's Aśoka, p 329 n. 3.

George Bühler translates this as follows · —

" Formerly men and gods lived together in this world Then the Gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven,

but men were left behind Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell (after death) with the Gods and Brahmā in heaven. Now (seeing men left behind) Manu revealed this ceremony, which is designated by the word 'Śrāddha'.

"And thus this rite has been revealed for the salvation of mankind"

Aśoka who was ever interested in the moral and material welfare of his subjects (*prajāniśreyasa* of Āpastamba) exhibits his anxiety to create a heaven on the earth. In those epochs of a golden age, Krtam, Dvāparam and Treta yugams, gods lived with men on earth, and made the earth itself a heavenly abode But with the march of time, men began to lose faith and consequently neglected their *Karma* which was their *dharma* The result was that gods left these men and went to their permanent abodes the home of Brahman By the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, and by contact with the Greeks and other aliens, the people of Jambūdvīpa became slack in the pursuit of their established *dharma.* Aśoka was afraid that to such persons the portals of Heaven would remain shut So he appeals to his people to stick to their old customs and to practise *prakarma* or in the words of Āpastamba *śraddha* This practice would enable them to attain the *devahood* or the great Heaven. The Devas whom we may designate (mahatata) attained the heavenly home by performing their *dharma* Men on earth should not look upon themselves as in any way inferior, and the Gods alone superior By pursuing the traditional path, men could get over their inferiority complex and become gods on earth, and ultimately enjoy the bliss of Heaven Godhood is determined only by one's *Karma,* as a tree is judged by its fruits This is why we often meet with statements in the Śāstras and Purāṇas that Brahmans are gods, and a king is a god Surely these do not smack anything of the divine right of the Brahmana or Ksatriya There were no divine characteristics in either. But by their *karma* or exertion members of all castes personified the attributes which are

appropriate to a deva or divinity. It may be noted in passing that the Sūdra caste was not excluded in the scheme of Varnadharama It was incumbent on them to perform what is known as Pākayajña In other words Aśoka wants to create Heaven on the earth during his reign. His ambition is to see that every subject of his follows his *svadharma* established by law and tradition He wants to earn the distinction of a righteous ruler by enforcing *dharma* which mainly consists of exerting oneself in his *karma* Thus this inscription is yet another evidence to establish that Aśoka was not a Buddhist.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER TIPU SULTAN

BY

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In the earlier half of his reign Tipu's attention appears to have been directed not only to the increase of the revenue of the state but also to the prosperity of his kingdom The revenue administration was, in the words of one of the Sultan's contemporaries,[1] "at no time under so vigorous an administration as it was in the early part of the reign of Tippoo Sultan" The truth of this remark is indicated by his revenue regulations, attitude towards the existing arrangements and practices in his dominions and his own personal industry and attention to administration, although the Sultan's great religious zeal, obstinacy and vanity led him early in his reign and more prominently towards the end of the first decade of his rule to introduce changes detrimental to his own interests

"The well-regulated, vigorous government of Haider," remarked a British Officer in 1791,[2] "has become under his son more systematical and more strong." Mysore was regarded[3] as "the most simple and despotic monarchy in the world in which every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Hyder and in which all pretensions derived from high birth were discouraged, and almost every employment of trust and consequence conferred on men raised from obscurity gives to the government a vigour hitherto unexampled in India"

As soon as he assumed the reins of government, Tipu is stated[4] to have confirmed all the old military and civil

officials in their appointments and despatched *purwanas* or orders throughout the kingdom announcing his accession and directing all affairs to continue in their former course. As in former days the basis of administration was the amildar who was in charge of the *amildari* or taluk.[5] The cities and towns were under a separate administration Towns which yielded a revenue of 5000 pagodas[6] or more were in charge of an amildar assisted by a serishtadar, an *amin* and a *muzumdar.* Important cities like Nagara and Sriranga-patna appear to have been separate administrative units, each city having at least three diwans.[7] It is uncertain whether these diwans looked after different departments or were officers of different grades

The principal departments of government were six, namely the military, revenue, commerce, marine, treasury and ordnance including garrisons and fortifications[8] The first four were of great importance and were administered by officers of high rank These four officers were called respectively the *Mir Miran* or war minister, *Mir Asaf* or superintendent of revenues, *Mir Yem* or minister of marine and *Mullick-u-Tujar* or minister for ordnance who looked after the other two departments also[9] Each department had also an advisory council of two to four members to help the minister who was the president[10] These departments appear to have been occasionally consulted by the Sultan on political questions also[11]

The principal finance minister in the earlier part of Tipu's rule was Mir Saduck[12] but during the latter part Purniah, who was in charge of the military portfolio for a long time took up the revenue department[13] Mir Saduck was mainly a civilian though in 1790 he appears to have led the Mysore Cavalry He was first the Kotwal or police officer of Doddaballapur and gradually rose in the Sultan's favour He was very able,[14] and had great influence with the Sultan[15] but he appears to have been disloyal In 1790-92 he is stated to have helped one Sidda Raj to escape from Mysore and later to have secretly plotted with the Rani of

the deposed Hindu dynasty for the restoration of the former rulers.[16] He had amassed great wealth, and at the time of the last Mysore War was planning to retire to a place of security[17] But during the short siege of Srirangapatna in 1799, he attempted to escape from the capital but was killed by a loyal soldier of Tipu

The minister, whoever he was, had his headquarter at the capital though sometimes he accompanied the Sultan on tours of inspection Following his father's example,[18] Tipu was at the head of the revenue department as of all others Even the most minute details were directed by him[19] "In his government," remarks a contemporary, "he is very strict and indefatigable in dictating the most minute orders himself" Delay and indifference in the collection of revenue or the preparation of accounts were reported to him and orders emanated from him[20] The revenue and expenditure of the various taluks were submitted to him for inspection,[21] and even such trivial and minute questions as the wages of a sweeper interested his mind[22] As Kirkpatrick observes in his *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*[23] "Several letters in this collection as the present one are dated at night—a circumstance that does not denote them to be of any urgency or particular importance (as one might be led to suppose) but merely shows the diligent application of the Sultan to business." These observations are confirmed by the Sultan himself He writes[24] "We, on the other hand are occupied from morning to night with business Whenever we have leisure we attend to the answering of his dispatches"

Another indication of the wisdom of Tipu's rule in this period is his code of revenue regulations[25] Probably a large part of the regulations existed in the days of Hyder and his predecessors It is also doubtful when exactly the code as such was introduced An original manuscript of the code was procured by the British in their Coimbatore campaign of the III Anglo-Mysore War and was translated into English and published in 1792[26] The manuscript is dated 11th Zabad Jaffree of the Sultan's new era i e , A.H. 1215 or A.D.

1788, and is addressed to "the Aumils and serishtadars of the second district of Waumloor, dependent on the Cutcheree of Awulputn"[27] One of the Sultan's contemporaries remarks that Tipu, soon after his accession to the throne, formed these regulations in which he had increased not only the number but also the power of his officers[28] Tipu himself writes in his Memoirs.[29] "Here (at the seat of the Sultanate or Srirangapatna) with a view to the (proper) arrangement of affairs, great and small, I framed various Hukumnamehs (ordinances) and numerous other things, all in the very best manner, and comprehending institutes, civil and fiscal general as well as particular rules for war and peace (literally for the battle and the banquet) and regulations for the government of the people at large They, moreover, treated of the (proper) mode of treating the noble and the ignoble (or the high and low), of taking (of levying) tribute from the subject, and of affording protection to the people In fine, they comprised numerous new inventions and fresh contrivances without measure" These arrangements are dated 1214 A H i e 1787 A D[30] But whether the innovations included the revenue code is not certain These regulations are mentioned by Thomas Munro in 1790[31] while Alexander Read refers to them in the same year as "regulations of late"[32] It is, therefore, likely that the code was issued in 1787-88

The rural parts of the kingdom were divided for administrative purposes into the village (*mouza*), *hobli* (*simpt*) and taluk (*aumil*) The village was in charge of the *patel* or headman and the taluk of the amildar The *patel* was nominated by the amildar and if unfit for his duties replaced. He and other village officers paid taxes like any other cultivator If any of them secured gratuitous services and goods from the cultivators his property was confiscated and he was himself dismissed

The amildar was generally a revenue farmer but he was strictly guided by government regulations He was fined if he tried to make up losses in revenue by levying fines and

undue exactions on the village He was forbidden to get free supplies of goods and services If any villagers fled from his village, as a result of the amildar's actions, the officer was fined 20 pagodas if the ryot was rich and 10 if he was poor Contingency material like paper, lamp oil, etc , for which the officials used to extract money from the farmers, was supplied by the state. No public servant could carry on private trade lest he might neglect his official duties or oppress the people. The amildar was paid 2½ per cent i e., ¼ *fanam* for every pagoda collected on the revenue collections , while the revenue police called *peons* were given uncultivated lands *in lieu* of pay and were given leave once a week for cultivating these lands

Every year the amildar entered into an agreement (*cowl*) with the ryots Cultivation was encouraged in various ways *Takavi* advances were given to farmers for purchasing ploughs or for the cultivation of lands at the rate of 3 or 4 pagodas per plough, and were to be repaid in one or two years The agriculturist was protected against official oppression Lands in ruined villages were given to the ryot for the first three years at very easy rates, and fallow lands in other villages at concession prices The cultivation of sugarcane and government monopolies like sandal wood was specially encouraged The officials were to send frequently reports on the condition of crops and the state of agriculture in general, and to make a detailed inspection of their area in the month of Zihuji Population census was taken and land revenue surveyed annually Accounts were scrutinised in the month of Ramzan The revenue was generally collected in money except where collection in kind was the custom Payment could be made in three instalments, and in gold, silver, brass or copper Even arrears could be so paid In order to prevent misappropriation by the officials, the amildars were ordered to send to the treasury the revenue immediately on receipt New weights and measures were introduced Private trade in precious metals was forbidden; banks and shops controlled by the department of com-

merce were established to deal in gold and other goods, while government servants were encouraged by allowances and advances of capital to trade on behalf of the state.

It is doubtful to what extent the code was operative in practice "There was always in the Ceded Districts long before they came into the possession of the company" observes Munro,[33] "a field assessment or estimate of some kind or other There was in every village a register of the land showing the rent of each field and its extent, either from actual measurement or estimate.. without such documents, though extremely imperfect, no *Putkutt* settlement could possibly have been made" These records are also referred to as existing in 1791 [34] It is therefore probable that a large part of these regulations, if not the whole, must have been operative

Even in 1784[35] much earlier than the formulation of the Revenue Code, a minute survey of the land was made and the revenue of the state increased by the augmentation of unduly low rents, the expulsion of Polygars, and the resumption of inam lands "In many districts the rise (increase in revenue) was the result naturally following several years of tranquillity and vigorous administration"[36] This increase does not appear to have been unreasonable For example, the average annual collection of revenue in the Ceded Districts in 1750-60 was 1970000 pagodas, while the average under Tipu in 1784-88 was 2054000, which was much less than that of 1630 viz, 2234000 [37] The highest collection in any particular year was 19 58 lakhs of pagodas, in 1787 According to such an experienced British revenue officer as Munro, "a sum of 2037549 pagodas was the amount of what the land revenue of the Ceded Districts ought to be when completely restored"[38] Again in Kanara, the Company's assessment in 1800 was only 16 per cent lower than Tipu's collections in 1788-89 [39] The smallness of the difference will be clear from the fact that while in 1800 the province had just been annexed by the Company after a war in 1788-89, it had peace for several years, Thus, whatever the

defects in the administration during this period, it certainly was not the excessive sum raised.[40]

When there was indifference or delay in the collection of revenue Tipu ordered speedy recovery and punishment of the culprits He repeatedly directed his officers " to promote the interests of the Sircar, the prosperity of your taluk, and the increase of its revenue," to be considerate but strict to the revenue farmers in their areas and to enforce collection by placing bailiffs when the revenue was overdue [41] He even ordered corporal punishment when the subordinates were remiss in their duties [42] Sometimes horsemen were sent to collect dues [43] Tipu's close scrutiny into the revenue collection and expenditure must have tended, as Kirkpatrick puts it,[44] " in some degree to secure the fidelity and diligence of those whom he employed "

But even in this period, signs of future decay and disorder were showing themselves As a contemporary wrote in 1789[45] "surmounting all but religious prejudices and disposing all but useful presidents (sic precedents), he follows only the scope of his genius in whatever he thinks will tend to his aggrandisement and the splendour of a monarch " Even in the Revenue Code, wise as it was, Tipu exhibited his communal tendencies Mussulmans were exempted from paying the housetax and taxes on grain and other goods meant for their personal use and not for trade [46] Christians were seized and deported to the capital, and their property confiscated [47] Converts to Islam were given concessions such as exemption from taxes [48] Special attention was given to the education of Muslim children [49]

Another evil which later assumed huge proportions was the appointment of inexperienced people as officers and the lenience with which he sometimes treated them In 1785[50] he ordered his Diwan of Bangalore not to take rigid measures to recover the balance due from Mir Futah Ali, the talukdar of Chikkaballapur, but to realise it gradually as the officer ' has never before exercised the functions of that

office, and as he is, moreover, a stranger and inexperienced in business" As Kirkpatrick remarks[51] this "necessarily brings in question the prudence of the Sultan, whom we see placing men in trusts, to which he knew them to be unequal."

Another drawback in administration was the very low remuneration paid to the officials The Sultan himself quotes a letter from one of his officers and says[52] "you represent that sensible (i e duly qualified) Turufdars (i e a petty official employed in the collection of land revenue) are not to be procured at the monthly wages of one pagoda and that proper and careful execution of the public service cannot be expected from men receiving only a pagoda a month," although after this protest, the officer in this instance was empowered to fix higher wages Even the higher officials were not generously paid "The pay of the civil establishment," observes a contemporary,[53] "is very inconsiderable varying from 100 to 1000 rupees per month each" Further, even then not too generous salaries were irregularly paid. "A bill of exchange for 1000 rupees," writes Tipu to two of his officers,[54] "is sent herewith Out of the amount when realised, you are to take for yourselves 16 months' arrears of wages at 30 rupees a month making 480 rupees and 12 months' wages at the same rate in advance being 360 rupees or together 840 rupees"

But in spite of these defects, Tipu's administration was better and his people happier than those in many of the contemporary states Of Hyderabad an eye-witness wrote in 1786[55] "From the weakness of the government and depravity of the people, it is difficult to ascertain any matter of right in the Sanhatis country if it relates to the revenue department Every man in office thinks he has a legal claim to whatever he can plunder the Sircar or extort from individuals" But of the Mysore of about 1790-92, a British military officer records[56] "We will now consider Tippoo, not as a general or a statesman, but as the guardian of his people When a person travelling through a strange country finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, cities

newly founded, commerce extending, towns increasing, and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he will naturally conclude it to be under a form of government congenial to the minds of the people—This is a picture of Tippoo's country and our conclusion respecting its government"

After the war of 1790-92 Tipu endeavoured by every reasonable means in his power to regain what he had lost. During the first two or three years he is stated to have devoted himself wholly to domestic arrangements and to the encouragement of the cultivation of his country But until his death in 1799, changes in administration were frequent and the whole machinery was in a state of flux "Tippu has varied," observes a contemporary[57] "in many points at different periods from that mode of management which was prescribed in a code of revenue regulations which was translated into English, and published in Calcutta in 1792"

The treaty of 1792 left Tipu with five huge provinces divided into 171 taluks or *parganas*[58] These provinces differed in size, revenue and importance Thus the province of Srirangapatna, for example, comprised 102 taluks whereas Sira had only 5[59] The former yielded a revenue of more than 17 lakhs of *kanterai* pagodas and the latter only two lakhs Such a state necessarily led to reorganisation So by about 1796[60] the country was divided into 37 *assofies* which formed the basis of administration. These districts were divided into 1024 amildari taluks or tukries, each assofy having a more even number of taluks than before 1792. Some comprised as few as 19 taluks and others as many as 46, but the majority had between 20 and 30 taluks each[61] The assessed revenue also was more even. The majority of the districts were expected to yield about two lakhs of pagodas, though the extremes varied from 74000 to 340,000 pagodas[62] In this respect the Sultan probably anticipated the dictum laid down by Munro in 1805 that collectorates ought not to be regulated by revenue alone, but extent of territory, population and the disposition of the inhabitants must also be taken into account.[63] Each amildari had an

assessed revenue of about 8000 pagodas and an actual collection of about 4000.[64]

The following was the establishment in each district.[65]

I and II asofs, 2 Sherishtadars, 2 Clerks, 40 peons, 1 shroff, 1 Mashal, 1 Persian serishtadar and some clerks to keep the account in Persian

Each taluk[66] had the undermentioned establishment:

1 Amildar, 1 Seristadar, 3 Clerks, 1 *Torfdar* to each *Toraf*, 6 attavani peons, 1 gollar to seal and keep money, 1 shroff, 1 Persian clerk

New orders under the signature and seal of the Sultan were issued by the president of the asof kacheri or revenue department to the asofs who communicated them to the amildars and these, in their turn, sent the orders to the *tarafdars* with directions to have them notified throughout their jurisdiction[67]

Thus a territory of 62335 square miles[68] was divided into 1024 taluks, each of which comprised on an average about 60 square miles with a collected revenue of 4000 Kanterai pagodas or 12000 rupees as compared with the present day Mysore state where a taluk averages 400 square miles in extent and yields more than Rs 50,000 as revenue

It is possible that this minute system of division, characterised by one of Tipu's contemporaries[69] as "a new and capricious division of territory" was intended to ensure better attention to the conditions of the taluks and to the more energetic collection of revenue As a result, however, of the consequences of this arrangement, which are described below, the size of the district (*asofdaries*) and taluks (amildaris) was by 1798 increased and their number as well as that of the revenue officials reduced By 1798 no asof was appointed to an area that did not produce at least a lakh of pagodas and no amildar to a taluk that did not produce thirty thousand In addition to the consequences described

below, it is possible that these changes were the result of the notorious caprice of the Sultan, of which a contemporary observes.[70] "Every year, almost every month, presented a new change of system, and before it was at all comprehended, a fresh plan was introduced and as quickly abandoned."

Another important change introduced by Tipu was the type of officials chosen.[71] The Hindus, particularly the Brahmans, had great administrative experience and had long dominated the revenue department They had however not always used their position, knowledge and experience for public end, but had grown avaricious and corrupt and had shown "gross ingratitude to Hyder"[72] Hyder very wisely checked them by the institution of spies and by heavy punishment. Instead of checking them by constant inspection into their conduct, by exemplary punishment when detected in peculation and by allowing them handsome salaries to raise them above temptation,[73] Tipu "entirely subverted the wise and economical system" established by his father[74] He had great aversion to non-Muslims[75] and this feeling became stronger by the ungrateful attitude of the Brahman revenue officials After 1792, therefore, he placed the faithful Muslims in most of the important offices like the asofdaries and amildaries[76] Of the diwans or provincial revenue heads in 1792 only one was a Hindu[77] Of 65 asofs and deputy-asofs in 1797-98 not one was a non-Muslim and almost all the principal Mutsaddis even were Muslims,[78] while of the 26 Mysore Civil and military officers captured by the British in 1792 and demanded back by Tipu, six only were Hindus and even they were petty clerks[79] The communalisation of offices in the Khodadad Sirkar began much earlier than 1792[80] but was intensified after the third Anglo-Mysore War Although practised generally under all Mussulman and newly formed governments in order to have their own trusted men in important offices, this policy was, in the case of Mysore probably accentuated by (the direct consequences of) the employment of Muslims by the Nizam about 1789-90 Strangely the result both in

Hyderabad and in Mysore was the same, viz., the diminution of revenue[81] As one of Tipu's contemporaries reports "It is an ascertained fact that he (Tipu) has not collected so much from his country as his father, a circumstance which may be described to his chiefly employing Mussulman assofs and amildars which Hyder seldom did"

The officials so appointed to posts requiring deep knowledge and great patience, writes a Muslim historian,[82] could scarcely read and write In the words of another contemporary of Tipu's,[83] the candidates "were seldom chosen for any other reason than their being Mohamedans" Even as early as 1785[84] Tipu refers to one of his asofs as "a stranger and inexperienced in business" Even these inexperienced men were not chosen with due deliberation "He (Tipu) would promote" observes M G Sydenham in 1799[85] "a *tipdar* (commander of a hundred men) or a petty amildar to be a *Meer Meeran* (the highest military rank), and raise an *risaldar* to the honours of a *Meer Asof* (a member of the Board of Revenue) or a wretched *Killedar* on the monthly pay of ten pagodas to those of a Meer Suddm (superintendent general of forts)" The arbitrary selection of candidates is confirmed by Tipu's eldest son[86] and by the highly interesting but exaggerated description given by Major Wilks[87]

This policy was quite different from that followed either by the Company or by Hyder The Company attached great importance to a practical knowledge of revenue administration, and such experience was considered, in the words of the Court of Directors,[88] "an indispensable qualification for all the higher honours and emoluments of the service" No doubt, cases of inexperienced revenue officials were also found under the Company's Government Thus, in 1824, Thomas Munro wrote[89] that the Collector of Bellary had no experience in revenue details and had seen no district but Bellary with the result that agriculture and therefore revenue declined in his district The Company generally confirmed the former officials but checked and controlled their conduct by other means[90]

Another change was the introduction of Persian as the medium of accounts in the revenue department. It was so far the practice in Mysore for the *tarafdars* to make out the revenue accounts in Kannada, fair copies of which were communicated to the amildars who had them translated into Marathi Copies in both languages were kept under separate and independent officers meant as a reciprocal check. This practice prevailed under Hyder and probably in the early part of Tipu's rule After 1792[91] Tipu ordered the accounts to be submitted in Persian probably to help his Muslim officers and perhaps to persianise Mysore Thus 3 sets of copies of accounts were kept[92] It is interesting to observe that while Persian was introduced into the Dekhan by the Moghul conquest,[93] it came into use in Mysore only towards the end of Tipu's rule This change must have resulted in widening the gulf between the higher officials who were Muslims and their Hindu subordinates

Further, Tipu made himself scarce to his subjects who therefore had nobody but the oppressor himself to approach[94] Another change was in the abandonment of revenue spies Hyder had instituted a minute system of espionage in that there were two Brahman *hircaras* in each taluk to hear all complaint and to report them to him direct[95] Tipu abolished this institution so far as the revenue administration was concerned[96] though he maintained them for other kinds of intelligence,[97] whereas prior to 1792 espionage appears to have been thorough and extensive[98]

Probably to counter-balance these changes, the Sultan introduced about 1793 what perhaps he considered a very effective check At every Moharram festival, he administered to all his officials an oath of fidelity[99] just as William the Conqueror did in England " Not only all the amildars, assofs, etc , were required to swear allegiance to the Sultan, a custom which then has been annual for five years past" writes Malcolm in 1798,[100] " but every soldier of the army, was directed to swear (in the form prescribed by the religion he professed) to be faithful to his standard."

"The Sultan's mistaken system of revenue collection," writes Mcleod,[101] "operated in a great degree towards reducing his receipts by his having increased the number of ammildarries to ten times as had usually been the proportion under all former governments of the Mysore dominions." Reduction in revenue was not the only, though a very important, consequence, nor was it solely due to the changes introduced by Tipu As another contemporary remarks[102] "Notwithstanding the severity and minuteness of the Sultan's regulation, no prince was ever so grossly imposed upon" The consequences to the state were two-fold, firstly loss of revenue, and secondly oppression of the people by the officers

Neither the extent of the loss of revenue nor that of oppression of the people can be accurately known Even in the earlier part of Tipu's rule when the revenue administration was more vigorous, the actual collections were considerably below the assessment[103] In 1799, according to Munro,[104] the loss varied from 5 to 50% "least near the capital and most in the remote provinces," and on an average, embezzlement amounted to 35% In another place, the same authority writes[105] that before the end of Tipu's reign, the collections credited to the treasury were 10 to 60% short of the assessment According to another contemporary,[106] during the latter part of the Sultan's regime not more than a fourth part of the nominal revenue entered the treasury Thus in Hiriyur, for instance, "the rent paid to Tippoo did not amount to one half of the valuation, for all parties united to defraud him each getting a share"

These estimates, rough as these are, commit one mistake, viz., comparing the actual collections credited to the government with the standard settlement of 1788-89 together with subsequent additions This standard settlement was as Alexander Read observes,[107] "merely an ideal or maximum amount, for there appears to have been an annual settlement also which was smaller and which was really expected to be collected. "The *Kanimee Bairez,*" writes

Read,[108] " has little or no relation to the *Hall Hausel* or annual settlement The former is one exaggerated account, the latter is the result of enquiry into the actual state of agriculture " Thus, for instance, in 1799 Read investigated the revenue of 15 districts retained by Tipu in 1792 and found that their assessment in 1788-89 was 23 2 lakhs of pagodas, in 1798-99, 34 1 lakhs including the increase made to recoup the indemnity paid by Mysore to the victors of the III Anglo-Mysore War, but the actual collection in 1798, were 14.99 lakhs whereas in 1788-89, when Tipu is regarded as having been most attentive to revenue administration,[109] it was only 6 per cent more than 1798 [110]

The causes for the loss of revenue may be enumerated as follows[111] —

1 Invasion, wars and rebellions in which Mysore was involved

2 Changes and looseness in revenue administration

3 Revenue farming

4 Exaction of fines for trifling or pretended offence

5 Exaction of presents for an endless succession of asofs and amildars

6 Exaction of *Nazarana* or presents for Government

7 Interference with freedom of trade.

8 Over assessment The most important increases were the levy of a *nazarana* of 50% of land revenue in 1792 which, was according to Munro,[112] realised but not credited to the treasury, and one of 37½% in 1794-5

9 Exaction of arbitrary and uncertain amount of different kists or instalments of revenue

10 The collection of kists earlier than due resulting in the sale or mortgage of estates

11 The levy of unduly high kists against land lords in order to force them to sell lands to those who had bribed the amildars

12 Gratutious services required by the state

The first of these was largely beyond the control of the state Mysore was unfortunately the cock-pit of Southern India and was particularly affected by the Mahratta incursions The rebellions of the Coorgs were equally disastrous and the decline of Canara's prosperity was traced to them as well as to over assessment [113]

In the latter part of Tipu's rule vigilance, efficiency and honesty were absent in the administration The officers appointed so arbitrarily by the Sultan and characterised by col Close[114] as " dronish Musulmans" were not only ignorant and inexperienced but gave themselves up to pleasure neglecting their duties and employing and relying on the very people, the Brahmans, whom Tipu had dismissed from their places [115] Sore at their dismissal and conscious of their importance and of the helplessness of their superiors, the subordinates became more venal from being less responsible [116] In the words of Tipu's historian,[117] they plundered all the taluks at their discretion giving half to the asofs while they retained the other half for their private use " When therefore for the sake of his religion the Sultan withheld his hand from the duties of government and conquest and ceased to enquire into the actions and conduct of his agent and servants, everyone in his place did as he pleased, fearlessly and without restraint "[118]

Not only were the inferior officials venal, the asofs and the other higher officials also do not appear to have been honest After a detailed investigation into conditions in Mysore, Read observed in 1799 [119] " The highest rental is paid by the cultivators of the soil to the *patails* and *curnams* who are the village servants; they pay a part of that to the ammildars and serishtadars on the public account giving them part in bribes to receive fabricated accounts of their

rents and permit their withholding the rest; these do the same bribing the *asofs* and the *asofs* used to bribe the diwans" Munro writes[120] that in 1796, the ryots in Kanara under Tipu received a nominal remission of 20 per cent of their assessment but the remitted amount was paid in 1796-99 as a bribe to the revenue officers

Complicated as the revenue hierarchy and accounts were, inefficient and untrustworthy as the officers, and in sufficient and useless as the checks, yet firmness and vigilance on the Sultan's part would have corrected matters "It is the most difficult part of the collector's business," to quote again an experienced revenue official of the Company in 1794,[121] "to discover these impositions (i e illegal extras) but in the present state of things, it is wholly impossible to prevent them It he is vigilant, he may reduce them perhaps to five per cent, if he is remiss, they will soon rise to fifty" After 1792, Tipu's attention was so concentrated on avenging his recent defeat and establishing himself politically, that "his indifference to the Peculations of his servants was unaccountable"[122] His political and military pre-occupations must have no doubt hindered him from closely following the course of revenue administration, but when he was acquainted with specific cases, he did not effectively punish the culprits[123] Whether this attitude was due, as alleged by Buchanan,[124] to bigotry and consequent non-interference with the administration of his Mussulman officers or, as suggested above, to the diversion of his attention to other matters, makes no difference so far as the consequences are concerned As a contrast to his son, Hyder "never failed to pursue to its source the history of an irregular demand and to recover it with additional fines from the extortor It frequently produced the dismission of the offender, the certainty of investigation tended to restrain oppression"[125] Hyder did not spare even his own sons "Tippoo," observes a contemporary of his father,[126] "remains in disgrace with his father for having interceded with him for the zemindar of Chittledrug Hyder's second son who

had interceded with him for his brother, Tippoo, received two hundred lashes and was put into close confinement."

With all these defects, Tipu's Mysore, even in the second half of his rule, was better and happier than those of many of his neighbours. "The districts which were ceded to the Nizam in 1792 hastened more rapidly to decay than those which remained under the Sultan,—and his acquisitions of 1799 experienced the same fate though in a lesser degree, because they were not for so long a period exposed to the evils of his management "[127] In another report, Munro observes,[128] "The more wealthy farmers who found some protection under the Mysore Government were crushed under that of the Nizam " Even the Company's administration was not always better The same authority thus writes of the civil administration of the Baramahal districts [129] " The collector cannot expect that the country is to flourish when he himself has given the signal to plunder it The numerous bands of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed, but they now (i e , in 1795 under the Company) act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippu, under the Company, and, I believe, under every governmnent in India. The collectors and their deputies, not being paid, help themselves and by this means the country is often as much harassed in peace as in wars " Even thirty years later, these defects had not totally disappeared in some parts of the Company's India.[130] Such were the times and the type of administration that, though in 1792, the Northern Sircars had been in the hands of the Company for over 30 years, little was known of the resources of these territories [131]

NOTES

1 Munro's Report on Hundi Anantapur, Aug 1801 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679, f 63) The *British Museum Additional*

Mss comprise documents, (originals and copies), in English and other languages relating to various topics and countries, and presented to the British Museum The *Home Miscellaneous* series of *Mss* available in the India Office Records Department, London, consists of miscellaneous letters, reports, diaries etc ,—copies as well as originals—sent to the Home authorities from India The *Mss* cover almost the whole period of the Company's life in India I am thankful to the India Office and the British Museum for allowing me to utilise these *Mss*

2 Extract from letter dated Camp between Hosur and Ranikota 10th Aug 1791 (*Home Miscellaneous* Vol 251, P 28), Munro to George Brown 11th Aug 1791 (Gleig, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro* Vol III, p 62), also letter from J H to Rev M Smith Hargrave 19th September 1791 (*Home Miscellaneous,* Vol 251, p 508)

3 Munro to his father 17th January 1790 (Gleig *op cit*, Vol I, p 84)

4 Life of Tipu Sultan from the Mahrattas (*Mackenzie Mss* XLI p 323) These *Mss* collected by Colin Mackenzie are in London References in this paper are to copies of some of these found in the Mysore University Library

5 Tipu to Mah Mirza Khan, 16th September 1785 (Kirkpatrick) *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan* No *CXIX*

6 Equivalent to 15,000 rupees

7 Tipu to Syed Mahomed Khan, 9th June 1786 (Kirkpatrick, *op cit* , No CCLXXXVIII)

8 *Ibid*, appendix XC

9 *Official documents relative to the negotiations carried on by Tipu Sultan with the French nation and other foreign states* (Calcutta 1799) No 2

10 Forrest, *Selections, Mahratta Series,* p 723 Also Webbe's Memorandum 4th February; 1799 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13665, f 325) Details are available with regard to three of these councils

11 *e g* Negotiations with the French in 1797 and affairs connected with the French adventurer, Ripand in 1798 (*Official Documents, op cit*)

12 Forrest, *op. cit*, appendix C

13 Governor General to the Court of Directors 3rd August 1799, paras 31 and 40

14 Malcolm's Abstract (Martin, *Despatches of Wellesley,* Vol I, p 656)

15 Memorandum of information etc (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13659, f 124).

16 Webbe's memorandum 4th Feb. 1799 (*Idem,* 13665, ff 283 & 324)

17. *Ibid*

18 Wilks' *History of Mysore,* Vol II, p 33' .

19 Kirkpatrick, *op cit*, preface pp XVI-XVII

20 Tipu to Mirza Md Ali, 19th February, 1785 (Kirkpatrick *op cit*, No. I).

21 Tipu to Md Ushraff, 17th May 1785 (*Ibid* No XLVII), Tipu to Zynalabdin, 2nd June 1785 (*Ibid*, No LI)

22 Tipu to Turbiyat Ali Khan and Raja Ramchander, 27th February 1785 (*Ibid*, No IV) Compare the incident quoted in Wilks *op cit*, Vol II, p. 273)

23 P 6

24 Tipu to Turbiyat Ali Khan, 2nd December 1786 (Kirkpatrick, *op cit*, No CCCCVIII) Compare *Beatson War with Tipu Sultan,* p 156

25 *The Mysorean Revenue Regulations* translated by B Crisp, 1792

26 *Ibid*

27 *Ibid*, p 1

28 Charles Stuart *Catalogue of the Library of Tipu Sultan,* Introduction p 75

29 Kirkpatrick *op cit*, p 325

30 *Ibid*

31 Munro to his father 17th January 1790 (*Gleig, op cit*, Vol I, p 84)

32 Summary of intelligence collected from 22nd August 1789 to 8th February 1790 (*Mackenzie Mss* XLVI)

33 Munro's minute, 24th April 1824, para 3 (*Bri Mus Mss* 22079)

34 Alexander Read's Report on Kolar District, 29th December, 1791 (*Baramahal Records*, Vol I, p 3)

35 Munro's Report on Hundi Anantapur 12th Aug 1801 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679 ff 50 ff)

36 *Ibid*

37 *Ibid*

38 *Ibid*

39 Munro's Report on Kanara, December 1800 para 8 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679)

40 Munro's Report on Hundi Anantapur, 12th August 1801 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679)

41 Tipu to Chisty Yar Khan, 18th June 1785 (*Ibid*, LXIII)

42 Tipu to Mirza Mohamed Ali, 17th February 1785 (*Ibid* 1)

43. Tipu to Mahomed Ushraff, 17th May 1785 (*Ibid* XLVII), Same to Chisty Yar Khan (*op cit*)

44 *Ibid*, p. 102

45 Read to Campbell 30th January 1789 (*Mackenzie Mss.* XLVI)

46 Crisp, *op cit*, sec 73

47 *Ibid*, sec 70

48 *Ibid*, sec 71

49 *Ibid*, secs 72-73

50 Tipu to Raja Ramachander, 10th June 1785 (*Ibid*, No LVII)

51 *Op cit*, p 79

52 Tipu to Chisty Yarkhan 16th February 1786 (Kirkpatrick, *op cit*, No CCXXVII)

53 Forrest, *op cit*, p 724 Compare contemporary practice (Munro to his father, 31st January 1795, Gleig *op cit*, Vol I, p 156)

54 Tipu to Moul Chand and Sajan Rao, 23rd June 1735 (Kirkpatrick *op cit*, No LXXIII)

55 Memorandum of a gentleman with Lt Col Campbell at Hyderabad, 1786 (*Mackenzie Mss* XLVI, p 8)

56 E Moor *Of the war with Tipu Sultan* 1794 pp 201-2

For similar remarks see Dixon *Narrative of the campaign in India which terminated the war with Tipu Sultan*, 1792 p 24

57 Malcolm's *Abstract* (Martin, *op cit*, p 659)

58 *Sosale and Talkad* were subdivided into two taluks each bringing the total to 173 as mentioned by Read (Alexander Read to Gen Harris 17th June, 1799, para 5, *Bri Mus Add Mss* 13667 f 58)

59 According to Ali Raza it was 5 lakhs but according to Read, 6 lakhs (*Idem* 13662)

60 Alexander Read to Gen Harris *op cit*, Para 4 (*op cit*, f 78) These *assofies* are called *parganas* by some of Tipu's contemporaries (Kirmani *History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan*, p 231), while in the older administrative classification *i e* before 1792, a *pargana* was a much smaller area (Read *op cit*)

61 *Ibid.*

62 Read's statement (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13667, ff 125 & ff)

63 Minute dated 22nd May 1805 *Idem*, 13679, f 98

64 Memoir on the civil administration, police, commercial and revenue management of the Ballaghat Karnatic (Colin Macken-

zie's *Report on the Mysore Survey,* appendix III (*Bri. Mus Add Mss* 13680, ff 58-59) Mackenzie having perhaps the collections in mind mentions the tukris as of 5000 each

65 Memoir on the Ballaghat Karnatic quoted above

66 *Ibid*

67 Kirmani, however, refers to town yielding 5000 pagodas as administered by an amildar (Kirmani, *op cit*, p 231)

68 Read, *op cit* , Read quotes Rennell about the area

69 Memorial explanatory to the Partition Treaty, para 5

70 Beatson, *War with Tipu Sultan,* p 150

71 Malcolm's abstract (Martin, *op cit*, I, p. 655)

72 *Buchanan, op cit*, Vol I, pp 70-71

73 *Ibid*

74 Memorial explanatory of the Partition Treaty of Mysore, para 5

75 Kirmani, *op cit*, p 231

Also Mcleod to the Mysore Commissioners (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13667, f 102 ff)

76 *Ibid* Also Mcleod to General Harris, 22nd May, 1799, (*M M D L T* , p 377) Malcolm's abstract *op cit* , Mornington to Dundas (Martin, *op cit* , II p 38), Memorial explanatory of the Partition Treaty of Mysore, para 5

77 Papers given in by Govind Rao Bhagavant 5th March 1792 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* Vol 13662, appendix No 21)

78 Mcleod to Mysore Commissioners, *op cit*

79 *Bri Mus Add Mss* Vol 13662 appendix 17 Of the 49 principal officers killed or wounded between 6th March and 4th May 1799, not even one was a non-Muslim (Mcleod's *Statement*, 14th June 1799, Beatson *op cit*, appendix XCIV-XCVI)

80 *Supra* p 37

81 *Ibid* Malcolm in his *Abstract* attributes the reduction in revenue in Mysore to the Muslim Officers (Martin *op cit* Vol I p 656)

82 Kirmani, *op cit*, p 231

83 Mcleod to Harris, 22nd May 1799 (*M M D L T* p 377).

84 Tipu to Raja Ramachander 10th June 1785 (Kirkpatrick, *op cit* No LVII)

85 " Sketch of the character of the late Tippoo Sultan" enclosed in M G Sydenham's note dated 30th June 1799 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13659, f 122)

86 Marriott's Report of principal occurrences during the journey of the four elder sons of Tippoo Sultan from Seringapatam to Vellore dated 22nd July 1799 (*Idem* 13659 f 112).

87 *Op cit*, p 289

88 E Wood to Fort St George 1 August 1820 (*Bri Mus Mss* 22076).

89 Minute dated 20—4—1824 *Idem*, 22079, f 101

90 General Harris Proclamation (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13667 f 127) Also see Read to Harris 17th June 1799 para 12 (*Idem*, f 79)

91 Memoir on the Ballaghat Karnatic, *op cit* (Vol 13680, f 58-59)

92 *Ibid*

93. *Ibid*

94 Buchanan *op cit*, Vol I, p 71

95 *Ibid*, Vol II p 91

96 *Ibid*

97 *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1798, characters p 1

98 Kirkpatrick *op cit*, p 54 Also see Tipu's *Revenue Regulations*, No 40, where these hircaras are stated to be in charge of supplying labour for government work

99 Forrest, *op cit*, Appendix C P 724 Also Kirmani *op cit*, p 231

100 Malcolm's abstract (Martin *op cit*, I, p 65) Also Mcleod to Harris *op cit*

101 *Ibid*

102 Beatson, *op cit*, appendix p CLXX

103 Munro to the Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679)

104 Munro to his father, 10th February 1799 (Gleig, *op cit*, III p 111)

105 Munro to the Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, para 21 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679)

106 Buchanan, *op cit*, III, p 348

107 Read to General Harris, 17th June 1799, para 7 (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13667 f 79)

108 *Ibid*

109 Munro's Report on Hundi Anantapur, August 1801 (*Ibid*, f 63)

110 Read to Harris, *op cit*, para 8

111 Munro's Report on Canara, December 1800, para 7. (*Bri Mus Add Mss* 13679, f 40)

112 Munro to the Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800, para 13 (*op cit*) For a detailed discussion, *vide* Chapter VI in my forthcoming book *Tipu's Mysore—an Economic Study.*

113 Report on Canara December 1800, para 11 *op cit*

114 Quoted in Mornington to Dundas, 7th June 1799. (Martin *op cit*, *II*, p 38)

115 Kirmani, *op cit*, p 231
Also Malcolm's abstract (Martin *op cit*, p. 656).

116 *Ibid* Also Munro to his father 31st January 1795 (Gleig *op cit*, I, p 156)

117 Kirmani, *op cit*, p 231

118 *Ibid*, pp 232-33

119 Read to General Harris 17th June 1799 para 20 (*op cit*, 78-79)

120 Munro to the Board of Revenue, 31st May 1800 (*Idem* 13679, f 11)

121 Munro to Allen 8th June 1794 (Gleig *op cit*, Vol III p 93)

122 Beatson, *op cit*, p 150

123 *Buchanan*, *op cit*, V III p 347 Compare Tipu's astounding attitude quoted in Wilks *op cit*, II, p 273

124 Buchanan, *op cit*, V I, p 71

125 Wilks *op cit*, p 399

126 Intelligence from Madeka Sira, 29th Mohuram 178 (*Home Miscellaneous*, Vol 249, p 57)

127 Munro's Report on the Ceded Districts August 1801 (*Brit Mus Add Mss* 13679 f 62)

128 Report on the Ceded Districts, 10th July 1802 (*Idem* f 66)

129 Munro to his father, 31st Jan 1795 (Gleig *op cit.*, Vol I)

130 Munro's letter, 25th March, 1823 (*Brit Mus Mss* 22079)

131 Munro's Minute, 22nd May, 1805 (*Brit Mus Add Mss* 13679 f 76)

THE EARLY RASHTRAKUTAS OF THE MAHARASTRA

BY

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North Dakhan, comprising the present Marathi and Oriya areas has an obscure history in the sixth century A.D. Hariśena, the Vakātaka ruler, revived the fortunes of the dynasty for the last time about 450 A D and built a large empire after conquering a good part of North Dakhan He is credited with having conquered the Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuta, Lata and Andhra countries [1] He was still in his greatness in 465 A D [2] We have no records of his after that date, and the dynasty appears to have come to a rapid and obscure end

The next well-known point of importance in the history of North Dakhan is about a century and a half later, when it was conquered by Pulakesin II of the Chalukya dynasty This event appears to have occurred in the early part of the reign of that ruler, that is, between the year of his accession 609 A D , and the date of the Aihole inscription 634 A D , possibly somewhere about the year 615 A D approximately Who were the rulers of North Dakhan, during this long period intervening between the Vakatakas and the Chalukyas ? From a study of the inscriptions, it is possible to say that during this period an empire which may be called the Early Rashtrakuta empire rose and fell Since the existence of this dynasty is not properly noticed in the books on Dakhan History, an attempt is made here to state briefly the evidence bearing on this dynasty. Jouveau Dubreuil has a short but interesting note bearing on the subject in his " Historical Sketches of Ancient Dakhan ".

The following inscriptions are particularly useful in this connection:—(1) Khariar Plates of Mahasudeva. (Epigraphia Indica Vol IX. Page 170) (2) The Rayapur Plates of Sudevaraja. (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions. Page 196) (3) The Arang Plates of Jayaraja (Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions. Page 191) (4) The Untikavatika grant of Abhimanyu. (Epigraphia Indica Vol VIII Page 163) (5) The Pandurangapalli Plates of Avidheya (Mysore Archaeological Report 1929 Page 197) (6) The Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V. (Indian Antiquary Vol XVI Page 17) (7) The Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II (Indian Antiquary Vol VI Page 1)

From a study of these inscriptions it is gathered that the Early Rashtrakutas ruled over North Dakhan for about seven generations or more The period of about 150 years intervening between Harishena and the Rashtrakuta contemporaries of Pulakesin II could very well be assigned to these seven generations with an average of about 21 years Unfortunately we have no data for fixing the chronology of the dynasty with greater certainty We know only that Appayika and Govinda were the contemporaries of Pulakesin II, during his early years, perhaps about 515 or 520 A.D, and that a Rashtrakuta by name Indra was defeated by Jayasimha Chalukya, the great-grand-father of Pulakesin II Since 4 Chalukya rulers are named between Jayasimha and Pulakesin II, Jayasimha probably lived about 540 A D which may also be the date of Indra A Jayasimha the commander of Harivatsakotta is mentioned in the Untikavatika Plates as the contemporary of Abhimanyu Rashtrakuta Is it possible that this person was identical with Jayasimha the founder of the Chalukya dynasty? If the identification is accepted then we get the date Circa 530 A D, for Abhimanyu, since Jayasimha was yet a military officer who had not become independent, when the Untikavatika grant was made The second ruler of the dynasty, Mananka, is credited with having made extensive conquests reaching from western India to Bengal This would be possible only after

the death of Harishena and the decline of the Vakataka empire which appears to have taken place about 470 A D The other rulers have to be assigned dates within these limits

An important point in the history of the dynasty is the identification of the rulers named in the Khariar Plates with those named in the Untikavatika Plates Sten Konow and Fleet have suggested that since the words Matra and Anka both mean 'ornament,' the person named Manamatra may be identical with Mananka[3] The Pandurangapalli Plates state that Mananka had conquered Anga, Vidarbha and Asmaka. The first two of these would include the Mahanadi region, which was ruled over by Manamatra. Thus it is most probable that the names of Mananka and Manamatra are two provincial forms of the same name The Khariar plates state that a son of Manamatra was Mahasudeva raja or simply Sudevaraja The Untikavatika and Pandurangapalli plates state that a son of Manaka was Devaraja Since the names of the father and son, Mananka and Devaraja are strikingly like the names of the father and son Manamatra and Sudevaraja, we may accept Konow's suggestion that they are identical and proceed to build the story of the Rashtrakutas on that basis

The seal of the Khariar plates states that Sudevaraja its grantor was the son of Manamatra, who was the son of Prasanna No more information is given about Prasanna, though he is mentioned with respect as 'the ocean from which arose the moon Manamatra' It may be surmised that he was the founder of the dynasty Since he was the great grand father of Abhimanyu who flourished about 530 A D the date 470 A D , may be assigned to him approximately It was exactly about this time that the Vakataka empire fell Further the area ruled over by his son according to the Pandurangapalli Plates is described as Anga, Vidarbha and Asmaka, corresponding to the Mahanadi and Vindhya areas Since this very area was conquered and ruled over by Harishena Vakataka, it is very probable that the rise of Prasanna took place just after Harishena's time, when some obscure

and weak ruler sat on the Vakataka throne. It is not clear whether Prasanna set up independence near Sarabhapura on the banks of the Mahanadi or near Manapura in the Narmada valley. But, since the Sarabhapura area is named in the Arang and Rayapur copper plates as the eastern kingdom, and the word Manapura is correlated with Mananka or Manamatra and since also the Narmada valley is the original home of the Rashtrikas or Rashtrakutas[4] it is more probable that Prasanna established his kingdom in the Narmada valley.

Prasanna's legacy to Mananka appears to have been only a small kingdom, since his conquests are not named in any of the records while Mananka is credited with having conquered the Anga, Vidarbha and Asmaka areas, as also the 'Satkunta' country, evidently the neighbourhood of the Satpura range.[5] Thus Mananka became the master of the country extending from Bengal to almost the west coast and comprising Orissa, Central Provinces, Berar and Khandesh How far south his empire reached we do not know. However, since, later on, his son Bhavishya ruled from Mānapura, it may be surmised that Mananka built Manapura named it after himself and made it his capital. Manapura has been identified by Fleet with Manpur near Bhandogarh, in the state of Rewah, in Central India Mananka is described as the ornament of the Rashtrakutas and the moon of the race, and was no doubt the founder of the empire The dates 470 to 490 may be ascribed to him approximately His virtues are thus described in the Pandurangapalli plates "Peace towards the subjects, respect towards the good, valour towards enemies, tact towards kings and munificence towards all". Mananka's son was Devaraja as named in the Untikavatika and Pandurangapalli Plates or Sudevaraja as mentioned in the seal of the Khariar Grant There is no need to suppose that these names refer to two different persons Since these two names are so alike and the father has been identified as one person, it may be agreed that they also refer to the same person Devaraja is described in the

Untikavataka and Pandurangapalli Plates as Indra descended to the earth. He is said to have won unequalled glory by his brave conquest His pure qualities shone by his guileless virtuous deeds. There is little doubt, that Devaraja was an able ruler, who kept the empire intact and ruled it with splendour.

Devaraja had according to the Untikavatika Plates three sons of whom Bhavishya was one and probably not the eldest Bhavishya ruled from Manapura as stated in these plates and held the Central Indian territories extending to the Narmada valley Not much more is known about him except that he had a son Abhimanyu by name, who also ruled over the same area from his capital Manapura and made a grant of the village of Untikavatika belonging to the Petha Pangaraka, by pouring water into the hands of the ascetic Jatabhara.

In the eastern kingdom 'Sudevaraja' ruled from Sarabhapura In the same area and from the same capital, the Arang plates were issued by a king called Jayaraja The Paleography of the Arang plates is very similar to that of the Rayapur plates Further Devaraja is called Mahasudevaraja, and Jayaraja is called Mahajayaraja Since Devaraja had three sons, it may very well be presumed that Jayaraja was one of them Jayaraja is described as an independent ruler of the eastern kingdom and as an illustrious one too It is not improbable that he was the eldest son of the family and was given independent dominion over the eastern kingdom [6]

The Pandurangapalli plates reveal to us the existence of another son of Devaraja, who had the peculiar name Avidheya The author of the plates tries to explain the name by stating that the king was disobedient to the enemies of humanity, the Arishadvargas Since Avidheya made a grant of Pandharpur, his territories appear to have extended to the valley of the Bhima river, which is in the extreme south of the Maharashtra country His capital is not mentioned.

It was possibly somewhere near Nasik or Ajanta, the two ancient places in his realm It was this capital that Hiuen-Tsiang visited and described a century later.[7]

It is stated above, that Jayaraja, Bhavisya and Avidheya were the three sons of Devaraja Rashtrakuta, who is stated in the Untikavatika plates to have had three sons It is very probable that Devaraja divided his empire into three parts and that his three sons inherited them in independence. Jayaraja got the eastern kingdom, which perhaps included part of Anga Bhavishya obtained the Central portion corresponding to Vidarbha while Avidheya became king of the Asmaka or Khandesh area and the territories to the south extending to the Bhima river and the Mahadeo hills Each of the three kingdoms was perhaps known as a Maharashtra It is highly probable that these three Maharashtras continued to exist in independence for over a century, until they were conquered by Pulakesin II as mentioned in the Aihole inscription

Of the next generation, which must have reigned about 530 A D., we know definitely the name only of Abhimanyu the ruler of the northern or Manapur area. In the Untikavatika grant, which he made about the year 530 A D, as suggested above, an interesting fact appears The grant is made in the presence of Jayasimha the commander of Harivatsakotta This officer Jayasimha had probably risen to very great importance in the state

The Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II mentions that the Chalukya dynasty was founded by Jayasimhavallabha, whose rise took place about 540 A D There is good ground for assuming that Jayasimha Chalukya might be identical with Jayasimha, the commander of Harivatsakotta. It is likely that Jayasimha who might have been the person belonging to the southern provinces, returned to the south and set up a kingdom of his own, in the Kannada country, which was lying between the Maharashtra and Pallava empires The Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V Chalukya, records

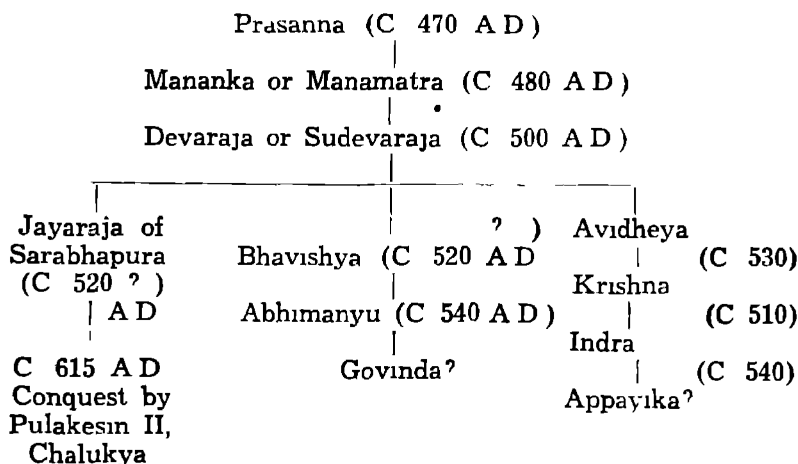
the Rashtrakuta tradition, that Jayasimha conquered Indra the son of Krishna who had eight hundred elephants. Since the Chalukya area extended over the Kannada country to the south east of the Maharashtras it may be presumed that this Rashtrakuta Krishna was a descendant and possibly a son of Avidheya Some coins of the later Gupta fabric bearing the legend "Krishnaraja parama mahesvara" have been found in the Amaravati District of the Central Provinces and near Nasik They have been generally ascribed to an unknown Rashtrakuta king, Krishna [8] It is likely that these coins were issued by Krishna the father of Indra, who was conquered by Jayasimha about the year 540 A D

During the next half a century we have no records mentioning any Rashtrakuta rulers The Mahakuta pillar Inscription of Mangalesa and the Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II both attribute numerous conquests to Pulakesin I and Mangalesa, but none of these rulers is stated to have come into conflict with any Rashtrakuta kings Pulakesin II, however is stated to have defeated two rulers Appayika and Govinda Fleet has suggested that these two might be Rashtrakutas The fact that their territories extended to the north of the Bhima river supports this view It is stated that one of them fled from the field of battle, while the other surrendered and became a subordinate of the Chalukyas [9] Pulakesin II is described as having conquered the Latas, Malvas and Gurjaras, the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas and the banks of the Reva river It is exactly in this Vindhya Reva region that the northern portion of the Rashtrakuta territories lay After conquering it, Pulakesin II is stated to have acquired the sovereignty over the three Maharashtras with their 99,000 villages The mention of the three Maharashtrakas is significant, since the three sons of Devaraja Rashtrakuta ruled over them some generations before Whether the three kingdoms together contained 99,000 villages, or the latter statement is a traditional exaggeration, it is difficult to decide However, the territories must have been very wide-spread and since they were known as

the 3 Maharashtrakas, they belonged probably to some kind of confederacy It may be supposed that these kingdoms existed throughout the 6th century, though their later history is now obscure to us for want of records After subjugation by Pulakesin II, the Rashtrakutas appear to have ruled in various parts of the Chalukyan empire in a subordinate capacity The Multai Plates[10] are vitiated by a wrong date, but the Tivarkhed plates[11] issuing in 631-32 A.D state that Nannaraja was a Rashtrakuta ruler descended from Durgaraja, Govindaraja and Swamikaraja The succession of rulers after Nannaraja has been worked out elsewhere [12]

From the above discussion it will be seen, that a great and powerful Rashtrakuta empire arose about 470 A D , in the area now covered by the Maratha country and the Central Provinces, that it broke up into three different kingdoms which flourished for nearly a century, and that these were ultimately conquered and subordinated by Pulakesin II Chalukya, about 515-520 A D [13]

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE EARLY RASHTRAKUTAS OF THE MAHARASHTRAS



NOTES

1 *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol V, p 127 and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, p 129

2 *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, p. 328

3 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXX, p 509 and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, p 163

4 Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka, Intro*, p xxxviii

5 Mysore Archaeological Report, 1929, p 206

6 It must be noted, however, that the seals of the eastern kingdom bear the image of Gajalakshmi, while those of the western kingdoms have a lion The eastern style of writing is somewhat different from the western But the fact that Abhimanyu's seal has a standing lion while Avidheya's has a seated one suggests that the difference may be explained as being due probably to the fact that each kingdom was independent and that provincial differences appeared in the style of writing

7 Watters *Yuan-chwang*, pp 239-40

8 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 27, J Bo Br R A S, Vol XII, p 213

9 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VI, p 2

10 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIII, p 230

11 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, p 276

12 Altekar, *The Rashtrakuttas*, p 10

13 This paper was submitted to the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES OF TRAVANCORE

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Marriage is the joining together of a man and woman. Before marriage, the sexes are separated by sexual taboo At marriage they are joined together by the same ideas, worked down to their logical conclusion in reciprocity of relation Those who are mutually taboo now break the taboo[1] Speaking generally, marriage is the source of the family, the safeguard of private and public morals, the strength of the nation[2] There are everywhere three motives which lead to marriage, mutual sympathy, the desire for progeny, and the necessity for mutual aid in the struggle for existence[3] Primitive marriage was dictated by the inexorable population need Travancore is one of the ideal places for the study of primitive marriage institutions

It was conceived by Bachofen that the first human society lived in promiscuous intercourse and that monogamous marriage was reflected through the matriarchate and the age of Amazons "In all uncultured societies, girls and women, who are not married, are under no restrictions as to their sexual relations, and are held to be entirely free to dispose of themselves as they please in that respect"[4] The almost universally accepted idea was that the primitive state of mankind was one of primal virtue and moral perfection Anthropological evidences in Travancore lend themselves to different interpretations Sir Edward Gait says, "On the other hand, most of the aboriginal tribes, both Dravidian and Mongolian, the low castes in Cashmere and the Punjab Hills, and various low castes in the United Provinces, Central

Provinces, Berar, and Southern India allow the utmost freedom between the sexes prior to marriage "[5] Sir William Crooke also says that, with most of the wild tribes, it is, in fact a rule that, although pre-nuptial intercourse is lightly regarded, misconduct with a member of another tribe involves excommunication [6] Darwin and Spencer declared the improbability of intercourse being ever free, since the passion of jealousy is so strong that it cannot be supposed to be dormant in primitive societies Briffault says that, " In India it may be said that, wherever the practice of infant marriage has not been adopted, sexual relations between the unmarried are either openly or tacitly recognised In Burma, prenuptial freedom is unrestricted in cultured northern tribes[7] He however admits that " the aboriginal races of Southern India differ from those of Northern India in that they marry earlier Consequently, pre-nuptial licence is not so apparent as in the northern aboriginal races who marry in adult age [8] My researches in Travancore go to show that there is not a single tribe in which pre-nuptial intercourse between the sexes is permitted Some of the hill-tribes like the Muthuvans, the Mannans, and the Kañikkar go to the extent of taking special precautions to prevent such intercourse They keep separate dormitories, where unmarried young women sleep at night under the surveillance of an elderly woman

Forms of Marriage

The form of marriage varied from time to time and from society to society The earliest form of marriage is marriage by capture A relic of this custom is found among the Muthuvans and the Mannans A peculiar practice among the Muthuvans is that, after the marriage is settled, the bridegroom forcibly takes away the maiden from her mother's house, when she goes out for water or firewood, and lives with her separately for a few days in some secluded part of the forest They return home, unless they are, in the meanwhile, searched for and brought back by their rela-

tions. Among the Mannans also, it sometimes happens that a woman, if she refuses to return the love of a man, is forcibly taken away by him. They then live together in the forest for ten or twelve days, and are searched for and taken to the hamlet The offence is generally condoned and they are allowed to live as husband and wife Elopement is also a recognised institution among them, and is resorted to, if parents object to the union of man and woman Marriage by capture is found among the Malayalis of North Arcot, the Mullukurumbans of Wynad, and the Gonds of Central India.

Marriage by Service

Marriage by service is an early form of marriage by purchase It is prevalent among the Paliyans and the Mannas Among them the bridegroom lives with his future father-in-law for six months to one year, and renders service to him before the marriage is consummated It is found among the Esquimo, the North American Indians, and the Siberian peoples It is a substitute for marriage by purchase where the purchaser is too poor to pay the bride's price.

Marriage by Purchase

Marriage by purchase is the recognised form of marriage not only among the least civilized races, but also among the peoples who have reached the highest degree of culture The bride's price which is generally given to the father goes to meet either wholly or partly the expenses of the marriage It is found among the Malavetans, the Malankuravans, the Thantapulayas, and the Malapulayas A portion of it goes to the mother and the maternal uncle and aunt among the Thantapulayas Sometimes, marriage by purchase may not be really so, for the bridal gift may be an expression of good-will or ability to keep a wife and may serve among the Malavetans and Malankuravans as a protection to the wife against ill-usage, and to the husband against misbehaviour on the part of the wife.

Marriage by exchange of sisters is found among the Uralis, Ullatans, the Vishavans, the Malapantarams. No man can have a wife, unless he has a sister whom he can give in exchange A man cannot purchase a wife from her parents by giving the equivalent in property of some kind. The age of the girl to be given in exchange is of no consideration. Any Urali who has no sister to offer in exchange has to lead a life of single blessedness. This custom prevails among the Madigas of Nilgiris, the Bhotiyas of Almora, and some tribes in Baluchistan.

Cousin Marriage.

The marriage of Cross-cousins is characteristic of all the tribes except the Vishavans and the Ina Pulayas. It appears to originate in the simplest of economic motives the wish and necessity to pay for a woman in kind "Formerly the match between a brother's daughter and sister's son was most common This is said to be a survival of the matriarchate, when a man's sister's son was his heir"[8] Marriage between a man and daughter of his maternal uncle is prevalent among the Muthuvans, the Mannans, and the Malankuravans, but marriage with the daughter of his father's sister is prohibited Marriage between ortho-cousins is tabooed Among the above mentioned tribes as well as among the Malapantarams the Malavetans, and the Malayarayans, a father desires and claims the marriage of his son with his sister's daughter According to Briffault, the idea of distance and ignorance of the tribe in other localities with whom they can enter into conjugal relations may be another reason In his opinion, girls are never given in marriage to young men in distant places This is the case among the primitive tribes of Travancore. Cross-cousin marriage not only keeps the families together, but also prevents disposal of property In a society where inheritance runs through the females, a father wishes to provide for his son, and generally marries him to his sister's daughter. Outside Travancore, the custom is found among the Irulas, the Kurubas, and other tribes.

Monogamy.

Monogamy has had its human origin among the poor Chastity in woman has always been esteemed as a virtue by man, and monogamy has always been a desideratum Most of the hill-tribes are monogamous, and the family is regarded as the corner-stone of society Weddings generally take place at night among the Malayarayans, the Malapulayas, the Muthuvans, the Mannans, the Paliyans, and the Malapantarams Sight is a method of contagion in primitive science, and the idea coincides with the physiological aversion to see dangerous things, and with sexual shyness, and timidity Dr Westermarck's view is that this custom is due to a desire to protect the bride and bride-groom against dangers from above [10]

Polygamy

" That man is by nature polygamous and woman monogamous is biologic rot and has no more sanction that the Divine right of Kings, and will eventually go into the same discard "[11] says Dr. Dorsey Polygamy marks the end of primitive equality and the disappearence of clan distinctions It develops in a society where private property is an institution Polygamy is prevalent among the Muthuvans, the Paliyans, the Kanikkar, the Malayarayans, the Malapulayas and the Pulayas to a limited extent According to Westermarck one factor that influences this form of marriage is the numerical proportion of the number of available males and females Whenever there is a marked or more or less permanent majority of marriageable women in a savage tribe, polygamy is allowed At the lower stages of civilization every man endeavours to marry when he has reached puberty and practically every woman gets married [12] Among the Pulayas, the females do not exceed the males The number of females for every 1000 males is 973 according to the Census of 1931. The real reason for polygamy is then of an economic or social character. It contributes to a man's material comfort or increases his wealth through the

labour of his wives. It also adds to his social importance, reputation and authority. It was widely prevalent among the Uralis, among whom marriage is by exchange of sisters. Formerly, an Urali married as many women as he had sisters The result is unequal distribution of women as wives between the males of the community, the old men having more than the young, who had to go without any. Now polygamy is practised by them to a limited extent. Polygamy is a sign of plenty Only those who can afford it will go in for luxury of having more than one wife

Polyandry

According to Westermarck, polyandry depends a great deal on the proportion between male and female population, and polygamy where women constitute the majority in countries unaffected by European civilization There are more men than women among the Malapulayas, the Malayarayans, the Uralis, and the Paliyans It is said that, where food is abundant, females exceed males Where food is, scarce, males exceed females This holds good among the above tribes, among whom there are more males than females owing to scarcity of food

Polyandry is of two kinds, the matriarchal where the husbands are not related, and the fraternal where they are brothers or cousins on the father's side In the case of the former, the husbands are recognised as lovers and lose their privileges at the pleasure of the woman The matriarchal type is found among the Karavazhi Pulayas, the plateau Muthuvans, and the Mannans Fraternal polyandry merges into monogamy by the steady growth of the rights of the elder brother It now exists in a community where motherkin is the rule This form of polyandry is due to poverty and the desire to avoid large families owing to paucity of females It prevails to some extent among the Malayarayans, the Ullatans, the Paliyans, the Uralis and the Southern Pulayas and the Parayas Rev. Mateer observes that the Uralis practised polyandry like the Todas. It is

now becoming extinct. Polyandry may be traced to various causes. It may serve to check the increase of population in regions where the number of mouths remain adapted to the number of acres It keeps family property intact where the husbands are brothers Poverty and paucity of women may be a combined cause of polyandry.

Levirate and Sororate

The custom of marrying deceased brother's wife is called levirate. The corresponding custom of marriage of deceased wife's sister is called sororate The two customs are found complementary among the Uralis, the Ullatans, and the Mannans, while levirate is alone practised by the Malayarayans and the Kanikkar The Malavetans practise neither levirate nor sororate Dr Frazer thinks that the two customs are traceable to a common source in the form of group marriage Dr Westermarck does not concur with the view

Widow Marriage

Widow marriage is permitted among the primitive tribes of Travancore Where widow marriage is allowed, the general rule is that the deceased husband's brother takes her as his wife This is true of the Kanikkar, the Muthuvans, the Mannans, the Ullatans Marriage with the elder brother of the deceased husband is found to exist among the Malapulayas and the Malayarayans

Pre-Puberty Coition

Pre-puberty coition after marriage is permitted among the Vishavans, the Kanikkar, and the Chingannivetans Early coition is believed to be detrimental to health and fecundity It will weaken the reproductive functions and cause abortion This is probably one of the causes of the prevalence of abortion among the Kanikkar

Marriage Ceremonies.

Besides the usual exchange of clothes and tying of tāli (marriage badge), the commonest of marriage ceremonies

is eating and drinking together The Karavazhi Pulaya bride-groom and bride sit facing east on a mat. Food is served on the leaf in front. The bride-groom gives a ball of rice to the bride. She in turn gives one to him which he eats Among the Malapantarams of Pathanapuram, the bride's father joins the right hand of the bride with the left hand of the bridge-groom, and says, "I hand over my daughter to you. Take care of her". The couple are seated on a mat when four balls of rice are brought in a leaf by the bride-groom's sister The bride hands over two balls of rice to the bride-groom who eats same. He then gives two balls of rice to his wife which she eats This mutual inoculation of food is the strongest of all ties and breaks the most important of sexual taboos, that against eating together Each gives the other part of himself and receives from the other part of him This effects union by assimilating the one to the other, so as to produce somewhat of identity of substance When the act is done, its sacramental character is intensified [12] Again, the rudimentary ceremonies like joining of hands publicly have, according to Malinowski, some inherent force and an importance as sanctions Here mutual contact fulfils the union It is a ceremonial pre-representation of the actual union in marriage, assisting the union by making it safe and making it previously, and as it were objectively [13]

Among the Kanikkar of Kottur, there is a slight variation of this custom One of the modes of mutual contact is the pressing together of the heads of the pair The couple are seated on a mat, and rice and curry are served on a plantain leaf The two women take hold of the bride's head and press it seven times against her husband's shoulders This over, the bride-groom takes a small quantity of rice and curry and puts it seven times into the mouth of his wife The Malayarayans have another interesting custom After the usual exchange of clothes and tying of tāli, the couple are seated facing east on a mat The bride's brother then gives her a betel leaf which she tears into two. She then changes

hand and is then asked to spit in the same spittoon. This consummates marriage. The chewing of betel by the couple constitutes the essence of marriage among the Minihasas of Celebes and the Balans. The pair then eat off from the same leaf.

The Muthuvans have another interesting custom. Marriage takes place in the evening in the bride's hut, when the parents of the girl cannot be spectators of the ceremony. The bride-groom presents among other things a comb made of golden bamboo which forms the essential part of the ceremony It is always worn by women above the knotted hair on the back This custom prevails also among the Mannan. The wearing of combs by women has a wide geographical distribution It is found among the Australians, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, the Sakais of Perak, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Kadars of the Cochin State. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the distribution of the comb follows the distribution of bamboo.

Adultery

The chastity of a woman is highly valued Any breach of chastity used to be very severely punished Among the Kanikkar of Kulathupuzha it used to be the custom that, if a man committed adultery, his legs were tied up to a branch of tree Straw was spread over the ground and it was smoked The man's body was swung to and fro and he was given 25 lashes The woman was given 15 lashes The Kanikkar of Kottur tie up 101 twigs of tamarind tree into one, and the adulterer is given one lash with it It is considered equivalent to 101 lashes.

The Malapulayas tie up both the guilty man and woman to a Mull-Murukku tree (Erythrina stricta) which is called Vambumaram. The hands are tied to the tree with fibre. Both are given 12 lashes with a twig of tamarind. If a Paliyan committed incest the offence was heard by the Village Council. The culprit was formerly punished with being

kept under stocks for a day. This is said to be now given up. Punishment now takes the form of a fine. The culprits among the Malavetans are beaten and are fined 10 fanams each The offence is partaken by the panchayat of 16 men who restore the woman to her husband Speaking generally, adultery is looked upon with abhorrence. Divorce is freely had by man or woman for trivial reasons like incompatibility of temper, and others

Influence of Civilization on Sexual Chastity.

Contact with higher culture has proved pernicious to the morality of primitive peoples. Irregular connection between the sexes has, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase with the progress of civilization, for it would seem, according to Heape, highly probable that the reproductive power of man has increased with civilization. The Mannans, the Paliyans, and the Malapulayas have become demoralized with contact with the planting community.

NOTES

1 Crawley, A E The Mystic Rose, pp 287 to 288
2 Calverton, Sex in Civilization, p 231
3 Count Keyserling, The Book of Marriage, p 54
4 Robert Briffault, The Mothers, V II, p 2
5 Gait, E A, The Indian Census Report, 1911, p 243
6 Briffault, The Mothers, Vol II, p. 31
7 Briffault, The Mothers, Vol II, p 43
8 Briffault, The Mothers, Vol II, p 46
9 Frazer, Folklore in the Old Testament, Vol p 120
10 Crawley, The Mystic Rose, p 296
11 Dorsey, G A, Why We Behave like Human Beings, p 437
12 Westermarck, The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization, pp 180-181
13 Crawley, The Mystic Rose, pp 348-350
14 Crawley, The Mystic Rose, pp 348-350

MATHURĀ

BY

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The ancient city of Mathurā (Pali Madhurā)[1] was the capital of the Sūrasenas, situated on the Jumna, at present included in the Agra Division of the United Provinces The city was on the Upper Jumna about 270 miles north-west of Kauśāmbi[2] The Jainas call it by the name of Sauripura or Sauryapura[3] It was also called Madhupurī (present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city)

The city is important as the birth-place of Krsna It was here that Krsna killed Kamsa, the tyrant king of Mathurā This city was known to the ancient Greeks as one of the most flourishing towns Arrian knew it as the capital of the Sūrasenas Ptolemy mentions it as a city surrounded by high mounds[4]

This city was prosperous, peaceful and populous, and the metropolis of king Subāhu of the race of valiant Kamsa Alms were easily obtainable[5] Fa-Hian who visited India in the 5th century A D came to the country of Ma-t'aou-lo (Mathurā) He saw this country inhabited by many people who were happy Those who cultivated the royal land had to pay a portion of the gain to the state The king governed the country without corporal punishment Criminals were punished lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case The king's body-guards and attendants were all paid Throughout the whole country the people did not kill any living creature nor drink any intoxicating liquor nor eat onions or garlic. The *candālas* who used to inhabit this country were fishermen and hunters and used to sell flesh-meat In the markets there were no butchers' shops and no shops for selling liquors.[6]

Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. came to this country. According to his Travels, the country of Mathurā was above 5,000 li in circuit, while its capital was above 20 li in circuit. The soil was very fertile and agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Mango trees were grown in orchards at the homesteads of the people The country produced a fine-striped cotton cloth and gold Its climate was hot. The manners and customs of the people were good The people believed in the Law of Karma There were Buddhist monasteries, deva-temples, and the followers of the different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell He also saw at Mathurā three topes built by Aśoka and the topes for the relics of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula He visited Upagupta's monastery at Mathurā, which was just one of the many Buddhist establishments of the place It enclosed a tope with a finger-nail relic of the Buddha He saw a dried-up pond and not far from that pond there was a large wood in which there were footsteps of the Four Past Buddhas. He also saw the Natabatavihāra and Urumunda hill The pilgrim seems to have made a hurried journey across a portion of the city of Mathurā He does not mention the great river which flowed past the east side of the city [7]

Among the discoveries made at the village of Māt situated about 9 miles north of the city of Mathurā on the left bank of the river Jumna, mention may be made of the following —

(1) A life-size statue of king Kaniska.

(2) Several Nāga images

(3) A mound marking the site of a Buddhist sanctuary

(4) A large mosque of red sand stone built by the Emperor Aurangzeb.

(5) A Buddhist stūpa.

A careful study of the Mathurā school of sculpture leads us to the conclusion that the flourishing period of the

Gandhāra school must have preceded the reign of Kaniska In course of excavations many sculptural fragments came to light, mostly of later date. Among the earlier finds may be mentioned a broken four-fold Jain image with a fragmentary inscription in Brāhmī of the Kushān period.[8]

There was an influx at Mathurā of the semi-Hellenistic art too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to interrupt and enervate the older traditions of Hindusthan There was a close relation between Mathurā and North-west and as an illustration of that the votive tablet of Lonaśobhikā is very much significant, the stūpa depicted on it being identical in form with the stūpas of the Scytho Parthian epoch at Taxilā[9] The sculptural remains found at Mathurā clearly indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence[10] The most valuable Śaka-satrap monument at Mathurā discovered and first published by Bhagwanlal Indraji is in the form of a large lion carved in hard red sand stone and intended to be the capital of a pillar Its workmanship shows Persian influence The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharosthī characters which give the genealogy of the Satraps ruling at Mathurā and according to these inscriptions the Satraps of Mathurā were Buddhists[11] It is interesting to note that the Pre-Kushān sculptures of Mathurā are very instructive as they all emanate from one and the same school and those sculptures divide themselves into three main classes The earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B C, the second to the following century, and the last associated with the rule of the local Satraps Their style is like that of the early school in a late and decadant phase when its art was becoming lifeless.[12]

Mathurā was a great religious centre Jainism was practised with great devotion there.[13] Under the Kushans, Mathurā was an important religious centre of the Jainas[14] The Jains seem to have been firmly established in the city from the middle of the 2nd century B C. Many dedicatory

inscriptions prove that the Jains were a flourishing community at Mathurā in the reign of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva[15] It was a centre of Krishna worship as early as the time of Megasthenes (300 B C).[16] Vaisnavism and Bhāgavata religion found their place in this city. In the Śaka-Kushan period it had ceased to be the stronghold of Bhagavatism[17] Vāsudeva was a scion of the royal family of Mathurā[18] The paucity of the Bhagavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicated that Bhagavatism did not find much favour at the royal court, because from the 5th century B C to the 3rd century A D , the people were usually Buddhists and with a few exceptions not well disposed towards the religion of Vāsudeva[19] In modern times, it is one of the sacred cities and its sanctity is very great Buddha's influence in this city was felt to a certain extent He was offered alms by a woman of Uttara Madhurā[20] Buddha frequented this locality and while proceeding from Mathurā to Verañjā, he was worshipped by many householders[21] Mathurā which is an important centre of both art and cult has given a tangible proof of the existence of Nāga worship in the form of a stone slab now in the Lucknow Museum which bears an inscription in Brāhmī of the Kushan period The cult of the Nagas flourished in Mathurā side by side with Buddhism and Jainism during the Kushan period[22] The existence of serpent worship at Mathurā is also supported by the Mathurā Naga-statuette inscription which is important in view of the story of Kālıyanāga and his suppression by Krsna recorded in the Purānas

The importance of Mathurā in the political history of India is to some extent great Twenty-three Sūrasena kings of Mathurā are mentioned in the Vāyu Purāna[23] as contemporaries of the future kings of Magadha The Sūrasena king of Mathurā in Buddha's time was called Avantiputta and was therefore almost certainly the son of a princess of Avanti.[24] Mathurā the home of the Vrsnis and Andhakas, was later evacuated by them[25] Yudhisthira installed Vajra-

nāva on the throne of Māthurā.[26] Sons and grandsons of King Sādhına ruled Mathura.[27]

Menander,[28] kıng of Kabul and the Punjab, conquered Mathurā.[29] Mathurā was governed by natıve prınces whose names can be found on coıns ın the 2nd century B C. The Hındu kıngs of Mathurā were finally replaced by Hogāna, Hogāmāsa, Rājuvula and other Saka satraps who probably flourıshed ın or about the 1st century A D[30]

NOTES

1 The dıfference ıs due to a mere lınguıstıc peculıarıty (*Rāmāyana, Uttara*, Ch 108 *Bombay Recension*)

2 *Cambrıdge Hıstory of Indıa*, I, p 526

3 *S B E*, *XLV*, p 112

4 Cunnıngham, *Ancıent Geography of Indıa*, p 374

5 *Lalıtavıstara*, Lefmann, pp 21–22

6 Legge, *Fa-Hıen's Travels*, pp 42–43

7 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol I, pp 301-313

8 *Exploratıons at Mathurā* by J Ph Vogel, A S I, Annual Report, 1911-12, pp 120-33

9 *Cambrıdge Hıstory of Indıa*, I, p 633

10 Elıot, *Hınduısm and Buddhısm*, II, p 158

11 Rapson, *Ancıent Indıa*, pp 142-3

12 Law, *Ancıent Mıd-Indıan Ksatrıya Trıbes*, I, p 93

13 Smıth, *Ancıent Indıa*, p 174

14 *Ancıent Indıa*, p 174

15 Elıot, *Hınduısm and Buddhısm*, I, p 113

16 *Cambrıdge Hıstory of Indıa*, p 167

17 Ray Chaudhury, *Early Hıstory of the Vaısnava sect*, p 99

18 *Uttara Madhurā accordıng to Ghata Jātaka*

19 *Early Hıstory of the Vaısnava Sect*, p 100

20 *Vımānavatthu Commentary*, pp 118-19

21 *Anguttara Nıkāya*, II, p 57

22 Naga worshıp ın ancıent Mathurā by J Ph Vogel, *A S I*, *Annual Report*, 1908-09, pp 159-163

23 Chap 99

24 *Cambrıdge Hıstory of Indıa*, I, p 185

25 *Brahma Purāna*, Chap 14, Sl 54, Harıvamśa, Ch 37.

26. *Bhāgavata Māhātmya*, Chap I

27 Oldenberg, *Dīpavaṁsa*, p 27

28 Many coins of Menander were discovered at Mathurā (R D Banerjee, *Prāchīn Mudrā*, p 50)

29 Smith, *Early History of India*, p 199

30 *Ibid*, p 227

CAKRAVARTIKSETRAM

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India is a geographical expression It is a name of foreign origin and, unlike the names of other countries like France, Germany, or England, corresponds to no innate sense of unity actuating the people of the country Until the establishment of British rule in all India in the nineteenth century, India remained for the most part a congeries of warring states of varying size, and political unity and patriotism were alike unknown to her numerous peoples separated by differences of race, language, religious practices and what not Such is the view that has so often been repeated by historians of India and gained such general currency, that occasional attempts to lay stress on the 'Fundamental unity of India' underlying her history have passed almost unnoticed

Our aim here is to draw attention to one sentence in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* which clearly marks off India from other countries in a political sense, and thus gives evidence of the lively realisation of the possibility of a united state embracing all India, which was attained centuries before the beginnings of British rule in India, most probably in the fourth century B C when the first all-India empire of the Mauryas was established

The ninth Adhikarana of the *Arthaśāstra* is devoted to a study of the strategy (abhiyāsyat karma) to be developed by the conqueror (Vijigīsu), and in its first prakarana we have a discussion of the relative strength of the combatants, the suitability of the place and time of operations, and so on

The discussion of the field of operations, *dēśa*, is a short one, and the sentence to which I wish to draw attention occurs in this brief discussion The text as given by Dr. Shama Sastri runs thus .

deśah pṛthivī; tasyām himavat-samudrāntaram udīcīnam yojanasahasraparimānam atiryak-cakravartiksetram tatrāraṇyo grāmyah pāta audako bhaumassamo viṣama iti viśesāh

Tesu yathāsvabalavrddhikaram karma prayuñjita. Yatrātmanassainya-vyāyāmānām bhumih abhūmih parasya, sa uttamo deśah viparīto ' dhamah sādhārano madhyamah

Dr Shama Sastri translates the passage as follows

" Country (space) means the earth , in it the thousand *yojanas* of the northern portion of the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the ocean form the dominion of no insignificant emperor , in it there are such varieties of land, as forests, villages, waterfalls, level plains, and uneven grounds In such lands, he should undertake such work as he considers to be conducive to his power and prosperity That part of the country, in which his army finds a convenient place for its manouvre, and which proves unfavourable to his enemy, is the best , that part of the country which is of the reverse nature, is the worst , and that which partakes of both the characteristics is a country of middling quality "

This translation, particularly of the first two sentences, can hardly be justified by a reference to the text, and it will be hard to explain how the meaning ' the dominion of no insignificant emperor' is to be got out of the phrase · *atiryak-cakravartiksetram* There is clearly scope for a better rendering of this passage

Jolly's text is also the same with two differences he puts a stop after *cakravartikṣetram*, and for *pāta* he reads

pārvata, which has good manuscript authority in its favour and is certainly the better reading in the context. But Mādhava Yajvan, the author of the *Nayacandrikā*, interprets the first two sentences in our extract as follows ·

> Sā sarvā prthvī deśo netyāha—tasyām prthivyām dakṣinasamudrād-ārabhya himaśailaparyantam tiryak pūrvāparasamudrāvadhi yojanasahasra pramānam prthvādīnām cakravartinām rājyabhūtam ksetram ityarthah

It is clear from this that Mādhava adopts the reading *tiryak* for *atiryak* which, as we have seen, makes no sense in the context

Mahamahopādhyāya T Ganapati Sastri, who does not give the details of his ms material, adopts the reading *tiryak*, apparently on the authority of Mādhava Yajvan, and curiously enough omits to note in his Appendix I this important textual difference between his edition and the two others which preceded his Ganapati Sastri's comment on the passage closely follows Mādhava Yajvan's and reads

> deśam nirūpayati—deśah prthivīti | tasyāmiti | prthivyām, himvatsamudrāntaram udīcīnam himālayadaksinasamudrayorantarālam udagbhavam, tiryagyojanasahasraparimānam pūrvāparasamudrāvadhikam yojanasahasramitam, çakravartiksetram cakravartinām ksetram yasyā' khandasya śāsanēna rājā cakravartīti vyapadiśyatē taditvarthah

Thus we see that this sentence is taken by Mādhava Yajvan, and after him, by Ganapati Sastri, to give the boundaries at first North to South, and then the measurement across (*tiryak*) i e east to west, of the land which is the sphere of a *cakravarti*'s rule.

J J Meyer [1] translates the passage accordingly 'Der Ort ist die Erde Auf ihr ist das Gebiet des Kaisers (*cakravartin*), (in seiner nach) aufwarts (gestreckten Lange) eingefaßt vom Himālaya und vom Meer, in die Quere tau-

send Yojana messend', and adds a note saying · '*Udīcīna* "nach aufwarts gewendet", gewohnlich also, "nordlich". Ich lese *tiryak* statt *atiryak* '.

Thus we see that the correct readings of the two words discussed are *tiryak* and *pārvata,* and the whole passage cited above may be translated as follows: "Deśa refers to the Earth. And in it, the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea, and measures a thousand *yojanas* across, is the field (of operations) of the *cakravartin.* In that (field) are the varieties of forest, village, mountain, waterlogged, even, and uneven regions Among them, one should undertake operations calculated to increase one's own strength That is the best *dēśa* which is favourable to the manouvres of one's own forces, and unfavourable to those of the enemy . that which is reverse, is inferior , that which is equal (in its suitability to one's own manouvres and those of the enemy) is middling" It will be noticed that this rendering follows the commentary of Mādhava Yajvan and the translation of Meyer

Now I think considerable interest attaches to Kautilya's use of the phrase *cakravartiksetram* (Gebiet des Kaisers, as Meyer renders it) The conception of *cakravartin,* it is well known, had an important place in the repertoire of ancient Indian political ideas There is a considerable literature, ancient and modern, centring round the conception, and this is not the place tc enter into any elaborate discussion of it But one point deserves to be stated with some emphasis. It is this Usually the *cakravartin* is described as universal emperor, ruler of the whole earth, if not of other worlds as well Accordingly Amarasimha says that a *cakravartin* is a *sārvabhauma,* and many examples from the legendary history of India, the Brāhmanas, the epics and the Purānas, may be cited in support of this view On the other hand the relatively realistic literature of the Buddhists recognised different classes of *cakravartins* as *cakkavālacakkavatti* who ruled the four great continents comprising the entire world, *dīpacakkavatti* who ruled over one continent, and

padeśa-cakkavatti whose sway was confined to a part of a continent. But even here we are still in the realm of theory, and the classification rests on logical analysis rather than on facts of history

Kautilya's conception of *cakravartiksetram* clearly confines it to India proper, and this is important in several ways The political unity of India was almost completely realised for the first time under Mauryan rule, and the possibility of its realisation might well have dawned on the mind of the great Chancellor who did so much to shape the victorious career of Chandragupta and witnessed its progress from success to success And if this line of thought is accepted as valid, we shall have to accept that this clearly defined concept of *cakravartiksetram* is a gift of Kautilya's mind to India, and we get definite proof that parts of the *Arthaśāstra,* if not the whole of it as we have it now, we owe to the collaborator of Chandragupta Machiavelli's dream of Italian unity took shape from the divisions and strife of his time, Kautilya's idea of Indian unity, on the other hand, was meant to be the fulfilment of his own work in the domain of statecraft And it is possible that it is the survival of this idea for several generations that is the foundation of Arrian's statement 'A sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India '[2]

One word more Jacobi's attempt to trace a reference to Indian overseas colonisation in the phrase *abhūtapūrvam janapadam* in Kautilya's chapter (II 1) on *Janapadaniveśa* has been disputed by Finot and Pelliot[3] And it must be conceded that Jacobi's interpretation does seem to be a little far-fetched But of this one may be sure; that, if that movement of colonisation had gone on for any length of time, and if a Greater India was already coming into existence beyond the seas in the fourth century B C , Kautilya might not have so decisively confined his idea of Cakravartiksetram to India proper In fact, the concept of this *ksetram* in the form in which it appears in the *Arthaśāstra*

seems to be clear proof that at least the kernel of the work must be assigned to an age definitly anterior to the coming up of the Hindu kingdoms beyond the seas.

NOTES

1 p 523

2 Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p 204

3 *B E F E O*, xii (1912), No 8, pp 1-4, *T P*, xiii (1912), p 729, etc

BHĀSA AND KAUTILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

BY

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In " *Bhāsa-A Study* " I have proved that the quotation in the tenth Adhikarana of the *Arthaśāstra* is from Bhāsa's *Pratijñā* (IV 2), and on account of the close affinity of sociological conditions as portrayed in Bhāsa and Kautilya, I took both to belong to the same period with Bhāsa as the earlier or the senior contemporary of the latter [1] Sociological conditions as revealed from the works of Bhāsa were incidentally considered in their relation to the *Arthaśāstra.* In this paper I propose to present in a comprehensive form the relationship between Bhāsa and Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*

Despite Prof. Rapson's wholesale condemnation of the oft-quoted dictum of Prof Whitney about the unsettled condition of dates in Indian Chronology,[2] it will have to be admitted that the dictum contains an amount of truth and is applicable even today Not only are the dates of Bhāsa, Kautilya and Kālidāsa disputed, but there is diversity of views regarding dates of historical personages such as Kaniska Pusyamitra, Candra-Gupta, etc I have elsewhere dealt exhaustively with the Bhāsa Problem and start here with the conclusions arrived at therein, viz , that Bhāsa was the author of the thirteen so-called Trivandrum Plays, and that he belonged to the Mauryan period [3] With regard to the *Arthaśāstra*, I hold that there should now be no difference of opinion in regarding the work as the product of the Mauryan age [4] The discovery of the prehistoric civilization at Mohenjo-Daro has rendered most of the arguments of Dr Winternitz and Dr Jolly merely of academic interest. Opinion is steadily veering round to the pre-Christian view,

and I believe, before long, the date will gain general acceptance. The diversity of dates assigned to the *Arthaśāstra* has produced interesting results in the views of even the protagonists of the Bhāsa theory Most of those that relegate the *Arthaśāstra* to the Mauryan epoch take Bhāsa to be the borrower of the verse in the *Pratijñā,* whereas all those placing the *Arthaśāstra* in the post-Christian period take Bhāsa to be the original source [5]

Conservatism and orthodoxy being the peculiar features of India, there are bound to be general agreements with regard to social conditions of widely different periods It is well known that the caste-system and many of the rites and rituals that the Hindus perform even today were almost the same right upto the Vedic times I have, therefore, dropped out of consideration points of such general agreement, such as, e g . the joint family system, marriage laws, etc

The influence of the *Arthaśāstra* is naturally felt more in the realm of political sphere, and so we begin with the Court Life The *Arthaśāstra* exacts a heavy toll of duties from the king and prescribes a regular time-table for him [6] It is to be noted in this connection that Bhāsa refers to a night bath for the king after ten *nādikās* [7] This was taken as an instance of a lapse on the part of Bhāsa [8] But in the light of Kautilya, we find that Bhāsa is following the ancient tradition Political marriages were current in the Mauryan age as would appear from the marital relations contracted by Bimbisāra Ajātaśatru, Prasenajit, etc , as also by Candragupta Maurya himself who married a Hellenic princess, and in selecting the plot of the *Svapnavāsavadatta,* Bhāsa has really displayed wonderful power of judgement and tact Nothing is yet known about the historicity of the rebel Āruni who is said to have ousted Udayana Vatsarāja in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* [9] In seeking the aid of the Magadha king against Āruni, however, Yaugandharāyana, the minister of Vatsarāja, was evidently following the *Arthaśāstra* doctrine · " One shall make alliance with a king who is stronger than one's neighbouring enemy "[10] The possible causes of the

disappearance of the Sauvīrarāja as enumerated by king Kuntibhoja in the *Avimāraka* of Bhāsa are found to correspond with those given by Kautilya [12] The description of the royal palaces in Bhāsa with their strictly guarded Kanyāpuraprāsāda having high and strong fortified walls on all sides with *kapiśirsakas* placed at different points on the walls[13] has its parallel in the *Arthaśāstra* [14] Kautilya speaks of thick stone-slabs of the size of the head of a monkey (called *kapiśīrsakas*) to be placed on the sides of the road on the rampart

Secret Service Department which Kautilya raised to the status of a full-fledged State Department, has been utilized by Bhāsa for the rescue of Udayana and for getting news about the whereabouts of Sauvīrarāja and Avimāraka [15] The former evidently has historical basis, but the fact that spies are referred to three or four times, and also that the supervision and control of spies has been mentioned as a duty of the king, it seems that Bhāsa knew the institution [16]

That the spies used to bring news during the course of war as stated in the *Arthaśāstra* is also found in Bhāsa from the occasional reports received from the battlefield in the *Pañcarātra* and the *Abhiseka* [17] The *Arthaśāstra* mentions an army register in which full particulars about every soldier were entered , Bhāsa also refers to a similar record which facilitated the identification of every individual soldier in the army [18] One of the *ślokas* which used to be sung before the commencement of actual war to encourage the soldiers has been, as already indicated, copied in the *Arthaśāstra* from Bhāsa The *ślokas*[19] glorify death on the battlefield and state that soldiers go beyond the goal attained by performers of sacrifices or penances, they also maintain that no vessel filled with consecrated water and covered with *darbha* grass would ever come to the soldier who does not fight in return for the subsistence received from his master After the conclusion of war, the Commander-in-Chief of the army used to record the deeds of bravery of soldiers in the Annals of

the State, and to reward the heroes.[20] Bhāsa evidently refers to this tradition in his *Pañcarātra* when Uttara is reported as being engaged in entering the names of warriors and of their deeds of valour in the Annals.[21] Curiously enough, Dr Winternitz finds this action on the part of Uttara to be 'funny,' as according to him, Uttara "in the midst of battle occupies himself with writing down the deeds of warriors in a book"[22] It may be observed in this connection that it is *after the war* that Uttara records the exploits of soldiers, which is quite natural[23] The practice, as stated earlier, is corroborated from the *Arthaśāstra* It is the reluctance of these scholars to place the ancient works in their proper periods and to appreciate the well-established traditions that leads to such curious results

Bhāsa refers to the waving of lights before horses;[24] Kautilya prescribes the practice on the ninth day of Aśvina and at the commencement and close of a journey[25] With regard to the different weapons used in war, we find that nearly all the weapons mentioned by Bhāsa have been enumerated by Kautilya under various classifications, such as offensive, defensive, movable, immovable, etc[26]

Slavery is a very important feature in which both Bhāsa and Kautilya agree Despite the emphatic averments of Megasthenes, viz "None of the Indians employ slaves" and "All Indians are free and not one of them is a slave,"[27] it seems that there existed an institution known as 'Dāsas' who were not completely free Possibly the differences in the status of slaves in the East and West, as also the celebrated dictum of Kautilya that no Aryan was ever to be a slave,[28] were responsible for the above statements by Megasthenes Kauṭilya enumerates six kinds of slaves, and refers to their duties and to the treatment to be accorded to them[29] Slaves could win their freedom on payment of ransom to their owners. Heavy fines were prescribed for those who refused to emancipate their dāsas on the latter offering the ransom. Bhāsa also refers

to male and female slaves and states that they could be purchased from their masters on payment of money or their masters set them free on receiving the ransom[30] Slaves regained their status of Aryas after being free[31]

The excavations at Mohenjo-Daro have proved that the Indians had an elaborate drainage system since Chalcolithic period Bhāsa has referred to the flooding of a street on account of the choking of an underground drain,[32] it may be stated that Kautilya also mentions drains[33]

Bhāsa remarks that the Candālas and prostitutes stayed outside the cities[34] In the *Arthaśāstra* also we find them assigned the same direction[35] That the cities in the Mauryan period were fortified sounds natural enough and is also corroborated by both[36] Both testify to the absence of any street lights[37]

Another ancient custom recorded in Bhāsa and the *Arthaśāstra* is the beating of the drum to mark the beginning and close of night during which movements of the citizens were prohibited[37] Kautilya mentions some exceptions to the curfew order.[38]

Belief in magic does not relate to any particular epoch or country but is found in all times and with all people There is, however, close similarity in the methods used to put the inmates of any particular locality to sleep in both Bhāsa and Kautilya[39] Homage is paid to the same patron deities.

In the realm of non-mention, we find that Bhāsa and Kautilya do not refer to *rāśis* or to the word *nānaka*

It will thus be found that the agreement between Bhāsa and Kautilya is not merely general or accidental but covers significant details This cannot be taken to postulate a late date for Bhāsa , for, we have shown that Bhāsa contains the original of one verse in the *Arthaśāstra.* And again, the sociological conditions in both are exactly alike. Further,

Kautılya cannot be specıfically traced as the author of the varıous *Arthaśāstra* doctrınes mentıoned by Bhāsa. Bhāsa's source may well have been a treatıse on the *Arthaśāstra* by one of Kautılya's forerunners ın the field In thıs connectıon, ıt ıs pertınent to observe that both Bhāsa and Kautılya know Bārhaspatya *Arthaśāstra*,[40] and Kauṭılya has laıd that work under contrıbutıon It seems lıkely, therefore, that Brhaspatı may have been the source of Bhāsa and Kautılya, and also responsıble for so much correspondence between the two wrıters Socıologıcal condıtıons presented by both show them to belong to the Mauryan perıod, and lead to the ırresıstıble conclusıon that Bhāsa was the senıor contemporary of Kautılya.

NOTES

1 To be publıshed ın March 1940 cf pp 76-78, 98-100 of the book *Arthaśāstra* (*Kautılīyam Arthaśāstram,* Mysore, 1919), X 3,p 368

यान् यज्ञसङ्घैस्तपसा च विप्राः स्वर्गैषिण पात्रचयैश्च यान्ति ।
क्षणेन तानप्यतियान्ति शूरा. प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्त. ॥
नवं शरावं सलिलस्य पूर्णं सुसंस्कृतं दर्भकृतोत्तरीयम् ।
तत्तस्य मा भून्नरकं स गच्छेद् यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युध्येत् ॥

See ın thıs connectıon V R R Dıkshıtar—*Hındu Admınıstratıve Instıtutıons*, p 126, *n* 2

2 Rapson, *Cambrıdge Hıstory of Indıa,* Vol I, Preface Whıtney, *Sanskrıt Grammar*, Intr

3 cf *Bhāsa—A Study* , especıally Chapters I, II and III

4 cf *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp 76-77, 319-321, wıth footnotes

5. cf Sarup, *Vısıon of Vāsavadattā,* Intr , p 41 , Keıth, *Sanskrıt Drama,* p 102 , Banerjı, Sastrı *JBORS,* 1923, p 65 , also, Sankar, *Asutosh Memorıal Volume,* Part 2, p 52

6 *Arthaśāstra*, I 19, pp 37-38

7 *Avımāraka* (Trıvandrum SS), pp 13, 32 , *Abhıseka* (Lahore, 1930), p 28 , cf also, *Cam Hıst Ind* , I, p 493 The expressıon used ıs "दश नाडिका. पूर्णा ।" Dr Woolner (*Thırteen Trıvandrum Plays,* Vol II, p 70, *n* 1) takes *nādıkā* to be 24 mınutes and states that neıther four hours (ı e , ten *nādıkās* accordıng to hım) after daybreak nor four hours after mıd-day seem suıtable for the kıng's bath Dr Weller suggests "perhaps after countıng upto 10 *nāḍıkās* one began agaın".

Dr. Sarup takes *nādıkā* to be "a vessel for bathıng" The expressıon ıs easıly explıcable on a reference to the *Arthaśāstra* whıch makes a *nādıkā* equal to one hour and a half, and prescrıbes a second bath for the kıng durıng the tenth *nādıkā* (ı e, roughly 7 30-9 p m) In Bhāsa's perıod the tıme was after the tenth *nāḍıkā, ı e*, after 9 p m

8 Paranȷape, *Sāhıtyasaṃgraha* (ın Marathı), Vol I, p 108

9 cf *Svapnavāsavadatta* (Trıvandrum, 1924), pp 116-118, also वत्सराजलाभप्रवृद्धोदयायोद्यनाय (p 119)

10 *Arthaśāstra*, VII 2, p 267, यद्बलस्सामन्तः तद्विशिष्टबलमाश्रयेत ।

11 *Avımāraka*, I 11

12 *Arthaśāstra*, V 6

13 *Avımāraka*, p 46

14 *Arthaśāstra*, I 24, p 52

15 cf *Pratıȷñāyaugandharāyana* (Trıvandrum SS), Acts III and IV, *Avımāraka*, pp 26, 99 and VI 10

16 *Avımāraka*, I 12, also p 99, परचरनयेनमण्डलं प्रेक्षितव्यं (I 12)

17 *Pañcarātra* (Trıvandrum, 1917), p 67, II 24, *Abhıseka*, pp 35-38

18 *Arthaśāstra*, Adhıkarana X, esp cf II 36, p 144— स तस्यां स्त्रीपुरुषाणां जातिगोत्रनामकर्मभि.जङ्घाप्रमायव्ययौ च विद्यात् । *Abhıseka*, pp 54-56

19 *Arthaśāstra*, X 3, pp 367-368

20 cf *Arthaśāstra* X 3 p 368, सूतमागधा. शूराणां स्वर्गमस्वर्गं भीरूणां जातिसङ्घकुलकर्मवृत्तस्तवं च योधानां वर्णयेयुः ।

21 *Pañcarātra*, p 70, II 28, p 91

22 *Bulletın of the Ramavarma Research Instıtute*, Vol V, p 9

23 cf *Pañcarātra*, p 70; अवजितं गोग्रहणम् । अपयाता धार्तराष्ट्राः । दृष्टपरिस्पन्दानां योधपुरुषाणां कर्माणि पुस्तकमारोपयति कुमारः । also, p 91

24 cf *Pratıȷña*, I 12

25 *Arthaśāstra*, II 30, p 135

26 Bhāsa mentıoned शक्ति, प्रास, हाटक, भिण्डिपाल, शूल, मुसल, मुद्गर, वराहकर्ण, कणप, कर्पण, शङ्कु, त्रासि, गदा, वर्म, चर्म, आतपत्र, चामर, तोमर, शर, कुन्त, कवच, खड्ग, नाराच, ऋष्टि, असि, करवाल, अङ्कुश, कुलिश, etc cf *Arthaśāstra*, II 18, pp 101-102

27 Megasthenes, *Fragments* 26, 27, also *Cam Hıst Indıa*, I, pp 481-482, Smıth, *Early Hıstory of Indıa*, 4th Ed, p 187n.

28 *Arthaśāstra*, III 13, p 181 न त्वेवार्यस्य दास्यभावः ।

29 *Arthaśāstra*, III 13, pp 181-183

30. *Cārudatta* (Trivandrum, 1922), pp 91, 92. दास्यति स्वां निष्क्रयेण ।

31. *Cārudatta*, p. 102. अय्या खु सि दाणिं संवुत्ता ।

32 Cf *Pratijñā*, p 50. आघट्टिदपणाळीपस्सुदसलिळविसमे राअमग्गं ... । *Arthaśāstra*, III 8, p. 167. पणाळीमोक्षो वर्षेति । also, *Cam Hist Ind*, I, p 476.

33. *cf Avimāraka*, pp 14, 29, *Pañcarātra, p* 52, *Bālacarita* (Trivandrum SS), p 39

34 *Arthaśāstra*, II 4, pp 55-56. रूपाजीवास्तालापचारा वैश्याश्च दक्षिणां दिशमधिवसेयु· ।' 'पाषण्डचाण्डालानां स्मशानान्ते वासः ।

35 Cf *Pratijña*, p 64: 'प्राकार' *Arthaśāstra*, II 3 4 etc

36 *Cārudatta*, p 66. स्थिरतिमिरा राजमार्गा.। cf *Arthaśāstra*, II 36, p. 146 सूतिकाचिकित्सकप्रेतप्रदीपानयन नागर कतूर्यप्रेक्षाग्निनिमित्तमुद्राभिश्चाग्राह्याः । cf. also, *Cārudatta*, pp 27, 28, 41. दीपिका तावत् ।

37 *Cārudatta*, pp 65, 78 किदपरिघोसणदारा (p 65), नेपथ्ये पटहशब्दः (p 78), *Arthaśāstra*, II 36, p 146: विषण्णाळिकमुभयतो रात्र यामतूर्यं । also *Cam Hist. Ind*, I, p 476

38 *cf Arthaśāstra*, II 36, p 146 (quoted earlier)

39 cf *Avimāraka*, p 46· प्रसीदन्तु बलिशम्बरमहाकालाः ।
Arthaśāstra, XIV 3, p 421. बलिं वैरोचनं वन्दे शतमायं च शम्बरम् ।

40 cf *Arthaśāstra*, pp 6, 29, 63, 177, 192, 375, etc

THE ROLE OF RAMADAS IN THE MARATHA REVOLUTION OF THE 17TH CENTURY

BY

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The Marāthas made history in the 17th century. They gave it a new turn They completed the unfinished task of the Rājputs in the North and the Vijayanagar Kings in the South—namely, the defeat and overthrow of the Turks and Mughals in India Mahārāshtra on the eve of its downfall at the end of the 13th century at the hands of the Turks and on the eve of its rise in the beginning of the 17th century at the hands of the Marāthas against their Mughal successors produced a remarkable number of men of devotion, thought and action who possessed force and character of great leaders and who inspired and moulded the religious and cultural, social and political life of the Marātha people to a new vigour and message Jnānadeva and Nāmadeva in the beginning, and Tukārāma, Rāmadās and Shivāji at the end are the typical representatives of Marātha religion, culture and politics The Eighteenth century is the century of the dominance and rule of the Marāthas. They were not actuated by any motive of forcibly spreading their religion, but only by that of maintaining their Country's religion and culture and acquiring its independence and liberty from foreign yoke and intolerance.

The inspiration and aim given by Rāmadās and Shivāji continued to actuate the Marātha leaders till the end of the 18th century In 1794 Govindrāo Kāle the Marātha ambassador at the court of the Nizam wrote in his famous letter after the battle of Kharda to Nana Fadanvis " India is the

land of the Hindus and not a land of the Turks. For our achievement is not limited to the acquisition of territory, merely material rule, but it also means and includes the preservation of the Vedas and the Shāstrās of Hindu civilisation, the propagation of righteousness, the protection of the Cows and the Brahmans, of the humble and the good, the conquest of an empire and National suzerainty, the diffusion of fame and far reaching triumph" India did not succumb completely to the Turks and Mughals and their foreign culture as the countries in the Middle East did It is to the credit of the Rājputs, Vijayanagar Kings, Marāthās, Sikhs and Gurkhas that India has kept the ideal and fact of independence both of the country and culture alive, throughout the night of darkness which spread over her for a long period of many centuries

In order to re-establish independence in the land the Marātha people as a whole, their leaders and followers, carried on a *sixty years' war of Independence from* 1646-1706 During the latter half of this period the Rājputs, the Sikhs, the Bundellas and the Jāts were also engaged locally in fighting for their independence

The Turkish and Mughal rule in India was becoming an established fact in the minds of the people Indigenous rulers had failed to stem the avalanche of the northern barbarians, Turanians and Tartars, nomads alien in race, religion, culture and sympathies, narrow in outlook and bigoted in religion From the time of Mahmud of Gazni's destruction of gods and temples, seats of learning and centres of art, to that of Aurangzeb's similar acts the country had not much respite during the seven hundred years their rule dominated The records of history bear testimony to this aspect quite profusely inspite of the new distortions of history Whatever remained or was again rebuilt and resuscitated was due to the attempts of the Rājputs and others who followed them

The ideals and aims which inspired the Marāthās, the methods and practices which they pursued and the achieve-

ments which they made may be studied in the utterances and actions of Shivāji and Rāmadās and in the writings of the Hindu poet Bhushan who was a contemporary of Shivāji and Rāmadās. We shall try here to state and to appreciate the outlook, aims and methods of Rāmadās in inspiring the Marathās to revolutionary action and political idealism which they pursued in the 17th and 18th centuries of our history

Rāmadās's life extends over a period of 72 years from 1608 to 1680 For 12 years he lived in his home Even in his very early age he was upset by the condition and sorrows of his people He told his mother "I feel anxious about the condition of the world" Instead of caring for his own or family welfare he left his home and ran away from marriage at the age of 12, being actuated by the same idea From the age of 12 to 24 he prepared himself by study, meditation and discipline at Nasik to a spiritual life of devotion and renunciation, and to a worldly life of service and organisation For the next 12 years from 24 to 36 he travelled north and south, doing the pilgrimage and observing the condition of the people under foreign rule There are graphic descriptions of the fallen conditions of the people during those times to be found in his writings He found the Hindu society disorganised, down trodden, sullen and without any guide Great despair had taken possession of the people "The holy places were broken The abode of Brahmins were polluted All earth was shaken Religion had fled" (Rāmadās in his letter to Shivāji) Shivāji in his letter to Mirza Raja Jayasing says "This country and religion are in danger Our children, our country, our wealth, our gods, our temples and our holy worshippers are all in danger of existence owing to his (Aurangzeb's) machinations, and the utmost limit of pain that can be borne has been reached" In his letter to Aurangzeb Shivāji writes, "But in your Majesty's reign, your peasants are down-trodden, the yield of every village has declined . It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry and the Hindus are grilled, most men lack bread at night.

How can the royal spirit make you to add the hardship of the Jaziya to this grievous state of things." In another place Rāmadās writes under the caption of the "Influence of Foreign Rule" *great calamities fall on the people owing* to scarcity and dearness People have to leave their homes. Several are starved to death Several leave their places Many villages become desolate All crops and corn are destroyed Several groups of soldiers come and cause destruction Several get converted for the sake of food Several are captured and enslaved by the Portuguese and Muslims Several spoil chaste women etc Many people have now become Mahommedans, some have fallen on the field of battle, many have lost touch with their native language and have become proficient in foreign tongues The bounds of Mahārāshtra have been curtailed People are engaging themselves in politics They do not find time even to take their food Many engage themselves in a life of warfare, and by the pride natural to that life, they engage themselves day and night in war topics The merchant carrying on his commerce cares for nothing but his belly Various sorts of philosophical opinions have prevailed Many kinds of atheistic schools have sprung up Wherever you go, you find false teachers Confusion reigns everywhere People are merely following the bent of their desires They cannot distinguish right from wrong"

There was no higher religious, cultural, political, social and economic life seen at that time There was no justice and toleration, no freedom of person, property, honour and life in the country

This condition of the people afflicted the heart of Rāmadās. He was night and day overwhelmed with their sorrows and the thoughts of their welfare How to create new times which will make all people happy was his chief aim and anxiety He wanted to give the people the hope of better times and good life to come He says "Keep patience, do not despair, make attempts Give up fear, keep eternal vigilance, create organised groups Leaders should

not give up courage, nor lose opportunity, not give up endeavour, like beasts." His earlier activities and life were led at the banks of the Godavari at Jāmb and Nasik which were more accessible to and under the influence of the Muslim rulers. When he returned from his All-India pilgrimage he established himself about 1644 in the neighbourhood of the banks of the Krishna River at places like Masur, Chāphal, Karād. He organised there his followers, built his Rāma and Māruti temples, performed their festivals and gave and spread his message Here he also came in contact with Shivāji, observed his aims and activities of Swarāj and gave him a message of spiritual hope and a philosophy of ethical idealism and political independence and organisation His fourfold message can be summed up in his own words " Render unto God first what is God's, then to State what is State's be vigilant every way and make endeavours " In order to achieve this he emphasized the power of effort, agitation and action But he also emphasized that God's grace must be there to inspire him He had confidence in Mahārāshtra and the Marāthā people and therefore he established himself in the mountainous Mahārāshtra and preached his life-giving message of political deliverance and spiritual hope " Gather all the Marāthas and spread the Mahārāshtra dharma of martial spirit and political independence " " Mahārāshtra people are so engaged in politics that they have no time for even taking food They have many things to do " He told them about their opponents and oppressors " Mlechchas are very wicked men They are a long-standing peril Therefore there should be eternal vigilance about their actions " " One should die for religion and political independence One should kill all (the enemies) and reconquer one's country while dying and fighting for it " He told the people what type of King was the best for their troublous times " Times are very stormy Therefore when he sees enemy's forces the brave warrior is impatient to fight with eagerness Such should be our King who will also promote our spiritual welfare " He preaches

the duty of the Kshatriyas, " He who is afraid of losing life should not follow soldier's life. One should die fighting. That will lead to salvation " " Holding God in reverence create unrest everywhere and destroy traitors to the country for the sake of the establishment of Dharma—Swaraj and culture " " The call of death cannot be eluded. The body cannot be saved. Think over and understand what to do." Such a king he found in Shivāji whom he described thus :—" O Meru of Resolution, O Helper of many, of unchanged resolve, rich and master of your passions O thou who pourest benefits on others, whose qualities are incomparable Leader and King who are strong always. King triumphant and famous, powerful, generous, meritorious, virtuous and wise Possessed ever of good conduct and judgment, generosity and faith, knowledge and character Bold and generous grave and daring, swift to execute Thou who by thy vigilance didst spurn Kings The holy places were broken, the abodes of Brahmans were polluted All earth was shaken ' Religion had fled Narayan resolved to protect the gods, the faith, the cows, the Brahmans and inspired thee to do so Near thee are many wise Pandits, great poets, men skilled in sacrifice and learned in the Vedas, men quick and shrewd and fitted to lead assemblies None of this earth protects religion as thou doest Because of thee some has lingered in Mahārāshtra A few have sheltered themselves with thee, and still some holy acts are done Honour to thy glory It has spread all over the earth Some evil men thou hast killed Some have fled in terror Some thou has pardoned King Shiva the fortunate "

Rāmadās gave advice to Shivāji on a number of occasions It related to many aspects of policy and methods of administration " Innumerable traitors should be destroyed " " In evil times be not despondent Try every remedy, in the end all will be well Keep all men under control Then the wise will value your rule If there be no proper control, the government grows weak Do not go in the van of battle. Such is not the true state-craft. There are many whom you

can send as generals. Have many officers. Do not appoint all to one task. Give them in your wisdom separate tasks. If a leader's pride is fired, he will not look to his own life. Gather together many leaders and then strike Let kings observe the religion of kings Let Kshatriyas observe the religion of Kshatriyas Let your horses, weapons and horsemen be your first thought, so that when your picked troops approach, your enemies great though they be, shall flee away Thus I have spoken a few words on the art of government, when the minds of lords and servants are one, it is good" "You should gather a large number of men, inspire them with one thought and attack the foreigners with great effort You should protect what you have acquired, should acquire more and should spread Mahārāshtra Rājya everywhere" (letter to Sambhaji by Ramādās)

In contemporary politics his advice was —"First strike and conquer Then the world will be afraid of you"

In order to achieve the happiness and welfare of the people and the aims which should inspire them he advised them to acquire power and to create organised and disciplined life "Power gives happiness, without power there is humiliation and disgrace, with power people are seen enjoying grandeur who cares for the weak Power gives Kingdoms Cleverness leads to effort where power and cleverness are united there the rich seek shelter" This power was ultimately based on the willing support and satisfaction of the people The State which keeps the people satisfied becomes powerful with the force of their support "If you keep the people satisfied there is contentment everywhere Keep the many contented Where there are people there is god This idea must be understood God is in the heart of the world i e, people The people however should be educated." In educating them the method adopted should be that adopted to teach children "To walk like children and to talk in a

way the children's mind understands. In this way the people should be slowly taught"

"All knowledge must be spread slowly amongst the people Those who are ignorant must always be educated with the help of Katha—public lectures"

But in dealing with the people all should not be treated in the same way They are not all equal "From the King to the common subject, in all the ranks of people, how can all be described as equal" "World moves with unity, but its manifestations possess different power and abilities God has made various differences in the world Due to diversity the whole creation moves Do not create chaos and confusion and spread pollution"

At the success of Shivāji Ramādās was very much pleased His joy knew no bounds His feelings are found expressed in his "The region of Bliss" He felt overjoyed at the defeat of Aurangzeb who was responsible for the destruction of temples and for the tyranny over the Hindus, at the establishment of Marātha rule in Mahārāshtra and at the security afforded to Hindu religion and culture under it he called it Rama-Rajya "All the traitors are destroyed Hindustan has become powerful The disloyal have disappeared, in the Region of Bliss The tyrant Aurangzeb has lost The destruction of Mlechchas have taken place The broken places of pilgrimage and temples of gods have been reerected in the Region of Bliss All differences in the treatment of men in religion have disappeared The lost, the cruel, the sinful have been cut or beaten down by God in the region of Bliss They have dropped out, run away, died, or left the country The earth has been purified in the region of Bliss."

In this way Ramādās goes on describing graphically the effects of Shivāji's success in his treatise "Anand-ban Bhuvan" and shows how Hindu culture and life rights and religion could be practised fully there The poet Bhusan confirms what Ramādās says.—'If Shivāji had not been

there then all would have been circumcised ' "Shivāji protected and preserved Hindutva" "He established his power over regions where formerly Muslims ruled" "You have preserved Hindutva, the tilak of the Hindus, the Smritis, Puranas, Vedas and their injunctions You have protected the capital cities of Rajputs, the dharma on the earth, the virtue of the virtuous, and the people of various countries on the path of duty O famous son of Shahji, you having curbed the army of Delhi kept the law in the world"

" preserved the Vedas and Puranas, the name of Rama and the lips of the Hindus, the tuft of hair on the head of the Hindus and the bread of their soldiers, the sacred thread on their shoulders and rosary on their neck, crushed the Moghuls and their emperor, destroyed your enemies and kept the power of doing good, the boundaries of the Kingdom, the army and power in your hands, protected the gods in temples, the freedom of religion in one's home Shivāji by defeating the Mlechchas you have acquired eternal fame"

This corroborates what Ramādās and his contemporaries felt when Shivāji's success, its fruits were seen everywhere

Shivāji acknowledges in one of his letters to Rāmadās the teachings which Rāmadās gave to him "I was greatly obliged to have been ordered that my religious duty lies in conquest in the establishment of religion, in the service of God and Brahmins in the relieving of the misery of my subjects, and in their protection and help, and that I should seek to obtain spiritual satisfaction in the midst of this duty."

It was not a purely political advice of conquest but of cultural, social and economic welfare of all the people

Rāmadās in this way created amongst the Marātha people a political and worldly consciousness gave them a cause and a method to fight for, a philosophy and ideal to inspire after and a King and Kingdom to live for He urged Shivāji to gather all the Marāthas and to spread Mahārāshtra

Rājya and Mahārāshtra Dharma. He wanted this active national spirit and political idealism of Mahārāshtra to spread throughout India and thus to preserve her religion, culture art and life He was also for tolerance towards other's religions and cultures There was no sectarian or national bigotism in him. He was human and wanted freedom for his people and independence for his country to live their own life and culture Rāmadās also repeated in a bold message what Jnāneshwar had preached before to the people as a whole " Why ask about the spiritual life of those whose worldly life is not properly led " Rāmadās says — " First perform the worldly duties well then devote yourself to spiritual pursuits, do not be idle in this O thoughtful " " If you give up worldly duties and devote yourself only to spiritual pursuits then you will become distressed but if you do both properly and proportionately then you are really thoughtful " " If by giving up this worldly duties only other-worldly pursuits were followed one will not get food to eat Then where will be other-worldly pursuits for such a wretch " " One who is careful in his worldly duties can alone perform spiritual duties One who is false in the one is also false in the other "

In this advice to the people as a whole he preaches a life of balance and not of extremism either of enjoyment or renunciation He encourages them strongly to make effort and give up idleness " There is no success without effort there is no kingdom without effort "

Rāmadās is very careful to inculcate the virtues of benevolence and good action and service of others " We should feel sorrow at the sorrows of others we should feel joy at the joys of others We should feel intensely that all should be happy "

Such powerful human feelings inspired Rāmadās It is the result of this inspiration that he gave his powerful message and performed his life-giving role in the life and politics of Mahārāshtra He created a new life in Mahā-

rāshtra. He gave the Marātha people a new hope which no other man of thought or action had done before and has put all of them in so many life-giving utterances which are found in his writings.

He believed in the all-sided development of the people. He emphasized the need of guarding their legitimate interests and desires by those who were in authority He understood and recognised fully the conditions and problems of those times of trouble He found out their causes and remedy He gave his message to the people, and advised and exhorted the Kings, Ministers and Brahmins to do their respective duties to the people and the country He organised a band of workers and a number of centres of work by establishing Maths and Mahants He wrote books of advice and developed an outlook and philosophy of active life in relation to religion, ethics and politics He personally worked for what he preached till the end of his life He lived his message

He is the most original of Hindu political thinkers He was actuated by those noble and lofty ideals which lift up and remake a fallen people and a defeated nation He therefore preached an active and aggressive nationalism to his people to their military and intellectual leaders His was not however merely a message of political liberation and union It was also a cultural moral and spiritual exhortation He wanted all the aspects of life to be balanced properly in the life of the Nation He set a very high standard of ethics and education to his followers and to the leaders of the people if they were to take seriously the work of politics into their hands and to reconstruct society and country on the basis of political independence "O Mind do not dwell upon sorrow, but rather avoid grief and anxiety" "A learned man is respected throughout the world and only those who are learned can become great"

STUDIES IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE GUPTA PERIOD.

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The materials for the construction of the constitutional history of the Gupta period consist of (1) the Nītiśāstras or Arthaśāstras like those of Kāmandaka and Brhaspati, (2) the Purānas, (3) the Smrtis and Dharmaśāstras, (4) literature, (5) contemporary inscriptions, and (6) contemporary notices, incidental but all the same illuminative, by foreign travellers like Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang Some scholars would place Kautilya's Arthaśāstra itself early in this period but this is not accepted by the vast majority who attribute it, though differing in detail, to the pre-Gupta period With regard to Kāmandaka[1] he only epitomises what Kautilya says He gives, in 36 chapters, what the latter does in 180 But he arranges the topics in a more scientific manner, amplifies some sections on public policy, and excludes those on law and the administrative departments With regard to his date, one criterion for deciding it is that he is referred to by Dandin and Bhavabhūti The Matsyapurāna and Agnipurāna quote largely from the work Obviously, the Kāmandakiya-nītiśāstra was earlier than the 7th century. But how far earlier? One view is that Kāmandaka[2] was earlier than Kālidāsa as the latter apparently reproduces Kāmandaka's views in regard to the policy to be pursued by a weak ruler in war. On the contrary, it has been said that Kāmandaka was later than Kālidāsa on the ground that the latter was apparently criticised by the former, in regard to the advantages of the royal chase Kāmandaka, it has been pointed out, not only enumerates the advantages

which Kālidāsa gives about the chase, but points out some disadvantages not referred to by the latter. It seems, however, that both Kāmandaka and Kālidāsa took their views from Kautilya, and that the arguments of their relative priority on this ground cannot stand scrutiny All that we can say is that Kāmandaka belonged to the same age as Kālidāsa, and that he probably lived in the 4th century A D.

Of the Purānas it is enough to mention that the latest portion of the Vāyu Purāna which mentions the Guptas, the main section of the Matsya Purāna, and the Agnēya, which is the latest of the three, give ample details of the divine theory and rules of royal conduct though they are defective in the description and evolution of constitutional principles.

The Dharmaśāstras are important for the fact that they set up law and jurisprudence as an independent science in this period They distinguished law from religion, and positive laws from moral injunctions Already in the pre-Gupta period, the logic of the Mīmāmsā had come to be applied to the discussion of political ideas and institutions , but this had been done to a comparatively narrow extent It was now extended More space was given to the different aspects of constitutional development, and a more systematic treatment was aimed at each

This new epoch was inaugurated by Yāgñavalkya,[1] who is quoted in inscriptions and literature from the 4th century onward, and whose Samhita consists of 1023 couplets He introduced, for the first time, the division of the Dharma-śāstra into the three distinct parts of *Āchāra* (custom), *Vyavahāra* (practical law), and *Prāyaśchitta* (punishment or expiation). He laid down that, where a law (Smrti and usage) was transgressed, and transgressed in a way injurious to another, judicial proceeding had to be resorted to in the form of appeal to, and interference of, the king In the close of his first chapter, wherein Yagñavalkya gives in detail the duties of the Varnāśramic life, he sketches the charac-

teristics and duties of the king (Verses 308-61) and the various measures of punishment (Verses 362-8) in vogue In Chapter II, Yāgñavalkya traces the laws and regulations in general He deals with all the steps in a legal procedure—the plaint and counter-plaint, witnesses, evidences, oaths, equity, ordeals and judgment and also enumerates the sources of law and the chief divisions of the civil and criminal law In Chapter III he deals with the spiritual penances for the transgressions of various civil and moral laws While Yāgñavalkya first separated legal matters from the theological and metaphysical, Nārada[4] carried the specialisation to the largest extent among the writers of the Dharmaśāstra He made a systematic arrangement of all matters relating to the administration of law Parāśara,[5] Brhaspati[6] and Vasishtha[7] had their own important contributions in their Samhitas The Vishnu-saṁhita is another important authority for the period [8]

Lastly come the references to practical institutions and practices in the inscriptions and contemporary literature The works of Kāḷidāsa, Bhāravi, Dandin, Bāna and others are full of valuable details of the royal ideals, institutions and practices Some of the passages are indeed fanciful, mythical and exaggerated , but it is plain that, even in such ideological fancies, there is a considerable background of acquaintance with court life and practical politics Kāvyas, dramas, romances, didactic treatises (like the Pañchatantra), and stray or allusive references in theological literatures of the different religious persuasions, Brāhmanical, Buddhistic and Jain, can be utilized with great advantage by the writers on the art of government during this period These literary materials are not only in Sanskrit, but in Prākrits and popular tongues Tamil literature is particularly valuable in this respect , and some of the treatises usually attributed to the Śangam period, like the *Śilappadikāram* and *Manimēkalai* and a few of the *Padinen-kīḻ-kanakku*, really belong to this period, and afford examples of the Gupta notions of polity as they were adopted and adapted in the distant, outlying and

non-Gupta areas, which were, however, subject to the influence of the Gupta culture.

As regards inscriptions, the important place they occupy as raw materials of history is amply evident from the monumental *Gupta inscriptions* by Dr Fleet. Every page of this remarkable volume of epigraphical lore has its own information on the constitutional theory and practice as they existed both in the areas directly governed by the Gupta and those which were subject, on account of the unifying influences of the age, to their example Some valuable epigraphical data have been obtained after the publication of Fleet's *Corpus* in 1888.

The Divine Theory of Monarchy Elaborated

The fundamental fact to be understood in regard to the system of government in this age was that it was based on an amplified divine theory of monarchy Of the Saptānga or seven constituent elements the king was the soul He not only was created by God out of His divine element, but he was expected to be like the different deities in the discharge of his different functions The Agnipurāna says that the king assumed the forms of nine deities when he discharged his functions. He is " like the sun, because he can be gazed at with difficulty on account of his lustre , he is like the moon, because he is the object of gratification to the people through his sight He is the God of wind, since he sweeps the world with his spies. He is Manu Vaivasvata, because he punishes crimes He is Agni, because he burns the vicious He is Kubēra, as he enriches the twice-born , Varuna as he showers plenty , Prthvī as he patiently sustains the world , and above all Hari, as he protects the people by his valour, energy and wisdom " The *Brhat-Parāśara* describes kingship as the product of the essences of eight separate deities The *Brhaddharmapurāna* similarly observes that God created the monarch from the lordship of Indra, the power of Agni, the severity of Yama, the prosperity of the Moon, the wealth of Kubēra, and the steadiness of Vishnu.

The Moral Obligation of Monarchy

The logical result of the divine theory was that loyalty came to be regarded as a religious duty Even a bad king was godlike and inviolable But an equally important effect was the belief that the king had his responsibilities The efficiency of his protection justified his divine character He was to be a source of strength to the weak, a son to the issue-less, a source of wealth to the poor, a parent to the parentless, a servant and friend of men He was to gladden his subjects with his conduct and capacity If he was divine, it was not for the sake of power, but for the sake of protection The ethical duties are dwelt in very great detail in the Nītiśāstras, Purānas, Dharmaśāstras, and literature The inscriptional descriptions are mostly court flatteries, and contrary to actual facts of history in some cases at least, but this does not go to minimise the constitutional significance The expressions used in them are at times not only very dignified, poetic and picturesque , but they presuppose the authorities above-mentioned In Chapter IV of the Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra, to quote only one example, we find a technical description of the Abhigāmika-gunas of a king as the synthesis of good birth, youth, steadfastness in prosperity and adversity, amiability, civility, promptness, truthfulness in speech and deed, reverence for age, gratitude, good destiny, wisdom indifference to trifles, capacity to triumph over hostile kings, constancy in attachment, farsightedness, high idealism, modesty, and devotion to religion and justice King Dharasena II of Valabhi, who issued the Maliya Copper Plates Grant of G E 252 (A D 571-2), is described as possessing these gunas This was only an imitation of what the Gupta emperors claimed They are depicted as ideal monarchs of the Paurānic type They are compared to Vishnu, in respect of preservation and protection ; Rudra in valour , Brhaspati in wisdom , Meru in strength, Bharata in supremacy , Gandharvas in accomplishments, Siddhas in attainments , Dhanada in wealth ; Antaka in terror , Indra in glory , etc. They are described as Kshatriyas in the best

sense of the term, though they were not unaware of strange customs as the marriage of the brother's widow as in the case of Chandragupta II[9] They looked upon cows and Brāhmins as the most important subjects of their solicitude. They were very particular in their duties to Gods, ancestors and their subjects They were ardent patrons of Sanskrit and Dharma They modelled themselves on the heroes of the ancient Epics and Purānas They were orthodox champions of the Varnāśramas and all that orthodox Brāhmanism taught They were fond of associating themselves with learned Vedic scholars Some of them were themselves ardent students of sacred scriptures, while practising religious toleration and all-round spiritual patronage in the spirit of the Gita They took pride in being themselves poets, in supporting the sanctity of varnas, in giving millions of cows and gold, in following the paths of the Sanātana-dharma in all acts of commission and omission The virtues which made them great were those extolled in Sanskrit literature The sins which they were expected to avoid and to prevent in others are in terms of the formulas found in orthodox treatises Expressions like the Pañchamahāpātakas, the ten kinds of sins etc , are very common All the measures of political conduct and policy are in paurānic phraseologies. The Gupta monarchs' fame tasted the four oceans Samudragupta's prowess was such that his body was covered with the scars of a lakh of wounds caused by battle axes, arrows spears, pikes, darts, swords, lances, javelins, *vaitastikas*, etc His fame was like the moon's rays The Guptas' wisdom pierced the nature of things They were not only conquerors, but liberators of their foes They were Paramabhāgavatas, Parama-Brahamanyas, Paramabhattārakas, and restorers of the Krita age They were staunch performers of the Rājasūya, Aśvamedha and other yāgas They carried out irrigating works like tanks and wells which are described in highly charming language They constructed roads, planted various trees, established almshouses, and patronised every type of charities They carried out not

only works of utility, but works of beauty like gateways, Ranastambhas, sacrificial posts, satras etc Nothing is more picturesque than the descriptions of the accomplishments of the Guptas, their contemporaries and their successors like Viśvavarman of the Gangādhara inscription, Yaśōvarman of Mandasōr, and others[10] in these respects The result was, as in Rāma's Rājya in days of yore there were no heretics, no distressed, no poor, avaricious, cowardly or untrustworthy people among their subjects, we are assured ![11]

Lack of Legal Checks to Despotism

The defect in these descriptions is that there is no provision for a king who failed to discharge his functions While it is distinctly mentioned that the king acquired one-sixth of the virtues of his people by discharging his duties properly, and ran the danger of incurring sin and going to hell in case of failure, there is no mention of earthly punishment to him from his subjects They do not indicate whether people were justified in rebelling against a king who was a defaulter They only glorify benevolent despotism The king was the fountain of justice, the head of the army He was solely responsible for the appointment of ministers He was the head of an army of spies and agents whom he could appoint and dismiss at will He was morally bound to consult ministers, to give justice through well-organized courts, appoint commanders on tried merit, respect public opinion,[12] and do everything for the welfare of his people, but he was not legally bound in any way

The Grades of Monarchy.

One feature in the monarchy of the period was the existence of different gradations of it The suzerain over several kings was called Samrāt The Amarakōśa describes the Samrāt as the performer of the Rājasūya, and this could be done only by a king who could exact obedience from a Mandala of twelve kings The later Śukranīti refers to several grades of kings from the financial standpoint It

says that a Sāmanta had a revenue of one to 5 lakhs of silver *Karshas,* a Mandalika from four to ten ; a Rājā from 11 to 20 , a Mahārāja from 21 to 50 ; a Svarāt from 51 to 100 , a Samrāt from 1 to 10 crores , a Virāt from 11 to 50 crores , and a Sarvabhauma, above 50 crores , but we are not sure as to how far this can be accepted as a true description of the actualities in the Gupta period. It seems to be more or less fanciful The Gupta records use the title Samrāt in the earlier sense Yaśovarman of Mālwā is described as one in whom the title of Samrāt shone more than in any other like a brilliant jewel set in pure gold Other Gupta titles denote the universal sovereign, the ordinary king, and the subordinate kings The imperial titles are the *Mahārājādhirāja,* or supreme king over the Mahārājas , *Paramēśvara* , *Paramabhattāraka,* that is, the most worshipful and entitled to homage and reverence · *Rājādhirāja* , and *Chakravartin* The last term literally denotes a ruler, the *chakras* or wheels of whose chariot rolled everywhere without obstruction, or the ruler of a chakra or country extending from sea to sea The later Vishnupurāna describes a Chakravartin as a universal ruler in whose hands there was the sign of the discus of Vishnu, and whose valour could in consequence not be resisted even by the Gods The term is used in the sense of a universal ruler in the Gupta records, whose characteristic was the celebration of the Aśvamedha. Samudragupta was the great conqueror who revived this title to universal sovereignty, thereby becoming entitled to the epithets *Svayam-apratiratham* and *Prithivyām-apratiratham* Dr Fleet says that the title *Śrī* was applied to kings in general, and *Śrīmat* to paramount sovereigns alone , but it is doubtful how far this distinction can be accepted as true.

Apparently, an emperor need not be an individual The *Vrshni-sanga* is described even in such a late work as the Śukranītisāra as exercising sāmrājya , but the information we have of such confederacies is meagre and tantalising. We have references in some Gupta records to *Janēndras* or lords of the people, as distinguished from *Narēndras*

or *Narādhipatis*, lords of men. The distinction seems to imply a distinction in the political status of the people, but this is by no means obvious, and one has to be dogmatic in inferring democracy in one case, and the lack of it in the other.

Next to the universal emperor, must be mentioned the ordinary king The official title in the pre-Gupta period for this was Mahārāja, but the expression Mahārajādhirāja which, as has been already mentioned, denotes a universal emperor, seems to have been normally and anomalously used, as Dr Fleet observes, to denote a king in full sense of the word in his own dominions, and not necessarily a king over the whole country. Perhaps the expression *Adhirāja*, which might be regarded as intermediate between Mahārāja dhirāja and Mahārāja, appropriately denoted the ordinary king The term corresponding to it in pre-Gupta time was Rājadhirāja The subordinate sovereigns were called Mahārājas and Sāmantas

It is but natural that in an age when so much importance was attached to external honours there was ample provision for the royal comforts and paraphernalias The *Rājakula* or royal household, which must be distinguished from the Skandhavāras or Jaya-skandhāvāras, as they were called, as the temporary camps of the kings during their tours and excursions were called, was a seat of imposing grandeur and impressive luxuries, to look after which there was an extensive staff The officers of the palace were also the officers of the state, as there was no distinction made between the king's individual interests and the public interests Most of the officials to be enumerated presently, therefore, looked after both the personal interests of the king and the needs of the common public It is plausible to hold, however, that some of the officers like the *Dauvārika*, or palace guardian, the *Antarvamśika* or Chamberlain, and the *Amātya* or Private Secretary, were more officers of the palace than of the state Literary works, more than inscriptions, give details of the palace life and organisation during this period The

queens were the dominant factors therein, and were not without their influence on politics They are given the title of *Rāgñis, Paramadēvis, Bhattārakis, Parama-bhaṭṭārakis,* etc, in the inscriptions to indicate the ladies of emperors, feudatory kings, and Sāmantas The pen pictures describing them occasionally would do honour to Kālidāsa himself. The office of *Sthapati-sāmrāj* has been interpreted by Dr. Fleet to mean the superintendent of the women's section of the palace The royal life was, of course, characterised by every kind of comfort which was available in those days

The royal *birudas*, paraphernalias, and other outward symbols of honour are described in detail in these records Each dynasty had its *dhvaja* or banner, and its lāñchhana or crest, which was found in their records and coins The crest was not synonymous with the dhvaja, as Dr Fleet points out The Kadambas, for example, had the vānara or monkey for the flag, and the lion for the crest, the Raṭṭas had the golden Garuda and the elephant for the two respective symbols The *Aulikara* was the lāñchhana of Yaśodharman of Mālwā, and it has been interpreted by Dr Fleet as either the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon Different dynasties had different colours and crests, and the latter were impressed on the seals of charters and on coins *Kīrtistambhas* and *Ranastambhas* proclaimed aloft the pride of kings in their victorious emblems, and numerous seals, medals, coins and metallic or stone records, with the lāñchhanas of the bull, the discus, the *Sankha* or shell, the Garuda etc, attest the significance attached to these dynastic symbols And while the greatness of kings of the period was permanently recorded in the *Praśastis* of the charters and inscriptions, their status and honour for the day were proclaimed by numerous paraphernalias amidst which must be included the *Pañcha-mahāśabda,* the five great musical instruments

The Ministers

One of the moral responsibilities of the king was, as we have already seen, the appointment of responsible

ministers. The qualifications of these are described in very eloquent language in the inscriptions. They were expected to have all the virtues and talents of statesmenship, with limitless capacity to understand the meaning of words, logic, the ways of mankind, etc The Nīti-śāstras refer to the 18 Tīrthas in this connection [13]

Inscriptions mention a number of officers, many of whom do not find place in the other types of contemporary records we have mentioned The following is a list of them —

1 *Sarvādhyaksha* —This officer apparently means a general minister with command over every department of the state, corresponding to the first of the Tīrthas mentioned above, but we find the term used in the plural, and the inscriptions refer to several of them and not a single all-powerful minister From this we seem to be justified in inferring that the officer was the Chief Superintendent of every department

2 *The Mahāsandhivigrahika* —Literally, the official in charge of peace and war There is mention of the expression without the prefix *Mahā*, and it is possible that it referred to subordinate officers under his control It is not clear as to whether the Sandhi-vigrahin was a civil officer or a military one, but he seems to have been employed, as the other officers were, in both kinds or branches of service, as exigencies demanded. He was perhaps the Foreign minister

3 *The Mahārāja* —In pre-Gupta times, this term denoted the supreme king in the state, but in the Gupta records it denotes almost invariably a feudatory king or a provincial governor The term, in fact, is used side by side with several others occurring in this list, which indicate the same feudatory or provincial status.

4 *Kumārāmātya* —This title is one of the most mysterious It has been translated as Counsellor to the prince,

but this is by no means certain or clear in meaning. In a number of records he is referred to amongst the local officers as well There is also a distinction made between the Kumārāmātyas and a Mahākumārāmātya occasionally Was it a mere title of honour given to any officer of distinction either in the central or provincial sphere? See No 13.

5 The *Mahābalādhikrita* —Obviously, he was a military officer, synonymous with Mahāsēnāpati In contrast there were Balādhikritas and Sēnāpatis whom we have to regard as subordinate to the Mahābalādhikrita or Mahāsēnāpati The *Mahābaladhyaksha* was apparently the same officer He was the *Tīrtha* No 3 mentioned above.

6 *Mahādandanāyaka* —This officer has been regarded as the supreme military officer, or as a chief magisterial officer exercising the power of *danda* or punishment , but the majority of scholars take him in the military sense in accordance with the clear implications of the inscriptions In this case, he must be regarded as synonymous with No. 5 Very often the Mahādandanāyaka is used together with the officers Mahākārtākrtika, Mahāpratīhāra, Mahārāja, Mahā-Sāmanta, Kumārāmātya, and Sāndhivigrahika His subordinates were known as Dandanāyakas The wife of a Dandanāyaka was known as the Dandanāyakā

7 *The Mahākārtākritika* —This officer was, like the Mahārājā, Mahrpratihāra, Mahādandanāyaka, Mahāsāmanta and other high officers of the central or provincial jurisdictions, a responsible adviser of the king

8 The *Mahākshapatalika* who was obviously superior to the *Akshapatalikas*, or keepers of the records These were judicial officers, and apparently depositories of legal documents in courts The term *Akshaśālika*, which occurs occasionally, has probably the same meaning It might be that there was a central record officer in contrast with the local officers.

9. *The Mahākshatrapa*·—This was the title of the famous dynasty of provincial governors in the west coast, subdued eventually by Chandragupta II The term Kshatrapa came to be used in the sense of feudatory or provincial governor, in the records of the period.

10. *The Mahāpratīhāra* —Literally, this officer was the chief of the Pratīhāras or doorkeepers He was probably a prominent officer in the royal household (*Rājakula*) but he is also mentioned with local officers, as he is with numbers 6, 7, 3, etc , in this list

11 *The Mahasēnāpati* —Probably the same as no 6 above

12 *The Mahāsāmanta* —Probably the same as no 3 above, that is, a Provincial Chief

13 *The Amātya*, literally the inmate of the royal house or councillor He is mentioned in the closing lines of inscriptions side by side with the officers like Sandhi-vigrahika, Bhogika, Dūtaka, Uparika, Dīkshita, Sthapatisamrāj or chief architect, etc This seems to indicate that the title Amatya was not always given to an officer of the central government

14 *The Āchārya* —He was patently the teacher of the king, and occupied the most honoured place as the spiritual guide amongst the advisers of the monarch

15 *The Dūtaka*, through whom the king issued his āgñās or edicts and charters, though occasionally we find the expression Svamukha or direct order of the king, which seems to imply that the Dūtaka was not invariably employed Dr Fleet points out that the term Dūtaka is usually found only on copper plates issued to local officials by whom the charter was drawn up and delivered, and not on inscriptions recorded on stones He, however, points out that there are not lacking instances of the mention of the same officer in the latter case The distinction which he makes seems to me to be unnecessary The Dūtaka should be distinguished from the Dūta who seems to have been an ordinary

message-carrier, though the two terms are occasionally synonymous Another point to be noted is that we come across, very occasionally, a second Dūtaka, thereby showing that there were, at times, more Dūtakas than one.

Nothing can be more solemn or informing than the manner in which the king issued his grants recording donations to various individuals and institutions The king made it in good health (*kusalin*), commanding solemnly all the local officers, and the concerned departmental ministers as well, to carry out the gifts These officers will be enumerated presently, but here it may be pointed out that the language employed was highly technical, dignified and spiritualistic in tone The charters were of two kinds, the Tāmra-śāsanas or copper plate grants and the stone inscriptions They always began with the symbol for Ōm, and the invocation *Svasti* *They had to be attested, in the end, with* expressions like *Siddham, Drshtam,* or *Svahasta,* the signature of the king, to signify the latter's personal scrutiny and endorsement The record enumerated the punishments like living in hell for 60,000 years, in dog's ordure as worms, in the form of serpents in the Vindhyan caves without water, etc. for the violators. It was the example of the Guptas in regard to the Devadayas, Brahmadayas, etc , that were imitated so commonly from this time onwards

The Sabhā and Maṇtri-parishad

Before passing on to describe the local officers in the Gupta period, we can just consider the question whether there was a Sabhā or council of ministers to check the king Its existence is practically certain , but it is equally certain that it was purely advisory, and lacked legal status It was practically Brāhmanical secret, and was at the royal will and pleasure Kāmandaka emphasises the canon of secrecy, and warns the king against the divulgence of state secrets by the ' councillors ' from carelessness, drunkenness, talk during sleep, and sensuality. He therefore insists on the Council's meeting in a secluded mansion

which had no pillar, window, or wall-defect. Indeed, forests are preferred to palaces for the meeting-place of the Sabhā Dwarfs, idiots, eunachs, women, the crooked, the lame, the blind, the emaciated, and animals were not to be allowed to approach it The Council discussed all state affairs, legislated, and carried on the administration Kāmandaka emphasises the necessity for repeated discussions before final decision and the right of the king to veto a decision in case he thought it, as the result of his independent study, to be necessary for some reason or other Yāgñavalkya seems to authorise the king to specially consult the Purōhit after decision of a question by the Sabhā Kāmandaka commends resolutions passed by a clear majority in the Council, but opines that these decisions must be in accordance with the Śāstras, reasonable, and loyal to the sovereign We have no definite means to enable us to say whether the Sabhā consisted only of *the Mantriparishad* (or assembly of the Ministers) or included other advisers whom the king might choose Nor have we tangible evidence as to the existence of bigger popular assemblies of the Paurajānapadas Vasishtha seems to apply the term *Parishad* to a special body of learned men who decided doubtful legal or semi-legal customary injunctions The four kinds of Sabhā—*Pratishthita*, *Apratishthita*, *Mudrita* and *Śāsita*—attributed by Chandēśvara in his *Rājanitiratnākara*, to Sage Hārita were probably judicial bodies of the Parishad type They seem to resolve themselves into two types—those established or recognized by the king or his officials and those that were voluntary—but it is difficult to say how far they existed in the Gupa period, though probably they were.

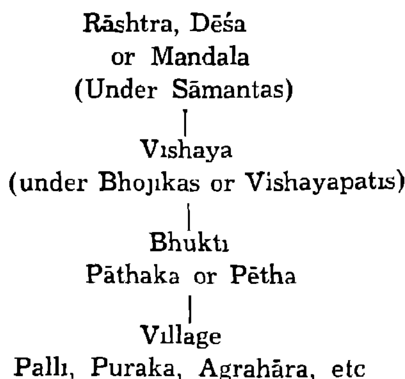
Provincial and local Administrations

In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta we find reference to the administrative organisation of the Empire The empire consisted of areas (1) ruled directly by the emperor and his officers, (2) those under feudatory kings, (3) those under allies , and (4) those forming the Pratyanta or frontier states, which enjoyed practical inde-

pendence The areas ruled by the emperor were divided into provinces governed by Governors who had the titles of Mahārājas, Sēnāpatis, Dandanāyakas, Mandalēśvaras, etc These titles indicate the combination of civil and military functions The Provincial Governors were also appointed as members of the Central Government, as the royal advisers or ministers Besides the provinces, feudatory kingdoms, etc., there were *Ātavika* or forest kingdoms, and tribal principalities or 'republics,' which were nominally feudatory but really independent

We understand from inscriptions that, there were territorial divisions which differed in their terminologies from those of pre-Gupta times, and the significance of many of which is not quite clear The term *Rāshtra* seems to have been synonymous with a big area like a province or feudatory kingdom, still we find that the term *Vishaya* is sometimes used in a bigger sense The term *Rāshtrakūtas,* again, is mentioned as co-ordinate to the class of cultivators, indicating the latter interpretation Another obscure expression is *Paricchēda*, which literally means a division but the exact relation of which to the other divisions is not quite clear Then there is the Dēśa or Mandala which seems to correspond to a province, but it is occasionally used to denote a smaller circle or district Still another expression is the *Vishaya* or *Khanda* These terms are used synonymously at times, but occasionally we find that the Khanda was a smaller division The Vishaya or Khanda was more or less equal to the *Āhāra* and *Pāthaka* of which *Pātha* might be a derivative Below these were the villages which had different designations These were *Pallikā*, *Grāma*; *Palla* which was probably the same as Pallikā, *Puraka* and *Agrahāra* The last was the peculiar designation of Brahmadāyas or villages endowed to Brahmins, or of Dēvadāyas, the villages endowed to temples The latter were also called *Devāgrahārikas* The term *Gopta* seems to be an ancient name of a village, which gives a clue to the nature of the rural economy which existed in those days.

The territorial gradations may, on the whole, be represented by this table :—



The Local Officers

Of the local officers of different jurisdictions, that is, of the different areas and functions, the following are very commonly found in inscriptions —

1 The *Āyuktakas*, 2 Viniyuktakas, 3 Rājasthāniyas, who might be officers in charge of capital towns, 4 *Dūtas* or messengers, 5 Pranartakas or heralds, 6 Śimakarahāras or makers of boundaries, 7 Rājaputras; 8 The Rājāmātyas 9 The Kumārāmātyas, 10 The Uparikas, 11 The Chauroddharanikas, or policemen, 12 The Dandikas Policemen or judges, 13 The Gaulmikas or superintendents of forests, 14 The Śaulkikas or superintendents of tolls and customs, 15 The Mahattaras, literally great men, 16 The Nikilapatis? 17 The Santakas, 18 Svāmins, probably a general term for officers, 19 Rāshtrapatis, 20 Vishayapatis and 21 Drāngikas or headmen of towns

There were a number of officers who obviously belonged to villages These will be referred to presently

The Towns

The towns of each province had their own officers. One of the important features in urban life was that there was ample provision for the urban self-government under

the presidentship of the *Nāgarika,* who was generally a merchant magnate, or a Drāngika as he was also styled. The towns had the merchant and the craft guilds (Śrenis and Ganas), which were very prosperous and which carried on important social and economic duties. A few examples from inscriptions may be given

An inscription of the time of Skandagupta,[14] dated in G E 146 (A D 465-66) records the perpetual endowment by a learned Brāhman for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple of the Sun at Indrapura near Indor The *mūlya* (capital) for the endowment was made the perpetual property of a guild of oilmen (Talika-Śrēnya) which belonged to that place We are told that the guild corporately bound itself to give, as long as the sun and moon endure, in lieu of interest, two *palas* of oil by weight for a lamp, "uninterrupted in use, and containing without any diminution in the original value" The interesting point to be noticed is, the inscription distinctly says that even, if the guild moved away from that settlement to any other locality, it was bound to carry out its agreement so long as it had a corporate existence The head of the Srēni was called its *Pravara*

The guild of the silk-weavers,[15] again, is referred to in a fine inscription dated in A D 473-4 It records how a number of silk-weavers immigrated from Lātavishaya (Gujarāt) to Daśapura, how a section of them continued their original occupation, while others took to other means of livelihood, and formed themselves into a guild, how this guild built a temple for the Sun in V E 494 (A D 437-8), and how the same guild repaired it in V E 530 (A D 473-4) The inscription is a charming piece of poetic composition of the *Praśasti* type by Vatsabhatti, and is of singular value as a document, illustrative of social and economic history It indicates how the silk-weaver's guild was strong, and had a continued existence for generations

A Gana-śrēshṭa or leader of the ganas is also mentioned in the Nirmand Copper plate inscription of Mahāsāmanta

Mahārāja Samudrasēna early in the 7th century, and the Drāngika or head of the township (Dranga) was probably one such ganaśrēshṭha chosen by the people or appointed by the king

The towns had their own courts and other governmental organs They were subject to the provincial governors with whom they were linked by the intermediary officers like the Bhōgikas, Pranartakas, Dūtas, etc already enumerated

The Villages

These formed the smallest units of the administration, excepting of course the families under grahapatis The village had practical self rule A number of terms are naturally connected with its constitution and government. Its lands consisted of the agrarian, grazing and uncultivated sections A number of technical expressions denote these The village house-holders were the *Grahapatis*, and their holdings were called *Pratyayas* The grazing land was known as the *Dvēśa*, the cattle-path as the *Gopathasāra*, the raised embankment as the *Pala*, the trench which formed the boundary as the *Garta*; the waste land or the useless trees of the village as the *Koraṭa*, the village officers seem to have been both loyal and popular, the former representing the government and the latter, the people The *Agrahārika* was probably the officer in charge of the Agrahāra Whether he was appointed by the king or the people, we cannot say Then there was the *Grāmika*, who might have been the head of a single village or superintendent of several villages His exact relationship to the Agrahārika is not quite easy to infer from the records Then there was the *Dhruvādikaranika*, literally, the superintendent of the *Dhruvas* or royal share of the produce in grain which was collected from those who had formed the revenues of the village. He was probably different from the Karanika or village accountant who was of course the chief economic authority of the village, acquainted with all its past and present condi-

tions as well as the future possibilities Another expression, the *Dīvara* is also found in the sense of the village clerk or accountant, but it is difficult to say whether this term was indiscriminately applied to the Karanika or not The same is the case with the *Talavāṭaka*, who might, however, be a cognate employee like the *Talayāri* of the south. The *Dandapāśika* or the man who was in charge of the noose of punishments or *danda* was, obviously, the policeman, but whether his jurisdiction was confined to a single village, or whether he was in charge of several villages, cannot be inferred Several expressions in connection with the village or other parchial administration are very obscure in significance (For example the *Halirākara*)

The privilege of self government granted to the Agrahāras is described in eloquent and exact language in the inscriptions These villages were *Achāta-bhata-pravēśyāh*, that is, immune from the entry of the irregular or regular troops of the king or the royal *chhatra-bearers*, *abhata-chhatra-pravēśyāh*) The king's officers (*asmat-Santakā*), noble sons (kulaputras high-born officers), employed as Sarvādhyakśhas (general superintendents), were strictly instructed that these privileges should be respected The village should not be entered arbitrarily by the royal agents It (the state) does not carry with it (the right to) cows and bulls in succession of production, or to the abundance of flowers and milk, or to the pasturage, hides, and charcoal, or to the mines for the purchase of salt in a moist state" Dr Fleet says that the interpretation of these is not quite certain, and suggests that they seem to reserve certain rights for the villagers against the grantees It seems however more appropriate to interpret them to mean that the state could not claim the fees on cattle, flowers, milk, pasturage, charcoal and salt deposits in the village The village, continues the grant was free from forced labour It carried with it the right to all hidden treasures and deposits, as well as the *klripta* and *upaklrpta* taxes It was to enjoy these rights eternally and through successive generations.

The official violators were liable to be punished and fined on being denounced by the Brāhmans The latter were the sole enjoyers "provided they commit no treason against the kingdom, constituting the seven parts (Saptānga) and they are not guilty of Brāhman-slaughter, theft adultery, poisoning of kings, and waging war with or doing wrong to other villagers" in which case the king would commit no theft in taking the land away The *karana* or document granting this was a solemnly religious and holy thing which should be never violated by any.

The king issued the grant in good health, and commanded all the officers above enumerated to carry out the terms of the gifts When self-government was granted to an Agrahāra, it was done in accordance with the rule of the *Bhūmichchidra,* by which land must be fit to be ploughed or cultivated It should not be, in other words, a useless waste It was given with the *Udranga* or the share which should go to the king and *Uparikara* or the tax on non-proprietory cultivators It should not be invaded by the Bhatas and Chāṭas, that is the regular and irregular troops, as well as the civil officers enumerated above The new co-parcenary proprietors were to be entitled to the *vāta* (the withered), the *bhūta* (past) resources, grain, gold and adēya (that which could be given or cut or reaped or that which was not given cut or reaped), the *Daradranaka* (marriage cess or land cess), together with the right to fine labour These rights could not be seized by any of the king's people The donees on their part were to pay the customary royalties and taxes, and were subject to fines imposed on thieves Otherwise, all privileges were enjoyed by them

The charter was written in the presence of responsible officers like the Bhōgika, the Amātya, the Dūtaka, the Uparika, Dīkshita and others It had to bear the Svahasta, the sign manual of the king It generally contained terrible imprecations on the violators of the grant

Reference to the Panchayat in the form of *Pañchamandala* is made in the Sāñchi stone inscription of

Samudragupta II in A D 412-3. An officer of the king made thereby an endowment of land or money to the Buddhistic Āryasangha at Sānchi after obeisance to and in the assembly of five persons *Pañchamandalyām pranipatya.* Dr Fleet comments on this · "Pañcha-mandalī is evidently the same as the *Pañchait, Pañchāyat,* or *Pāñch* of modern times, the village-jury of five or more persons convened to settle a dispute by arbitration, to witness and sanction any act of importance" He draws attention to the existence of the institution even in distant Nepāl, and might have equally legitimately drawn attention to its existence in the Tamil country, the other extremity of the Indian continent The *Pañchaka* or committee referred to in some epigraphs probably referred to *Pañchāyats*

Finance

Nārada observes that the royal revenue consisted of certain customary receipts and a sixth of the produce of the soil, and that these should be regarded as the remuneration for the king's service of protection Side by side with this Wages Theory there was the Divine Theory, by which the king was entitled to revenues on account of his very position On the whole, we may say, there was a predominance of the principle of prerogative rather than of duty, though there were exceptional kings who regarded themselves as entitled to remuneration both as the representatives of God and as earners of wages for discharging their royal duties The sources of revenue were land, purchases and sales, court fines excise and customs , tributes and professional fees Land was not the property of the king but of the people The Dharmaśāstras give elaborate details for the sales and purchase of proprietory rights in land Inscriptions do the same The Mīmāmsa theory that land could not be transferred by the king at his own will and caprices still held the field The Mīmāmsa-sūtra is interpreted by Śabarasvāmin in these words .. "It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall give all the land, including pasture-ground, highways, and the sites of lakes and ponds ?

and universal monarch the whole earth? and subordinate prince the entire province over which he rules? To the question the answer is the monarch has not property in the earth, nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained, and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy The Maxim or the Law that the King is the Lord of all excepting sacerdotal wealth concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good His kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation of wrongs, and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders But right of property is not thereby vested in him Else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike, therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince, but house and field *acquired by purchase* and similar means, are liable to gift"

Several interesting financial terms are found in the records of the age in relation to local administration. The term *Āya* meant apparently the income from the village which went to the state The king's share or royalty in the produce or in any of the village item of production was the *Bhāgābhāgā* or *Bhōgābhāga*, which might be connected with *Bhukti*

The Police

The maintenance of internal security seems to have been more a work of the people than of the king In cities the police and magisterial powers were wielded by officers named *Nagarapālas* In the rural parts there was a hierarchy of officials maintained from local grants and fees. These urban and rural officers (Dandikas, Dandapāśikas, etc), were in different grades, and ultimately responsible to the provincial Governor, and through him to the king It was

the bounden duty of the police to detect thieves and restore stolen property Otherwise, they were made to pay out of their own pocket[1] Villages were held under corporate responsibility for harbouring thieves, and a prosecution was launched not by the State as in the present day but by the sufferer A thief-catcher had to induce the injured person to complain rather than launch the prosecution himself.

The details of legal procedure, the civil and criminal laws, and the constitutional adaptations in the Dakkan, the Kanarese land and the Tamil country form important subjects which are not possible to be dealt with here for want of space They can be studied in the author's forthcoming Volume VI of the Pre-Musalman India

FOOT-NOTES

1 Edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series See K V Rangaswami Aiyengar *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, (1935), p 23

2 The Vāyu and Matsya Purānas

3 Edited and translated by Manmatha Nath Dutt, Calcutta, 1906 The Samhita was later on the subject of commentaries by Aparārka, Vigñānéśvara, Devabodha, Viśvarūpa and Śūlapāni The *Mitākshara* of Vigñānēśvara raised the original to the dignity of a treatise applicable to the whole of India except Bengal Śūlapāni's *Dīpakalika*, together with the several other works, created a Bengali School

4 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol XXIII

5 Published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series

6 S B E, Vol XXXIII

7 S B E, Vol XIV

8. *Ibid*, Vol VII

9 Gupta Inscriptions, No 38, pp 164-71

10 Gupta Inscriptions, No 17, pp 72 *ff*

11 *Ibid*, pp 79 *ff*

12 Yāgñavalkya condemns the flouting of public opinion, and prescribes the first form of punishment for those who broke the ardour of persons speaking in the interest of the public

13 See V R R Dikshitar *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p 106 and n 1

14 *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 16, pp 68-72

15 *Ibid*, No 18, pp 79-88

ASIA—THE CRADLE OF HUMANITY

BY

M D RAGHAVAN, B A, DIPL ANTH (OXON)
Government Museum, Madras

In the field of prehistory discoveries are every day giving us something new, which rudely disturbs accepted notions of history, or changes our opinion of what were considered as established facts Early humanity flourished on the banks of the great rivers. At a time when civilisation had not dawned on Europe, the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates, and the Indus witnessed the rise and growth of ancient civilisations The story of early human life in Europe is the story of the Palaeolithic man struggling for existence in the excessive cold of the glaciations, which blotted out all life The warm interglacial periods intervening between successive glaciations were the periods in which the European palaeolithic man flourished, and left his physical remains and cultural relics in the form of artifacts in stone, which bear eloquent testimony to his wild and rough life

The factors which directed migrations in prehistoric days were more climatic than geographic The glaciations in the north caused people to drift South, as later conditions of drought forced peoples again northwards The pleistocene glaciations did not so much affect Asia as it did Europe The prehistory of the riverine regions of Asia leads us to an understanding of the migrations of peoples on the Continent of Asia The Palestine coast and Asia Minor by their strategical situation as the Westward of Asia, have had a large role to play in the migrations of peoples from Western Asia to Europe.

The Steppe lands of Chinese Turkistan and Central Asia were the house of pastoral nomadism and nomadic culture * The migration of nomadic tribes from the nursery of western Asia was continuous from the early years of the protohistoric times It was a great reservoir of peoples who were carried along in ever strengthening waves of migrations, heading towards the West and South These peoples on their settlement in Europe were at the dawn of history known by different names in different places, but the popular name Teutons denotes them best

Three main routes of movements have dominated the wanderings of peoples from innermost Asia An East to West migration from the Steppe lands in the direction of Europe, a Southwest route taken by the Aryan-speaking peoples. and a North-east direction by Mongoloid peoples Geographically there is little difference between Europe and Asia, the plains of eastern Europe being the complement and the continuation of the Steppe lands of Asia, and is the connecting link with Europe.

Sir Aurel Stein tells us that the hillman of the Pamirs and the tribes of the Tarim basin have preserved in remarkable purity in their alpine isolation, the main physical characters of the Homo Alpinus race, today represented in western Europe Describing his discovery in the Lop desert region, of bodies of men and women in a truly remarkable state of conservation, Stein discloses that the characteristics of the men's heads showed close affinity to that of Homo Alpinus type which still remains the prevailing element in the racial constitution of the present population of the Tarim basin. The centre of dispersal of the Alpine race may well be placed

*A familiar figure of a pastoral nomad is the Toda of the Nilgiri hills, who have settled on the hills and tend their flocks of buffaloes. Racially they are unlike any South Indian The Todas are most probably an offshoot of the Central Asian nomadic tribe which found its way to the retreat of the Western Ghats and continued their separate existence.

in the region of the Pamirs, where the type is still well preserved

The Steppe region of Turkistan is similarly considered to be the area which gave rise to the characterisation of the Nordic races of Europe Survivors of proto-Nordics are noticed in the Ainus of Japan, the Khurds of Khurdistan and the Turkoman of the Central Asian Steppes The Nordics have for long been called the Caucasian race Caucasia is typical Steppe land whose tribes are semi-nomadic shepherd peoples who cannot live without their flocks of sheep

The most northern region of Asia is Siberia, with the Arctic culture predominating and extending from Lapland to the Bering Strait—or over the whole of northern Eurasia Reindeer nomadism is the prevailing culture The land bridges at Bering Strait in Geological times enabled herds of reindeer to migrate to the American Continent followed by their nomadic hunters The main element in the American Indian is more and more recognised as Asiatic, belonging racially to the Mongoloid division This exodus obviously took place comparatively late in the history of humanity roughly 10,000 years ago

A similar Asiatic origin is traced for the Eskimo, who also migrated by the Bering Strait It has been aptly stated that no well marked dividing line can be pointed out between aboriginal North America and northern Eurasia.

Turning to the South, there has been a continuous movement of peoples from China in a Southerly direction extending to the Malaya Peninsula and beyond by way of Indonesia to the islands of Oceania on one side and to African Island of Madagascar on the other Madagascar was populated by Malayans and many of the tribes there are of Asiatic descent

Australia the island continent has long remained separate from Asia. Man there, is no doubt the result of migra-

tions in early days, and the mainland of Asia is considered the source of Australia's population Though definitely Australoid fossil remains have yet to be discovered on the mainland of Asia, many are the tribes in Indonesia, Malaya and South India who present definite Australoid characteristics who are considered physically and culturally related.

Indeed Asiatic influence can be traced back to early days of the proto historic period The close of the Neolithic culture in Europe witnessed great changes in the population of Europe and marks the transition from the Prehistoric to the Metal Ages The bearers of the early Bronze Age culture were a race of Asiatic origin spreading towards the west by way of the Aegean sea, and by the overland route From the beaker type of pottery found in their graves, they are called the beaker folk Their graves are called the round barrows, enclosing a round headed or Alpine race The beginnings of the Bronze Age in Europe has been traced to about 2000 B C

This introduces us to a consideration of the still earlier times and of the races that peopled Europe and Asia in the dim distant past The thread of the story of human life is unbroken in Europe, where each stage follows upon another But of prehistoric human life in Asia, we get only glimpses, some more illuminating than the other Perhaps the most significant of these discoveries in Asia for our purpose were those made during the last few years by Miss Dorothy Garrod at the foot of Mount Carmel in Palestine The discovery was that of a number of human skeletons of the Neanderthaloid type, specimens of which have been recovered from several sites in Europe dating from 1856 The Neanderthal man in view of the abundance of sites and relics met with in Europe is the most well known of all early types of humanity But as he is so different from modern man in his physical make up he is considered to represent a definite species of mankind and is called *Homo Neanderthalensis* The first discovery in Asia of forms of early humanity which conforms to the Neanderthal type,

gives a wider range of dispersal to this early human type ; and its presence in Palestine gives us the first evidence of its presence over Asia. The Palestine race of the Neanderthals also appears to be of a distinctly higher order than the European Neanderthal The implements that he used also display greater skill He is thus considered to be more in the direct line of descent to modern man

Of great significance to the study of the ancestry of man, were the fossil remains found near Tinil in Java, by Dubois in 1891 Ranking as the first of such discoveries in Asia, the remains belong to a form now known as the Apeman of Java, considered as " either a very ape-like form of early man, or an ape which had made marked progress in the direction of the human type "

That the claims made for Dubois' discovery were not ill founded, were to be demonstrated after many years, by yet another discovery in 1932 on the banks of the Solo river at Ngandong, only 20 miles from Dubois' finds The remains have since been recognised to represent a new species of early húman types styled *Homo-Soloensis* The latter discovery really followed the still more epoch making finds in Peking in China —the discovery of what is now known as the Peking Man by Dr Davidson Black in 1929 in a lime stone hill in the neighbourhood of Peking Later finds in Peking in China—the discovery of what is now *thropus* as definitely human The excavations which were begun in 1927 have yielded a rich harvest of fragments of human bones representing roughly thirty individuals including five fairly well preserved skulls These Asiatic discoveries correspond more or less with the discoveries on the western margin of the Eurasiatic landmass The most significant of such discoveries comes from England The remains were discovered by Charles Dawson in 1912 in a river gravel at Piltdown in Sussex The associated flint implements are of an older type of Palaeoliths Known to prehistory as the Piltdown Man, he is our first known Englishman. In features, the Piltdown Man of England is not far removed from

the Peking Man whom we have surveyed. That such allied forms should have been reported from the western and eastern fringes of Eurasia is not without interest from the point of view of the source of humanity the cradle land from which human life had its source and flowed at either end All these forms of early humanity belong to a geological epoch or age more or less contemporaneous—namely the early part of Pleistocene The main stem of life seems to have been the same for both apes and man This stem split into two series—one from which the anthropoid apes have come which did not progress further, and the other from which man's ancestors sprang—the ancestors, whose various forms we have now seen

The man-like apes seem to have disappeared from Europe in early Pleistocene times when the climate of Europe began to be colder. The Siwalik hills at the foot of Himalayas are a rich mine of fossil beds of many large Anthropoids that had lived in India in the Miocene period In the Geologic Ages when Europe was in the grip of the Ice Ages, the Anthropoids had to leave Europe and march off into warmer lands, and the Siwalik hills are disclosed to have been a great distributing centre of anthropoids throwing much light on the development of apes and man In their wanderings the anthropoids reached the forests of Africa on one side and the eastern regions now represented by the Malaya Peninsula and the Indonesian islands on the other, where they still live This greatly upholds and strengthens the probability of Asia having witnessed the further step in the characterisation of human life

That Asia was the cradle of humanity is also apparent considering the problem from the point of view of the dispersal of mammals Animal life was so greatly associated with human life in the prehistoric past, that extinct species of early humanity is invariably found associated with extinct mammals of the time Much thought has recently been bestowed on the subject of migrations of mammals and men, and it is now becoming increasingly clear that the fossil

mammals of Europe have more of Asiatic affinities in them than African The communication of Europe with Asia in Pleistocene times was indeed more direct than with Africa Asia and North-east Africa also enjoyed closer connection than the present arid conditions of the region would warrant us to expect The country now covered by deserts was then well watered and fertile Asia is thus being revealed to have been the fountain head or the source of both animal and human life diverging in two streams, one southwards to Africa, and the other northwards and westwards to Europe

The study of dispersal of mammals as well as of early human life thus tends to the same conclusion—that human life originated at a centre in the neighbourhood of central Asia and ranged on either side—west towards the fringes of Europe and east towards the edges of Asia

We should have expected forms of early humanity to be found within the southern most edges of Asia The absence of such discoveries in South India does not prove that early forms of man did not live in S India Prehistoric sites in S India have scarcely received any investigation, and we may still live to see such primitive types to be found in S India

SOME HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF AJMER

BY

PRINCIPAL P. SESHADRI, M.A,

Ajmer

It is surprising what a wealth of historical associations is found with the cities of India, except in the case of such entirely modern places as Karachi or Jamshedpur which have grown as the result of new commercial and industrial conditions, almost within the knowledge of our own generation While it would be difficult to parallel the antiquity of Benares or Delhi which easily go back to the pre-Christian era, there are a large number of cities which offer rich historical material to those who have eyes to see and whose minds have been nurtured on the fascinating story of this ancient land The city of Ajmer which has been my home for the last eight years is such a striking example of historical wealth and I have always enjoyed great satisfaction in realising that the history of centuries lies open before me, as I cast my eyes on the horizon, even just beyond the grounds of my own residence!

My house is actually under the shadow of Taragarh, the mountain fastness which has played such a prominent part in the history of this part of India where the Hindu and the Mohamedan contended for supermacy for centuries, before settling down into peaceful life under the aegis of the British early in the nineteenth century Whatever its early history, we are on firm ground with Prithwi Raj as its ruler, though with the expansion of his kingdom he found it necessary to shift his capital further North. Recent historical research has shown that much of the romance of Prithwi Raj and Rani Samyukta is not based on fact, but who would like to destroy the beautiful illusion? As I often sit in my

verandah at the back of my house and look at Taragarh through the misty glamour of a moon-lit night, it is easy for me to imagine the shadows of Prithwi Raj and Samyukta flitting in the back-ground, hands clasped in love and whispering to each other recollections of their immortal story of adventure culminating in their marriage

One has only to go to the top of Taragarh to appreciate its value as a strategic point, commanding the route to the North where the Moghul ruled in his glory and also to the South, where Hindu India was continually resisting the domination and eventually succeeded in triumphing over it, on the crest of the Maratha resurgence under Mahadaji Scindia The fortress was the Key of Rajputana for centuries and it was not possible for armies to march into Malwa or Guzerat without coming within its vigilant eye, nor could any advance on Delhi and Agra be attempted from the South, so long as the Moghul held the citadel, proudly called *Taragarh* or the "Fortress of the Stars" Modern warfare has destroyed the impregnability of fortifications of this type and airbombers and long range guns can now powder them in no time, but it is significant that still about a century back it was considered as strong as Gibraltar ! It is perhaps not necessary to refer to its later History as a stronghold of the Mahrattas and as a depot for convalescent soldiers under the British, but it is now there in its forlorn glory, containing only a few Mohamedan inhabitants living practically on the tomb of a Mohamedan saint buried there who attracts pilgrims and devotional offerings, for the benefit of the living if not of the dead! After her chequered history, she is only "a withered beldame now brooding on ancient fame" Looking down on the city of Ajmer spread below her feet, she must be wondering at the new civilisation, with its workshops, factories, colleges and public offices, so different from the period when brightly clad warriors in all their panoply of war rode up and down this valley of the Aravallis ! Well could Taragarh say with Wordsworth

"Another race hath been and other palms are won."

If mighty Taragarh with all its rich historical associations is at the very back of my house, it has also been a thrill to me that my own grounds adjoin a battlefield, where an engagement was fought between Dara and Aurangazebe at the neighbouring village of Dorai on the 11th , 12th and 13th March, 1659 After his defeat at the Battle of Dholpur, Dara came down to Ajmer, attracted by the protection offered by the Hindu dynasty which was then in occupation of the city He took shelter in the fortress of Taragarh, but Aurangazebe was not the kind of person who would give him any respite and he came up quickly to the attack As I drive out to the South along the compound wall of my bungalow, I pass through the battle-field many an evening It is just on the outskirts of the city and it is easy to visualise the battle even now, as the extensive plain has hardly been built over The Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway traverses the field and the traveller, as he whirls along to Ahmedabad, has probably no notion that he is making his way through a battle-field where death must have rained from all sides, on the three days of that historic battle which resulted in the fleeing of Dara to the South and the firm establishment of Aurangazebe's claims to the Moghul throne One wonders what would have happened to the history of India if Dara had won and not Aurangazebe, but it belongs to one of those speculations in history which serve no useful purpose In any case, it is difficult to digress here to pursue even such a fascinating 'If— ' in History Southey tells us in his poem on *The Battle of Blenheim* that old Kaspar told his grandson when he found something large and smooth and round

> 'Tis some poor fellows skull,' said he,
> 'Who fell in the great victory '

My children have not approached me with such an enquiry rolling up a skull dug up from the field, but I have no doubt that excavations carried on these grounds will some day yield valuable finds to the archaeologist !

The city of Ajmer spreads itself along a valley of the Aravallis from North to South, the main road cutting it

practically into two parts, the City and the Civil station. As you pass along the Highroad, you cannot, however, escape one of the important land-marks in the city, the old fort built by Akbar which is now used as the Chief Police Station and also houses some Public Offices and the Rajputana Museum The city has unfortunately encroached upon it, but it is not difficult even now to imagine, how it looked in the times of Akbar and his immediate successors with the extensive walls and its surrounding moat Scindia's governors later ruled within the walls, a Hindu temple being a special relic of the period, and it became a Magazine when the British acquired it from the Mahrattas in 1818.

One of the attractions of the fort is the Rajputana Historical Museum located in it, though it is not particularly spectacular, and is of interest only to serious students of epigraphy The well-known antiquary, Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Dr Gauri Shankar Ojha who has just retired from the Curatorship may be described as the Maker of the Museum, as it is due to his efforts that we have a magnificent collection of inscriptions of the deepest interest to Indian epigraphists

But the building will always be remembered for the fact that it was here that Sir Thomas Roe had audience with Jehangir and acquired the advantages which were to lead ultimately to the foundation of the British empire in India The scene must have been magnificent at the time, with silk pavilions, armed attendants and gorgeously robed Sirdars of the Court But the glory has now disappeared There is a marble tablet erected by the Archaeological Department to commemorate the event though some doubts have been cast, in recent months, regarding the accuracy of the precise spot, in spite of the strong tradition in the past Sir Thomas Roe could not have dreamt at the time, that the place where he stood in humble submission before the great Moghul emperor who beamed upon him in all his glory from an upper window of the palace, would one day be the

centre of a British administration and an integral part of the British empire !

No account of Ajmer could be complete without reference to the famous Dargah which contains the relics of the great Muslim saint, Kwaja Moinuddin Chisti and is looked upon as the Mecca of India attracting pilgrims in their thousands from all corners of the country It is the hope of every devout Muslim in India to pay at least one visit to Ajmer in his lifetime, as it is that of a Hindu to make a pilgrimage to Benares The great ruling dynasties of Delhi have always been intimately associated with the Darga, even from before Moghul times and it is easy to trace their hand in the contributions made to the structure from age to age It may not be quite Islamic to worship the tomb of a dead person, even if he happens to be a Saint, but it is surprising what a hold the shrine has taken on the minds of the Mohamedan masses in India Even the Hindu community has not been unaffected by it—it is a common belief among Hindus in this part of India that barren women can have children by vowing offerings to the Mohamedan saint buried there He was apparently held in great esteem, by both the communities, ever since he chose the spot for his spiritual ministrations, so early as in the twelfth century when Islam had not spread with any effectiveness in this part of India.

It is again, a very valuable page of Indian History spread out before my eyes which I see, whenever I drive out in the evening to Anna Sagar, which is a pleasure resort like the Marina of Madras, though being a lake it is smaller in size and appearance Though the embankment was made originally by Anaji, the grand-father of Prithvi Raj it is Shah Jehan who beautified it by the marble platform and the beautiful pavilions built on it They were actually dwelling places in a Royal Garden during the times of the Moghul emperors and must have seemed gorgeous in their setting of garden-beds and fountains which can be traced even to-day, though they cannot be said to be in excellent preservation Official vandalism had disfigured

the place at one time, converting the royal pavilion into public offices and residences for Government servants, but thanks to Lord Curzon and his zeal for the protection of Ancient Monuments we have them restored to-day, at least in a large measure, to their original form and background Annasagar, for obvious reasons, depends on the annual monsoon, which is by no means plentiful in Ajmer, for its spectacular glories and it is matter for regret that its almost complete failure during the last two years has temporarily ruined the prospect But when the land has been bathed in rains and the lake is full of water, with the verdant hills in the distance and the bustle of the city behind us, there are few places which can claim to such beauty in the country Shah Jehan could not have wished for a more magnificent memorial to his own reign and the contribution of the Moghuls to Indian Art—next of course only to the Taj Mahal at Agra which holds all that was dear to him

One of the houses in Ajmer where I am a frequent visitor is that of my young friend, Raja Kalyan Singh of Bhinai, but it may not be known to many that it enshrines one of the valuable memories of the recent history of Ajmer The great reformer Swami Dayanand Saraswati spent his last days here and it was in this house that he breathed his last on the eventful Diwali day of 1883, the 30th October A mammoth procession swept along the streets of Ajmer the next morning and the remains of Swami Dayanand were consecrated to the flames at the foot of Taragarh as the rays of the risen sun gilded the crest of the hill shining across the valley To the members of the Arya Samaj, Ajmer will always be sacred as the last scene of Swami Dayanand's ministrations I am gratified to mention, that at my instance, the Raja has agreed to put up a memorial tablet in the room where Swami Dayanand closed his eyes in eternal rest and I hope to see it done within the next few weeks

The historical associations of Ajmer are by no means exhausted, not even those which you can expect to come across in the course of an evening's normal perambulations

in the city. We have the ancient Hindu monument Adhai-din-ka-Jhonpra which was reputed to be a Hindu College before it fell into the hands of the Mohamedans. I pass the tombs of the Sayyad Brothers, well-known as "The King Makers" in later Moghul History, almost everyday as I drive along to the city. We have the Nag Pahad beyond Anna Sagar, one of the spurs of the Aravalli Hills, so-called because of its resemblance to a cobra, associated with memories of the Sanskrit poet, Bhartrihari who came thither after renouncing the glories of royalty Above all, there is Pushkar, the well-known place of Hindu pilgrimage steeped in ancient tradition, going back to Brahma, the very creator of the Universe But we must stop with the feeling, that enough has perhaps been said to show that, turn in whatever direction he may, the citizen of Ajmer has the inestimable privilege of being face to face with the mighty pages of the past !

CONFLICT OF SOVEREIGNTY AT DACCA 1819.

BY

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After 1757 the French position in Bengal became, for all practicable purposes, untenable Theoretically their political status and commercial privileges remained unaffected but with the English predominance firmly established at Murshidabad they could hardly expect a fair dealing from the country power when their interests were in conflict with those of their English rivals No doubt they still held their principal factories at Kashimbazar, Dacca and Jogdia besides their main settlement at Chandernagore, and small commercial establishments or lodges continued to function at far off Chittagong, in an obscure village called Connicole near Burdwan, at Tesgaom in the Neighbourhood of Dacca and at Serampore probably under the shadow of Danish protection Solitary Frenchmen were found all over the province, and in search of trade or adventure they penetrated even into the heart of Assam But it was obvious that Plassey had ruined for good all prospect of French expansion in those regions and their presence in Bengal was more or less on sufferance of their political adversaries In fact whenever war broke out between the two nations in Europe the English took all the Frenchmen in Bengal into peaceful custody and the French Factories were quietly occupied More often than not the French traders resigned themselves good humouredly to the inevitable and came to amicable terms with the English authorities with a view to wind up their business with as little personal loss as the circumstances allowed Sometimes a French adventurer would readily renounce his country and nationality to avoid tem-

porary incarceration and the inconveniences it implied. In 1785 the head of the Dutch Factory of Chinsura put a direct question to Nawab Mubarakud-Duallah and Md. Reza Khan about the status of the European traders in Bengal *vis-a-vis* the English under the new order of things and neither the Nawab nor his Deputy was in a position to answer so simple a question without any reference to the Governor General and his council It was all the more strange, therefore, that in 1819 when most of the country powers had been constrained to recognise the de-facto suzerainty of the East India Company and a masterful personage of Lord Moira's ambition and ability was at its helm a Frenchman should aspire to revive the lost glories of his nation and claim to exercise in the name of his king and country sovereign authority in a limited area of the town of Dacca Vain and belated as his attempts were Captain Darrac's pretensions deserve more than a passing notice, for they offer pointed illustrations of English preference for the logic of facts to legal fiction

With the outbreak of the French Revolutionary war the French factories in India necessarily changed hands They were of little vital importance to France so long as the English fleet commanded the sea, and, cut off from the mother country, they had no alternative but to yield to superior force By 1814 the British position had been so firmly consolidated in India that at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars English had no hesitation in restoring to France her Indian settlements which added to her prestige but did not contribute to her power By Article VIII of the treaty of Paris His Britannic Majesty engaged to restore to His Most Christian Majesty, the colonies, fisheries, factories and establishment of every kind which were possessed by France on 1st January 1792, in the seas and on the continents of America, Africa and Asia with certain specified exceptions Though the treaty was concluded on the 30th May, 1814, the French agent did not take charge of the old factory of Dacca before April 1819, and then followed a series of unwarranted actions which left no doubt about Captain Darrac's conception of the rights and privileges of his office

Mr. Master, the retiring Magistrate of Dacca, had some difficulties with Captain Darrac, the head of the newly restored French factory, about the boundary of the French area, which he regarded as French territory in the strictest legal sense M Darrac agreed to the limits indicated by his British colleague after reserving to himself the right of re-opening the subject in future if he thought fit The boundary, however, caused no further complication but Captain Darrac lost no time in revealing his real intention The Factory obviously belonged to the French and if the area, demarcated by the British Magistrate of Dacca, really formed French territory, then M Darrac was, in law and in fact, entitled to exercise full sovereign authority on behalf of his king within the limits of the factory however small or circumscribed they might have been The question was, were the British government likely to tolerate such claims in the very heart of a district headquarter ? Darrac was not long in putting his claims to test

When the French Factory had been seized by the British as enemy property an inventory of everything found in the premises was duly made and the articles were in ordinary course sold by auction, the proceeds thereof being appropriated by the British authorities But unfortunately Swarup Chandra Ghosh and Ram Ganga Sen, both residents of Dacca, were associated with the French factory as Dewan and Gomasta respectively before its temporary dissolution On the revival of the factory Monsieur Darrac thought that these two ex-servants were liable to be called upon to render an account of everything that once belonged to the French and they were formally put under arrest Whether they were seized within the compound of the Factory or outside its limits cannot be ascertained at this distance of time M Darrac contended that the arrest took place within his jurisdiction while the Magistrate of Dacca had his doubts about it Darrac next called upon the Magistrate of Dacca to cause the houses of the arrested persons to be searched and to produce a witness at the trial which the

French chief proposed to conduct. Mr. Bird, who had in the meantime succeeded Mr Master, did nothing of the kind and requested M Darrac to release the prisoners immediately. His letter drew an insolent reply M Darrac wrote: "In reply to the letter with which you have honoured me under date the 10th respecting 2 people name of (*sic*) Sooroop Ghose and Rambunga Sein, I have the honour to remark to you that the detention of these two individuals to which you object is in no way illegal, and would not have taken place if it had been so Little accustomed to infringe on the rights of others, I content myself with doing what my rights and my duties point out to me These two persons employed by and responsible to the French have not been arrested on the English territory but on that of the French Factory for Crimes committed on the latter They belong to my jurisdiction and are totally distinct from yours Were they even free on the English territory it would be your duty to replace them in my hands on my demand, to be tried by me, in conformity with the article 23 of the convention at the Isle of France by the plenipotentionaries of the two nations on the 3rd April 1786 and article 9 of the convention at London on 7 March 1815 and ratified by his Most Christian Majesty and His Britannic Majesty The demand that you make me to set them at liberty and which proceeds no doubt from your ignorance of the rights belonging to the French jurisdiction, cannot be admitted The search on which I requested you to proceed or to assist me, might have been effected notwithstanding the guilty had their residence on the English territory, in conformity with article 20 of the convention of Isle of France above cited, but having no wish to create dissension on this subject I preferred calling for your assistance This search as well as the citation of the witness pointed out in my letter you cannot refrain without infringing the established custom of civilized nations and the different treaties between the two Governments to which we belong, besides, sir, you make yourself liable to the same conduct in cases which may occur" Mr Bird of course held quite different views about his duties and obligations He

wrote—" The most regular mode for M Darrac to have adopted would I conceive have been that of an application to me to enter upon an investigation and if during the enquiry I found it necessary to attach the property of the suspected persons "

Swarup Chandra Ghosh and Ram Ganga Sen were, however, private citizens Before long a Government employee in the execution of his obvious duties fell a victim to Mr. Darrac's misconceived notion of rights The Collector of Customs had his residence on the river banks Two of his Chaprasis were carrying his Kacheri boxes On their way they encountered two weavers with smuggled thread and as was their duty arrested them Unluckily they chose to follow a shorter route to the office which passed through a part of the French compound One of the Chaprasis safely crossed this area with the weaver in his charge but the second man was arrested with the other weaver whose shouts of *Dohai Saheb* had attracted Captain Darrac's attention The Captain at once concluded that the Chaprasi had violated the sanctity of French territory and the frantic cries of *Dohai* implied nothing short of a formal application for French protection on the part of the weaver The Chaprasi was administered ' six stripes of the Rattan for having violated the French territory and having exercised there an authority which belongs solely to the Chief of the Lodge " Mr Bird's protests brought forth another uncourteous reply couched in violent terms of insult

A Sepoy chastised by the French chief for a purely technical offence did not bring his case to the notice of his official superiors out of a sense of shame and for fear of losing prestige

Captain Darrac was not, however, satisfied with these ostentatious demonstrations of French sovereignty in his corner of Dacca He soon licensed a *Ganja* shop within the boundary of his factory and there was talk of his opening a distillery and a liquor shop as well These would adversely affect the excise income of the British Indian Government

and add considerably to the policing difficulties in the main town by creating for the bad characters of the city a safe asylum and regular rendezvous. Mr. Bird, therefore, drew the attention of the Governor General and Council to the pretensions of the French Chief and sought their direction on the subject Apparently he was a less ardent student of old treaties than his militant French neighbour.

The Governor General in Council promptly addressed the Hon'ble M Ravier of Chandernagore on the subject They observed that "on general principles of national law we are satisfied that no establishment under the denomination of a commercial factory can be entitled to the exercise of a separate legal authority independent of the laws and regulations of the Government of the country in which it is situated On the other hand the sovereignty of the British Government being expressly recognised throughout all parts of these Provinces excepting within the limits of the Territorial possession of the other European nations It is equally our conviction that it was never the intention of the high contracting parties to the Convention of the 7th March 1815, to confound the distinction expressly preserved between those possessions and mere commercial Factories, or to confer on the Factories of His Most Christian Majesty in India those privileges of Independent jurisdiction which have not been admitted in favour of the other powers and are indeed withheld from Establishments of a similar description in other countries" M Ravier was, therefore, requested "to instruct M Darrac to abstain in future from the usurpation of powers which do not belong to his station and to confine the exercise of his authority to the mere superintendence of the commercial affairs of the Factory without interfering in any degree whatever in matters beyond the limits of his public duty"

It does not appear that the Chandernagore government offered any reply to this letter but it is obvious that this firm protest gave quietus to M Darrac's pretensions for ever and similar claims were not revived in any other part of the

province. In fact the French Factory at Dacca was abandoned for good in a few years, and when in 1824 Lord Amherst offered to purchase the buildings on behalf of the East India Company M. Pelssier politely stated that a French subject had already solicited the lease of the Factory and its buildings but as the previous lessee was in adverse possession of the Factory an appeal had been made to the Court at Dacca Thus within four years of M. Darrac's assumption of the charge of the Dacca factory were all his unwarranted claims tacitly repudiated by his own countrymen

It may be noted here that in 1821 the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese made similar claims at Surat on the strength of Farmans they had received from the Moghul emperors in days gone by But the Governor General held that " the Mogul grants are not permanently binding on the British Government" and whatever privileges the French and the Dutch might have acquired from such grants were destroyed by the military conquest of their settlements and factories but the Portuguese stood on a different footing and in their case a special revocation of their privileges should be made •

Such claims as the French made at Dacca in 1819 and at Surat in 1821 were due mainly to the British recognition of the Emperor of Delhi and the Nawab of Murshidabad as *de jure* rulers So long as they enjoyed the substance of power they did not mind if there were legal anomalies here and there and the fiction of Moghul sovereignty continued practically unchallenged long after the Emperor had become a mere pensioner of the East India Company and the fiction of Nizamat in Bengal survived until the Nawab of Murshidabad was persuaded to part with that titular dignity

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SIGNED ARROWS

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M A ,
Government Museum, Madras

In fair fight the warrior desires that his opponent should know even in the thick of battle who it is that is giving him battle The arrows rain thick on either side and the dust raised by the fierce movements of chariots, horses and elephants hide from view the authors of these unwelcome showers The question of identity of the warrior responsible for the death of another is also easily answered if there were a clue to get at his name The triumphant hero would like to show to the world that his arrows sticking to a broken parasol flung on the ground or a banner brought low on the field of battle or an elephant in the last agonies of death, or the helmet of a warrior sleeping his last long sleep to proclaim that it is his hand that has wrought that havoc in the enemies' ranks

Thus arose arrows with the name of the archer painted on the shafts—nāmānkita śaras This custom of marking the arrows is a very ancient one and there are innumerable references to such arrows in Sanskrit literature The name is usually on the tail end nearer the gārdhapatra or the eagle feathers than the rukmapunkha gold tip or āyasapunkha iron tip.

The Rāmāyana is one of the earliest works to give references to such arrows Teased by the rāksasīs in the Aśoka grove Sītā laments her fate but when Rāvana makes advances towards her she spurns him with the warning that ere long he would hear the thundering sound of Rāma's mighty bow and see arrows with the name of Rāma and Laksmana marked on them *isavo nipatisyanti rāma-lakṣ-*

manalaksanāh Sundarakānda, XXI, 26. In the deadly fight between the rāksasas and the monkey hosts Rāma's arrows play deadly havoc on the side of the opponents Vālmīki describes that the entire field of battle was covered with arrows bearing the name of Rāma *rāmanāmānkitairbānair-vyāptam tadranamandalam* Yuddhakānda, XLIV, 23

Kālidāsa mentions arrows with the archer's name marked on them in his Raghuvamśa Raghu valiantly fights Indra who steals Dilīpa's sacrificial horse and in the fight the prince digs into the arm painted gaily with gorocana by Śacī his arrow marked with his name *bhuje śacīpatraviśesa-kānkite svanāmacihnam nicakhāna sāyakam* Raghuvamśa, III, 55 After the battle with Rāvana was over Mātali returns in his car drawn by a thousand steeds back to Amaravati after taking leave of Rāma and Kālidāsa describes the car as marked with arrows of Rāvana with his name impressed on them sticking to the staff of its banner *nāmānkarā-vanaśarānkitaketuyastimūrdhvam ratham harisahasra-yujam nināya* Raghuvamśa, XII, 103 | In the Kumārasambhava Kālidāsa pictures how Vasanta (Spring personified as the friend of Cupid) the arrow-maker prepares fresh arrows of mango-flowers with tender sprouts as feathers and with the bees fluttering on them as nāmāksaras i e, letters composing the name *sadyah pravālodgamacārupatre nīte samāptim navacūtabāne* | *Niveśayāmāsamadhurdvirephān-nāmāksarānīva manobhavasya* | Kumārasambhava, III, 27 In the battle with Tārakāsura Kālidāsa describes the prowess of the demon king who with his terrible flat-tipped arrows bearing his name all enveloping the quarters cut the missile showers of his opponents, like fire destroying bits of straw settled on it *tānprajvalatphalamukhairvisamaih surāri nāmānkitaih pihitadiggaganāntarālaih* | *Ācchāditastrnacayā-niva havyavāhascicchedа so'pi surasainyaśarānśaraughaih* || Kumārasambhava, XVII, 4

In the description of the battle given by Māgha in his Śiśupālavadha he refers to arrows with the name of their owner, Krisna, painted on them remarking that they just

took the life of the opponents but not their blood since they desired not to obliterate the letters composing the name by so doing *nāmākṣarāṇāṁ malanā mā bhūdbharturataḥ sphuṭam | Agṛhṇata parāṅgānāmasūnasram na mārgaṇāḥ ||* Śiśupālavadha, XIX, 110

Bhaṭṭanārāyana describes such arrows with Arjuna's name on them in his Veṇīsaṁhāra. Śalya with his body marked with arrows bearing the name of Arjuna and with neither whip nor reins in his hand returned in the empty chariot drawn mechanically by horses that knew the way to their camp, his tears answering the questions of interrogators about Karṇa's fate in battle *tyaktaprājanaraśmiraṅkitatanuḥ pārthāṅkitairmārgaṇairvāhais syandanavartmanām paricayādākṛṣyamāṇas śanaiḥ | Vārtāmaṅgapatervilocanajalairāvedayanpṛcchatām śūnyenaiva rathena yāti śibiram śalyaḥ kurūn kampayan ||* Veṇīsaṁhāra, V

Arrows with Bhīṣma's name marked on them are mentioned by Kṣemendra in his Bhāratamañjarī. They fall on the maces, parasols, and the bodies of the warrior-kings in battle and then and there destroy them *tomareṣvātapatreṣu śarīreṣu ca bhūbhujām | Petuḥ punarabhāvāya bhīṣmanāmāṅkitās śarāḥ ||* Bhīṣmaparva, 161

These references show that the custom of painting the arrow with the name of the archer is both an ancient and an accepted yuddhamaryādā or convention in battle Actual examples to corroborate literary evidence will be most welcome and are bound to be of great interest There are two such arrows in the arms collection of the Madras Museum (See figure). They bear the name of one of the Tanjore rājas Sarabhoji and are thus very late [1] But in the absence of earlier specimens even these are of great value as proving the persistence of an old custom.

[1] There are two lines in Nagarī 'Srī Sarabhoji Mahārāja Chatrapati' and give the name of the Tanjore ruler who ruled in the 17th century

THE TRADITIONAL LIMITS AND SUBDIVISIONS OF THE TAMIL REGION

BY

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The earliest reference to the limits of the Tamil region is to be found in the Tolkāppiyam[1] which is generally acknowledged to be the oldest existing work in Tamil literature It is a grammar which begins in the manner characteristic of such works in Tamil literature, by specifying the area and the limits within which the language dealt with prevailed The lines are

> வட வேஙகடம தெனகுமரியாயிடைத
> தமிழ கூறு நலலுலகம.

" Between Vengadam on the north and Kumari on the south (lies) the good Tamil-speaking world " Later works of the Śangam Age[2] in Tamil literature have generally followed this statement with regard to facts, for example,

(*a*) வேஙகடம குமரிதீமபுனற பௌவமென
றிநநான கெலலை தமிழது வழக்கே

(*Śikandiyār*) [3]

(*b*) குமரி வேஙகடம குணகுட கடலா
மணடிணி மருஙகிற றணடமிழ வரைபபில

(*Śilappadikāram*) [4] (நூறகடடுரை)

(*c*) நெடியோன குனறமும தொடியோள பௌவமும
தமிழவரம பறுதத தணபுனல நாடு

Ibid, (வேனிறகாதை)

Many of the important older works in Tamil literature have had commentaries written on them, which have attained almost as high a literary status as the works themselves These commentaries are of much later date than the Śangam

TRADITIONAL LIMITS AND SUBDIVISIONS
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works. The commentators also have described the limits of the Tamil region in the same way as in the Tolkāppiyam

A few later scholars have described the northern and western limits differently The northern limit is described in the following lines as being the Telugu language, i.e., the region where it was predominant,

> *வடதிசை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாகத்*
> *தென்திசை உள்ளிட் டெஞ்சிய மூன்றும்*
> *வரை மருள் புணரி*
>
> *Śirukākkaipādiniyār* [5]

This is a quite correct statement of fact, because the Telugu-speaking areas do adjoin the Tamil region on the north , but it does not help to fix the extent of either of the two languages, since it supplies no geographical details Dr Swaminatha Ayyar has pointed out that, in the Śilpa Śāstra, the River Krishna is said to have formed the northern boundary of the Tamil region [6] It is possible that the author of the Śilpa Śāstra, concerned primarily with the arts of sculpture and architecture and not with language and literature, has referred to the political limits of the Tamil kingdoms of his time The western limit is said to be Kudagam (Coorg), in the following lines from the Nannūl, a grammar written during the 12th century A D

> *குணகடல் குமரி குடகம் வேங்கடம்*
> *எனுநான் கெல்லையி னிருந்தமிழ்க் கடல்*
>
> . *Nannūl* [7] (நூற்சிறப்புப்பாயிரம்)

The Malayalam language must have become sufficiently differentiated from Tamil by this time, i e , the 12th century A D , to distinguish the West Coast lowland where it prevailed as a separate linguistic area, and the above reference probably recognizes these changes

There was a great religious revival in South India between the 6th and 9th centuries A D , which led to the decline of Buddhism and Jainism and the re-establishment of Hinduism These changes were brought about in the Tamil region by a number of Saints (the Śaivite Nāyanārs and Vaishnavite Ālvārs) who arose during this period and

converted the people by their religious fervour, militant propaganda and convincing miracles They travelled widely in the cause of their faiths, and among other things, worshipped at every temple of their Deity which they visited, singing songs in praise of the deities enshrined at each of these places Many of these verses have been subsequently collected into anthologies and carefully preserved, and constitute an important part of Tamil religious literature These anthologies furnish us with lists of the places thus visited and celebrated in song, which serve to show the extent of the travels of the Nāyanārs and Āḻvars Two of the most important of these anthologies are the Tevāram,[8] and the Divya-Prabandam,[9] the verses in these two collections were composed between 600 and 900 A D, and they enumerate separately 274 different Śaivite shrines and 108 Tirupatis or Vaishnavite temples, or 382 different shrines altogether The distribution of these temples shows that they were almost all of them within the Tamil region, with a few exceptions which have been specifically described as such We find, in the biographies of the saints who composed these verses, that most of them contented themselves with singing verses in praise of these extra-Tamil shrines, without going further north than Tirupati or Kalahasti[10] All these circumstances show that the limits of the Tamil region as recognised at this later period were the same as those recognised during the Śangam Age

It is apparent, therefore, that the traditions concerning the limits of the Tamil region have been remarkably stable The most satisfactory explanation of their persistence is afforded by their close relationship to the actual geographical limits, which reveals to us the fact that the traditions have been based on a recognition of geographic realities

It has been pointed out above that the northern and western limits of the region have differed in the later references These differences become more numerous when we examine the details given about the subdivisions of the

Tamil region. From the earliest times two classes of divisions were in vogue, one based on linguistic distinctions, and the other on political organisation The Tamil region was divided on a linguistic basis into (a) Śen Tamil Nādu, and (b) twelve adjoining Kodun Tamil Nādus, as for example, in the following

(*a*) செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்து

Tolkāppiyam

(*b*) தென்பாண்டி, குட்டம், குடம், கற்கா, வேண், பூழி,
பன்றி, அருவா, அதன் வடக்கு—நன்றாய
சீத, மலாடு, புனனாடு, செந்தமிழ் சேர்
ஏதமில் பன்னிரு நாட்டெண்

Quoted in the commentaries of *Nannūl* and *Yāpparungalam*

Śen Tamil Nādu was the area within which the classical or standard language prevailed, and is considered to be the same as Pāndya Nādu, as in the following verse ,

சந்தனப் பொதியச் செந்தமிழ் முனியும்
சௌந்தர பாண்டியன் எனும் தமிழ்நாடனும்
சங்கப் புலவரும் தழைத்தினி திருக்கும்
மங்கலப் பாண்டி வளநாடென்ப

Nannūl commentary

Its limits are described in the lines

செந்தமிழ் நிலமாவது வையை யாற்றின் வடக்கும்
மருதயாற்றின் தெற்கும்
கருவூரின் கிழக்கும் மருவூரின் மேற்கு

Tolkāppiyam commentary,

The Vaigai river on the south the Marudayār on the north Karūr on the west, and Maruvūr on the east [11] Śen Tamil Nādu appears therefore to have included a part of the Chola Nādu also, since the Pāndya Nadu did not extend north of the Vellār river in Pudukkottai State

These latter divisions, that is, Pāndya Nādū, Chola Nādu etc, were based on the political organisation of the Tamil region, and show an interesting order of development. The Sangam works

refer only to the three kingdoms of Pāṇḍya, Chera and Chola ; but by the 4th century A D , a fourth kingdom, Tondai Nadu, had come into being, through the northern part *of the Chola kingdom separating into an independent kingdom* After the 8th century A D , a fifth subdivision, named Kongu Nadu, came to be generally recognized. Some modern scholars hold that Kongu Nadu has figured as a distinct entity even in the Sangam works, but others consider that it was only a part of Chera nadu in earlier times and became an independent unit only by about the 8th century A D [12] In seeking to establish the latter view, it has been suggested that the Kongu Nadu is the same as the *Malainadu* (mountainous region), which, together with the *kadalmalainadu* (region between the mountain and sea) formed the ancient Chera kingdom , and when the *kadalmalainadu* became linguistically differentiated by the development of the Malayalam language, the two divisions also became politically independent ; and after this separation, the *malainadu* came to be known as Kongu Nadu, while the kadalmalainadu continued to be known as Chera Nadu, and also as Kerala (Sanskrit) and Malayalam' (Malayalam)

The extent and limits of these five political divisions are described in the following stanzas ,[13]

(*a*) வெள்ளாறது வடக்காம மேறகுப பெருவழியாம
தெள்ளார புனறகன்னி தெறகாகும—உள்ளார
ஆணட கடல கிழககாம் ஐமபததறுகாதம்
பாணடி நாடடெலலைப்பதி

(*b*) கடல கிழககுத தெறகுககரை பொரு வெள்ளாறு
குடதிசையிற கோட்டைக கரையாம—வடதிசையில
ஏணாட்டுப பெண்ணை யிருபதது நாறகாதம
சோணாட்டுக கெலலை யெனச சொல

(*c*) வடக்குத்திசை பழனி வான்கீழத தென்காசி
குடககுததிசை கோழிககோடாம—கடறகரையின
ஓரமே தெறகாகும உளளெண்பதினகாதம
சேரநாடடெலலையெனச செபபு

(*d*) மேறகுப பவளமலை வேஙகட நோ வடககாம
ஆாககுமுவரி அணிகிழககுப—பாாககுளுயா
தெறகுப பிணாகி திகழிரு பதினகாதம
நற்றொணடை நாடெனவே நாட்டு.

(*e*) வடககுப பெரும்பாலை வைகாவூர தெற்குக
குடககுப் பொருபபு வெளளிக்குனறு—கிடககும
களிததண டலைமேவு காவிரிசூழ நாடடுக்
குளிரததண டலையளவு கொஙகு.

The first stanza describes the limits of the Pāndya Nādu as the River Vellār (in Pudukkottai State) on the north, Cape Comorin on the south, the sea in the east, and " Peruvaḻi " on the west This western landmark alone is not found on modern maps , it is said that it existed formerly in the Kongu Nādu, west of Karūr, and was called the " Peruvaḻi " or " Great Road " because it used to be on the main pilgrim route between Kāśi and Rāmēswaram The Chola Nādu is bounded by the sea on the east, the River Vellār (that is, the northern limit of the Pāndya Nāḍū) on the south, a place called Kottaikkarai on the west, and the River Pennaiyār on the north Of these limits Kottaikkarai cannot be identified , but it is mentioned in inscriptions and is also described as the eastern limit of Kongu Nādū [14] The Chera Nādu lies between Palni on the north, the sea on the south, Tenkāśi[15] on the east and Koḻikkodu, i e , the modern Calicut, on the west The limits of the Tondai Nādū are described as the Pavala Malai on the west, the sea on the east, Vengadam (Tirupati) on the north and the River Pinākini, that is the Pennaiyār,[16] on the south The Pavala Malai is not found on modern maps , but it was probably the name of one of the hill-masses, (perhaps the western part of the Javādi Hills) because the Koravas who are one of the wandering tribes of South India, have a folk song which says that the Pavala Malai and the Pachai Malai (in Namakkal taluk in the Salem district) form their mountain homeland The limits of the Kongu Nādu are set forth in the last stanza as Perumbalai[17] on the north, Vaigavur (Palni) on the south, Kulithandalai (Kulittalai) on the east, and the Vellimalai on the west In another verse (in the Kongu Mandala Śatakam) the limits are said to be Madilkarai (Kottaikkarai) on the east, Veḻḻimalai on the west, Palni on the south, and Talaimalai on the north instead of Perumbalai, and both these are found on maps of the Salem dis-

trict. Madilkarai or Kottaikkarai is not found on any maps, but was probably a place west of Trichinopoly town, since it seems to have been situated between Chola Nāḍu and Kongu Nādu The Vellimalai is probably one of the hills west of Coimbatore district in the Nilgiris, where there are several named Vellingiri, Billigiri, etc

In these five stanzas also the limits of the subdivisions are described by associating them with prominent landmarks nearby, like temples, rivers and hills Nearly all the places enumerated in the verses can be located on modern maps. The shrines mentioned in the *Tevāram* and the the *Divya-Prabandam* are also assigned to one or other of these five divisions The distribution of these shrines therefore shows also the extent of each of the five divisions,[18] which we can compare with the information provided by the five stanzas quoted above. There is a close conformity between the two sets of details, and it is clear, that in this respect also, the traditions have embodied a recognition of geographic relatities

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*Based on a paper read before the 26th Indian Science Congress at Lahore, 1939

NOTES

The idea of collecting and examining references in the literature of a language to the extent of the region where it prevailed was first suggested to me by Roxby's article on "The Agricultural Geography of East Anglia," (Geographical Teacher, Vol 4) The value of such studies of long-settled lands was further demonstrated by a lecture on China by a Chinese professor who toured India a few years ago—whose name I am unable to recollect now—in which he explained how the Chinese names for their country (Chung kuo=Middle Kingdom) and its subdivisions were many of them geographical in meaning

It is impossible for me to acknowledge fully the help and guidance I have received from my teacher, M.R Ry V B Subramania Sarma, Retired Tamil Pandit, R B A N

M's High School, Bangalore, at every stage in collecting and examining the references in Tamil literature. I could never have completed this paper but for his unfailing interest

1 The Tolkāppiyam was written by Tolkāppiyanar, who was chief among the disciples of Agastya Agastya is reputed to have been the first grammarian who systematised the language, and his grammar was called after him the "Agattiyam" No copy of this work has been found so far These details take us far beyond the earliest datable historic facts concerning South India, and it is therefore impossible to assign even an approximately reliable date to Tolkāppiyanar and his work

2 The Śangam Age, i e, ? B C to about 200 A D This is approximately the period when the last of the Śangams or literary academies flourished at Madura The two earlier Śangams existed at Kapātapura and at Southern Madura, two capital cities whic have both disappeared in later times

3 Śikanḍiyār was the author of Īśai Nunukkam He wa also one of the twelve disciples of Agastya

4 The Śilappadikāram was writen by Illankōvadigal about the 2nd century A D

5 Śirukākkaipādiniyār was a post-Śangam author

6 "Tamil Śangam Age,' by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr V Swaminatha Aiyar (University of Madras)

7 The Nannūl is a standard grammar of the Tamil language written by the scholar Pavanandi, who lived in the 12th century A D He was a contemporary of Kulottunga Chola III

8 The Tevāram is an anthology of songs by the three great Śaivite saints, Appar, Sambanḍar, and Sundarar

9 The Divya-Prabandam is also an anthology of verses composed by the Vaishnavite Ālvars in praise of Vishnu

10 In the Periya Purānam we are told that (a) Sambandar sang verses attributed to him in praise of the shrines which lay further north of Kālahasti, without going any farther (2nd canto of Periya Puranam, Tirugnana Sambanda Murthi Nayanar Puranam, stanzas 1025-27), (b) Appar went from Kālahasti as far as Śrisailam, but did not go any further, though he has also sung verses in praise of the Himalayan shrines (Periya Puranam, Tirunavukkarasu Nayanar Puranam, stanzas 348 to 369), (c) Sundaramūrti Nāyanār also sang in praise of the northern shrines from Kālahasti itself without going any farther (Periya Puranam, Eyarkone Kalikkama Nayanar Puranam, stanzas 195 to 198)

11. These limits are stated by the commentators on the Tolkāppiyam and the Yāpparungalam Maruvūr is a village in the Tanjore district, 5 miles west of Tiruvadi and east of Mayavaram. It is also suggested that this place might have been the Maruvūr-pākkam which formed a part of the ancient city of Puhār or Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam Marudayar is said to have got its name from the fact that it had its source at the foot of a Maruda tree There is a stream of this name which rises in the Pachaimalai Hills, it flows past Ariyalur (in the Trichinopoly district) just south of the town, and joins the Coleroon river

The use of the terms "Śen Tamil" and "Kodun Tamil" to denote the classical or standard language and the dialects, respectively, is not found in the Tolkāppiyam but only in later grammars, like the Nannūl The later authors appear to have equated Iyarchol (இயற்சொல்) with Śen Tamil and Tiśaichol (திசைச் சொல்)with Kodun Tamil The sūtras in the Tolkāppiyam are .—

(*a*) அவற்றுள், இயற் சொற்றாமே,
செந்தமிழ் நிலத்து வழக்கொடு சிவணித்
தம்பொருள் வழாமை யிசைக்குஞ் சொல்லே
(*b*) செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்துந்
தங்குறிப் பினவே திசைச்சொற் கிளவி

12 The opposed views are set forth in

P T Srinivasa Iyengar Geographical Control of Early Kongu History (*Journal of Madras Geographical Association*, Volume 5)

C M Ramachandra Chettiar Geographical Limits of Kongu Nadu at various Epochs (*Journal of Madras Geographical Association*, Volume 5)

Introduction to *Silappadikāram,* translated into English by V R Ramachandra Dikshitar,
and in other references quoted by them

13 It is not known who first composed these verses, but they appear to have been current even during the time of the poet Kamban We can infer that he was aware of them from the verses which he sang, when he left the court of his patron, the Chola ruler, after being slighted by the king

(*a*) மன்னவனு நீயோ மண்ணுலகு மிவ்வளவோ
வுன்னையோ யான புகழ்ந்திங் கோதுவது—வென்னை
விருந்தேற்றுக் கொள்ளாத வேந்துண்டோ சோழா
குரங்கேற்றுக் கொள்ளாதோ கொம்பு

(*b*) காதமிருபத்து நானகொரிய காசினியை
யோதக்கடல் கொண்டொளித்ததோ—மாதவா
கொல்லிமலையுடைய கொற்றவா நீமுனிந்தா
லில்லையோ வெங்கட் கிடம்

In the first line of the second stanza the poet refers to the extent of the Chola kingdom காதமிருபத்துநானகு in the same way as it is indicated in the stanza giving its limits இருபத்துநாற்காதம். The five stanzas dealing with the limits of the five divisions of the Tamil Nāḍu are generally accepted as correct among the Tamil people and nearly all scholars have quoted them whenever they have had occasion to refer to the limits of these divisions

14 Kongu Nādu lay west of the Chola Nādu and east of the Chera Nādu as shown by these stanzas

15 Śenkodu is given instead of Tenkasi in some variant readings of this stanza, and it has been identified with Tiruchengodu in the Salem district But "Śenkodu" is much more like Shencottah, which is only a few miles from Tenkasi, and it is quite probable that Tenkasi and Shencottah were mentioned interchangeably since they are not only so close together but are also of nearly equal size and importance

16 Many of the rivers in South India have both Sanskrit and Tamil names Generally the Tamil name is in common use. e g, the Pālār, which is, known in Sanskrit as the Kshīra Nadi, occasionally the Sanskrit name has successfully displaced the older Tamil name e g the Tāmbraparni which was known during the Śangam Age as the Porunaiyāru

17 Perumbālai is a large village on the route from Salem to Dharmapuri It is appropriately situated where this route crosses the jungle belt which separates the middle basin of the Kāveri, to which Kongu Nādu largely corresponds, from the Baramahal tract which is quite distinct in many ways

18 The following table shows how the shrines enumerated in the Tevāram and the Divya-Prabandam are distributed among the subdivisions of the Tamil region

	Pandya nadu	Chola nadu	Chera nadu (Malai nadu)	Kongu nadu	Tondai nadu	Nadu nadu	Outside the tamil religion	Total
Tevaram	14	190	1	7	32	22	8	274
Divya Prabandam	18	40	13	—	22	2	13	108
Total	32	230	14	7	54	24	21	382

MINISTERS AND THE WORKING OF THE SECRETARIATE AS DEPICTED BY KALIDASA

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The works of Kālidāsa make innumerable references to the polity and governance of his times In the following pages an attempt will be made to weigh the evidence furnished by the poet and to give in its light a brief account of the Ministers and their check, if any, on the powers and privileges of the king, the Secretariate and the working of the council of Ministers and the Secretariate

Ministers

The king was assisted in his work of administration by a 'Council of Ministers' technically called *Amātya Parisat*[1] or *Mantri Parisat*[2] Expert statesmen[3] were appointed to this council to function as the great ministers of State When absent from the kingdom the king left the administration in the hands of the ministers[4] The king at one place[5] informs his ministers thus "Let your intelligence alone protect the subjects for a time" Sometimes a royal prince entrusted the kingdom to the care of his ministers[6] Thus the two powers that governed a kingdom were the king's hand (*dhanuh*) and the minister's head When the former was engaged (*vyāprtam*) elsewhere the latter alone (*kevelā*) remained to carry on the work of administration at home[7] *Sacivasakhah*[8] daily consulted his ministers and discussed with them the affairs of the Government,[9] but his confidence in them was so well placed that the secrecy of the talk was never divulged[10] Ministers were generally hereditary,[11] yet the merits of deserving statesmen[12] were never disregarded and the king's discriminating choice often fell on them

We have several references to a plurality of ministers.[13] The poet elsewhere says 'this another'[14] (*ayam aparah*) signifying more ministers than one Besides several heads of departments, Kālidāsa alludes to the offices of at least three ministers, viz the Chief Minister, the Minister for Foreign affairs and the Minister for Finance and Law and Justice These along with the *Yuvarāja* possibly constituted the Council of Ministers The important matters of the state were decided by a whole Council of Ministers and the results of the deliberations communicated by the Chief Minister to the king in the following manner which may serve for a type —

"The minister begs to submit—we have resolved (*avadhāritam*) how matters in connection with Vidarbha are to be settled, we just wish to know your Majesty's opinion"[15]

The singular number used for the reporting minister refers evidently to the Chief Minister of the State, but the policy of the State, it appears, was decided by the deliberations of a full cabinet The decisions arrived at by the Council of Ministers were submitted to the king for his confirmation since it is evident from the above reference that merely the opinion of the king was sought of him when the course of action had already been determined by the Council of Ministers as a whole (*Vidarbhagatamanustheyam-avadhāritamasmābhih*, i e we have determined as to what is to be done in connection with Vidarbha) It may also be noted that the opinion of the king has been sought by one single minister as it would appear from the use of the singular number—amātyovijñāpayati—but the course of action is determined by the full Council of Ministers who have already given their individual opinion Books on Hindu polity[16] emphasize the fact that the individual ministers and the king must give their opinion separately without knowing that of one another so that the opinion, thus obtained, must not be influenced and an independent conference may be possible It must be noted that the minister here does not disclose to the king details of the course of action in connec-

tion with Vidarbha already determined but he only seeks to know his opinion on that point as required by the Council which he represents It cannot be characterized as a request for the verdict of the king on proposal of ministers for of that he is absolutely ignorant His opinion (*abhipretam*) alone is sought of him And when he has given his opinion on the point of issue the Chamberlain goes away to inform the Council of Ministers (through the Chief Minister) of the king's opinion which incidentally turns out to be identical[17] with that already held by the Council The point becomes quite clear when we read the following expression of the Chamberlain [18] "My Lord, the minister respectfully says—'Happy is your Majesty's idea, such is the view (*darśanam*) of the ministers also'" The use of the term *darśanam* is remarkable as it actually implies a resolution considered by a body and passed by it The above discussion shows beyond doubt that the Council of Ministers almost attested their approval to the opinion of the king and thus proved a check on the arbitrariness of the latter

On the occasion of the coronation ceremony it was the ministerial assembly that made preparations for the consecration of the prospective king under the orders of the retiring ruler [19] It was they who invested the new king with the royal insignia[20] and with the powers of a full-fledged sovereign It was they who called Bharata to power on the demise of king Daśaratha when Rāma was away and the throne of Kosala lay vacant and the subjects had been rendered kingless [21] In case of the absence of a male heir to the throne a pregnant queen obtained the royal authority with the help of the ministers who instantly invoked gathering of chief citizens (*prakrtimukhyāh*) from among the subjects [22] At the coronation of a sovereign, the people's representatives attended [23] Kālidāsa refers to the *Paurās* and *Jānapadas* which have been so aptly shown by Dr K P Jayaswal[24] to have been political bodies representing the urban and rural population The fact that they were summoned to witness the coronation may point to their legal

status as a determining element in the succession of a king and they might in consequence have proved an additional brake along with the Council of Ministers on the self-willed designs of the sovereign. It is noteworthy that with the approval of the representatives of the people and the ministers the queen, bearing the foetus, was consecrated and then alone she could sit on the golden throne and govern the kingdom with her command never disputed [25]

When a king died it was the duty of the ministers to see that no anarchy crept into the state The fear of anarchy was indeed rendered strong in case of a voluptuous ruler who had retired in order to serve well the ends of his libidinous desires, leaving the cares of the state to his minister,[26] and who had eventually lost the confidence of his people , and this was so when the death of such a king occurred leaving behind him no male heir but only his enceinte queen Then, as in the case of Agnivarna, the ministers with the family priest consigned him secretly to fire in the palace garden, thus evading the public eye, under the pretext of a ceremony averting evil produced by disease [27].

That the meetings of the Council of Ministers were not presided over by the king and their deliberations were not guided and controlled by him is clear from the message sent to him by the Chief Minister which we have discussed above from the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* The above discussion makes it evidently clear that the ministers and the representatives of the people were essentially democratic elements and proved a considerable check on the arbitrariness of their sovereign

Status of Ministers —The status of a minister was considerably high to which due regard was paid by the king When Agnimitra orders his minister to inform Vīrasena to march against the king of Vidarbha he addresses *bhavān*[28] a mark of honour It is the same term as one used by the king of Vidarbha in his letter to Agnimitra [29] In the *Śākuntala*[30] the king addresses his minister with so dignified a phrase as *ārya*—noble The king did not disregard the ad-

vice of his ministers even in his extreme wrath When Agnimitra highly enraged with the impudence and impertinence of the king of Vidarbha, orders his minister to send biddings to the army corps under the command of Vīrasena for his extermination, he stops suddenly and enquires of his minister if he thinks otherwise,[31] but the latter, however, does not hold a contrary view and declares withal quoting a political authority[32] that an enemy who has but recently occupied a kingdom is very easy to extirpate owing to his not having taken root in the hearts of his subjects like a tree infirm on account of its being lately planted [33] Thus the ministers while enjoying a highly important share and wielding considerable authority and power in the Government were treated with remarkable deference by the king

Chief Minister —The minister who reported to the king in the *Mālvikāgnimitra*[34] of the resolve of the Council of Ministers on the issue Vidarbha and who was further entrusted with the secret custody of the opinion of the king must have been a privileged minister to whom the opinions of both the Council of Ministers and the king were confided It was he who first of all learnt of the coincidence or difference of opinion of the king and his Council He seems therefore to have been something like the Chief Minister of the state The *Arthaśāstra* simply calls him Mantrin[35] and gives his position as the first among the ministers [36]

Minister for Foreign Affairs —We read of a minister in charge of political correspondence who received political presents, letters and embassies from feudatory princes and other friendly or inimical foreign powers as is evident from the announcements of the Chamberlain in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V " Your Majesty, the minister begs to say — 'Two girls skilled in arts out of the presents sent from the Vidarbha country, were not sent to your Majesty as they were thought not to be in good trim of body owing to the fatigue of the journey Now they have become fit to be received in audience by your Majesty Your Majesty, therefore, will be pleased to give the order with respect to

them.' "[37] This minister was thus analogous to a Foreign Minister of modern times He also negotiated political treaties at the command of the king and the Council of Ministers [38]

Minister for Revenue and Law and Justice—Kālidāsa refers to a minister holding the charge of the two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice [39] Kosa[40] has been generally associated with the king and it is possible that the king was his own Finance Minister. It may be noted that Manu whom Kālidāsa refers frequently, makes finance the control of the king [41] Otherwise the minister Piśuna of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* must be taken to have added to his two portfolios of Revenue and Law and Justice that of Finance as well We have a reference to this minister as sitting in court and disposing cases [42] It is even possible that there were two ministers of Revenue and Law and Justice, one for each, and the confusion may be set right by admitting that each minister reported to the king cases arising out of his own department and the particular case, referred to in the *Śākuntala*, although it might have involved high and intricate principles of law and justice was probably nevertheless one pertaining to revenue law and, as such, was treated by the Revenue Minister The Minister for Revenue was in charge of all the revenue administration He reported all cases arising out of the Finance Department to the king by means of a document [43] The Minister for Law and Justice sat with the king when the latter heard cases in his seat of legal justice[44] (*dharmāsana vyavahārāsana*) and prepared a report of the cases thus disposed off When the king was too indisposed to sit in the open court the Minister for Justice received petitions from the citizens and sent in the papers to be examined by the king in his seraglio having himself looked into them first This has been described by Kālidāsa as is evident from the utterance of the king "Speak to Minister Piśuna at my words thus—Owing to having kept awake for long, it was not possible for us to occupy the judgment seat to-day Whatever the business of citizens

may have been looked into by his honour should be handed over, after having put it on record [45]

Purodhā—The *Purohita*,[46] who appears everywhere in the writings of Kālidāsa in connection with every state function, must have been associated with the administration He plays the most important part in the consecration of the king The king's attitude towards Purohita and preceptor is of utmost reverence Although Kālidāsa does not specifically refer to him to be a member of the Council of Ministers it may be conjectured with justice that he was one, for "he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of Manu"[47] and Kautilya names him next after the Chief Minister [48]

Senāpati—It is possible that the Commander-in-Chief, Senāpati,[49] may have been a member of the Council of Ministers but of that we are not sure as there is no direct evidence in Kālidāsa bearing on the point There is rather an evidence to the contrary When the Vidiśā Cabinet decides to send a regiment against the king of Vidarbha, Senāpati Vīrasena is on the front and an order has had to be sent to him [50] This might be regarded rather an adverse evidence The *Śukraniti*[51] actually passes over him Kautilya,[52] however, mentions him third after the Chief Minister

Kālidāsa does not give a specific number of ministers forming the Council of Ministers and in this respect he follows Kautilya[53] who would not have any rigid number, as against Manu,[54] who would have seven or eight of them

Secretariate and the Imperial Departments—The Government was technically known by the term *Lokatantra*[55] and its administration was carried on by means of a highly organized secretariate comprising several departments run under distinct heads Kālidāsa makes a general reference to the *Tīrthas* or Heads of Departments in the following expression "In this way employing the fourfold administration of government necessary to a king in its due order, as far as the eighteen *tīrthas* he obtained its fruit"[56] The term

tīrtha meant the Head of a Department. They were eighteen in number Kālidāsa, while referring to this term, does not specifically name the departments which may be gathered from other sources

While commenting on the term *tīrtha* the commentator Cāritravardhana quotes Kautlya [57]

Besides those mentioned above the poet names the following high officials Antapāla,[58] Kañcukī,[59] Nāgarika,[60] Rāstrīya,[61] Dharmādhyaksa,[62] Dūta[63] and other important royal officers [64] Of the lesser importance Kālidāsa mentions the following bards[65] and heralds,[66] scribes,[67] draftsmen and writers (*lekhakā*) Daivacintakāh[68] bearers of royal writs,[69] Pratyaveksakāh,[70] guards of the treasury[71] and the harem,[72] spies,[73] drivers of chariots[74] and elephants,[75] gate-keepers,[76] stewards,[77] Kirāti[78] and Yavani [79]

Antapāla was the officer in charge of the frontiers who defended the frontiers of the empire There were frontier-forts[80] garrisoned and well manned,[81] which were under the direct control of the Antapāla Vīrasena was such an Antapāla posted to guard the southern frontiers[82] of Agnimitra Kañcukī of the plays is the same as the Pratihāra or Mahāpritahāra of the Gupta administration and then Antarvamśika of the *Arthaśāstra* He was the Lord Chamberlain, an aged personality held in high honour by the king and addressed with considerable deference and familiarity by him He was the head of the entire establishment of the royal harem and had the whole force of the palace guards and the female Greeks under him For the symbol of his authority he carried a golden staff [83] This officer was confided with all the important secrets of the state as he acted as an announcer of opinions on both sides, i e. the Council of Ministers and the King [84] Pratihārī,[85] the female counterpart of the Gupta Pratihāra, evidently worked under him and dealt directly with the ladies of the royal seraglio She also like the Kañcukī carried a staff although not of gold but of cane [86] Nāgarika, the Paura of the *Arthaśāstra*, was the Lord Mayor of the Capital and in charge of the City

Police. He watched the night offenders of the city and brought them to book. Rāstriya was appointed to guard the peace of the kingdom (Rāstra). His office was analogous to the office of a modern Inspector-General of Police. Just as the Nāgarika was the head of the city police and kept the peace of the city even so Rāstriya was the head of the guards of the entire state. *Dharmādhyaksa* had the charge of the department of religion. It is evidenced by the speech of such an officer: "I, that person who is appointed by the king, the descendant of Puru, to (perform) the duty of (the Superintendent of) religion, have arrived at this sacred grove to ascertain (if your) rites are free from obstacles."[87] Thus we see that there existed actually a department of the state to look after the ascetics in the forests and an officer was made in charge of it. It is to be noted that this department had long been inaugurated by the piety-loving Aśoka, the great Buddhist Mauryan Emperor, who had appointed a set of officers called *Dharmamahāmātras* whose duty it was to look after the promotion of religion preached by him through his edicts. The department appears to have endured till the time of Kālidāsa. Dūta or envoys were the great ambassadors of the state who were sent to foreign powers to negotiate treaties and alliances and to estimate by their superior intelligence and opportunity the state of the foe. May be, the numerous spies of the state who acted as so many eyes[88] of the king worked under Dūta. Besides the above enumerated officers there were other important 'officers of state' (*rājapurusāh*), a class of government servants, who by their various sorts of services rendered the machinery of the government efficient. They held various offices and were entrusted with important duties that enabled them to be termed as *Adhikārapurusas*.[89] It is possible that the *Pratyaveksakas* belonged to this class of officers whose duty was to examine the place first which was to be later visited by the king and to see if some danger was not lurking there. They were thus the watchers of the safety of the king.

Among the lower officers Bards variously termed as *bandinah*,[90] *bandiputrāh*[91] and *sūtātmajāh*[92] were more for

pomp and the dignity of the king than for actual business of state. Their business was to sing the glories of the royal house in the morning and evening and on important occasions and to act as paraphernalia[93] of the sovereign Heralds or *Vaitālikas* were necessary attendants of the king. Their duty was to announce the hours of the day as also perhaps of the night to the king, whose days and nights were divided into several periods assigned to different purposes, in which the king must attend the state-business Thus the heralds reminded the king of the hours of the day and night and consequently of the respective duties allotted to be performed by him during those hours *Lekhaka* was the scribe, writer and the draftsman of the state It was one of this class of officials who read to Agnimitra the letter sent by Virasena from Vidarbha to his sister, the queen of Agnimitra *Daivacintakāh* were the soothsayers and fortunetellers who were attached to the royal court Besides these there were several other petty officials, public servants and royal employees like the guards of the treasury and the harem spies, drivers of chariots and elephants, gate-keepers, stewards, Kirātīs and Yavanīs *Raksinah*[94] were the city guards and constables who led criminals to the court of justice They worked under[95] the Nāgarika and might have served as the day pickets and the night guards of the city *Kirātīs* and *Yavanīs* were the keepers of the royal harem and they acted as the keepers and bearers of the king's personal arms They[96] were constant companions of the King at home and abroad They acted even as bodyguards and surrounded the king when he went out a hunting[97] and for other sports [98] It was customary with ancient Indian kings to employ Yavana women as their attendants, particularly as the bearers of their arms

Working of the Secretariate —The working of the Secretariate was considerably advanced All important cases were put on paper and submitted to the king for his perusal and orders of which perhaps a record was also kept in the imperial offices of the state after having imprinted them with

the imperial seal The existence of such a seal has been frequently warranted by Kālidāsa as we have seen before The term used for the seal by the poet is *anka*, the impression of a symbolical sign, and *śāsanānka*, the seal of authority which was imprinted on the royal writs.

A quick despatch of business appears to have been a marked feature of the secretariate The *Mālavikāgnimitra* tells us that when Agnimitra received the information that his opinion on the issue of Vidarbha had been confirmed by the Council of Ministers, he ordered the Council to send a despatch to general Vīrasena, who had accomplished the conquest of Vidarbha, to act in the manner ordered[99] Vīrasena was the officer in charge of those parts of the Narmada valley as also the field-marshal who could well execute the orders received from home at the point of sword, if necessary Too much consultation was perhaps considered injurious to the observance of secrecy[100] about the matters of state References are made to records[101] and political documents[102] and letters[103] enclosed within envelopes[104] (*prābhṛtaka*)

Some Political Documents—Four very condensed political documents are on record and they may be quoted in full to give an instance of political letters and other official documents The first of them addressed by Pusyamitra is as follows —

" My blessings to you Pusyamitra, the General, having affectionately embraced his son Agnimitra, of long life, writes from the sacrificial enclosure as follows The horse which was let loose to go about unobstructed by me, consecrated for the Rājasūya, having appointed Vasumitra surrounded by a hundred Rājaputras (princes), its guardian, and which was to return after one year, was seized while wandering on the south bank of the Sindhu by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas Then there was a fierce fight between the two armies

Then Vasumitra, the mighty archer having defeated the enemies, rescued my noble horse that was being forcibly led away.

I, then, whose horse has been brought back by my grandson, will offer the sacrifice now, like Sagara who had his horse brought by Aṁśumat You should therefore come without delay, to witness the sacrifice with my daughters-in-law and with a pure mind "[105]

This is a letter from emperor Pusyamitra to his son Agnimitra and it is one of the very few letters preserved in the Sanskrit literature It is a remarkable document of the imperial secretariate which may sufficiently prove the existence of a high order of political transaction It is a precise document Its contents are thoroughly of a political nature except for some opening indispensable phrases of etiquette and affection From the perfect political bearing of the draft one would hazard the suggestion that Kālidāsa actually copied it from an earlier document which was yet preserved in the Secretariate of the Imperial Court[106] to which perhaps he was attached

The following is a letter received by Agnimitra from the king of Vidarbha, which registers a highwatermark of statecraft and political correspondence The terms of stipulation are put forth in a very clear, positive and precise language ·—

"The illustrious one (i e Agnimitra) wrote to me, 'Your cousin, prince Mādhavasena, who had promised to enter into a matrimonial alliance with me, was, while coming to me, on the way attacked by your frontier guard and taken prisoner He with his wife and sister should be ordered to be set free by you out of regard for me' Now you know full well that such is the course of action of kings with respect to relatives of equal descent, therefore the honoured one should assume a neutral position in this matter, as for the prince's sister she disappeared in the confusion of the capture I will do my utmost to find her Now if your

Majesty wishes that Madhavasena should necessarily be caused to be set at liberty, please mark the terms :—

If the revered one will set my brother-in-law, the Mauryan Minister free, whom he has imprisoned then I will immediately release Mādhavasena from confinement."[107]

The third is a document sent up to the king for his orders in which a revenue case has been reported by the Minister for Revenue. It runs as follows :—

" A leading merchant named Dhanamitra, carrying on business by sea, died in a shipwreck. And childless, they say, is the poor man. His store of wealth goes to the king."[108]

This was the way in which cases were reported to the king. The case with the decision thereon was put on paper (record) which was then sent to the king for his perusal and final order. The document in question is an excellent specimen of political organization of the business of the secretariate.

Lastly there is on record another document sent up to the king by his Minister for Foreign Affairs which is a resume of all the presents received from a foreign power. Agnimitra listens to this document, received from General Vīrasena, being read to him by a royal clerk (scribe).[109] It runs as follows :—

" The Vidarbha king has been subjugated by the king's victorious army commanded by Vīrasena and his relation, Mādhavasena, released from captivity ; the ambassador sent to the king with a present of very costly jewels and vehicles and a body of servants consisting mostly of accomplished girls, will see his Majesty tomorrow."[110]

NOTES

1 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. 100

2 *Ibid.*, p. 101

3 मंत्रिभिः नीतिविशारदैः *Raghuvamśa*, viii, 17

4 तेन धूर्जगतो गुर्वी सचिवेषु निचिक्षिपे *ibid.*, i 34 ; सचिवालम्बितधुर ix 65 xix 4 ; *Śākuntala*, VI, 32 ; अमच्चेसु णिहिदकज्जधुरं *Vikramorvaśi*, p. 87.

5. स्वन्मतिः केवला तावत्परिपाल्यतु प्रजाः *Śāk*, VI, 32
6 संनिवेश्य सचिवेष्वतः परं स्त्रीविधेयनवयौवनोऽभवत् *Raghu*, xix 4
7. *Śāk*, VI, 32
8. *Raghu*, iv 87
9 मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूवसहमन्त्रिभिः *ibid*, xvii 50
10 स जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते *ibid*
11 मौलैः *ibid*, xii 12, xix 57
12 मंत्रिभिः नीतिविशारदैः *ibid*, viii 17
13 सचिवेषु *Raghu*, i 34, मंत्रिभि : viii 17, सचिवैः ix 49, मौलैः xii 12, वृद्धैरमात्यैः xiii 66, मंत्रिवृद्धान् xiii 71, अमात्यवर्गं xviii 36, अमात्यैः xviii 53, xix 4, 7, 52, 54, 57, *Vik*, p 87
14 *Ibid*, Act I
15. अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । विदर्भगतमनुष्ठेयमवधारितमस्माभिः । देवस्यतावदभिप्रेतं श्रोतुमिच्छामीति । *ibid*, Kale's edition, V, p 103
16 e g *Arthaśāstra*, p 9, Manu, VII 57
17 *Māl*, Kale's edition, p 103
18. देव अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मन्त्रिपरिषदोऽप्येवमेवदर्शनम् । *ibid*
19 *Vik*, p 136, *Raghu*, vii 1-4.
20 *Raghu*, xvii 27
21 अथानाथाः प्रकृतयोमातृबन्धुनिवासिनम् ।
मौलैरानाययामासुर्भरतं स्तम्भिताश्रुभिः ॥ *ibid*, xii 12
22 *Ibid*, xix.55
23 *Ibid*, xii 3, xix 55, ii 74, xv 102, xvi 9, 37
24 Hindu Polity XXVII and XXVIII *cf* *Raghu*, ii 74, xii 3, xv 102, xvi, 9, 37, xix 55
25. तां भावार्थं प्रसवसमयाकाङ्क्षिणीनां प्रजाना-
मन्तर्गूढं क्षितिरिव नभोबीजमुष्टिं दधाना ।
मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हैमसिंहासनस्था
राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषद्भर्तुरव्याहताज्ञा ॥ *Raghu*, xix 57
26 *Ibid*, 4
27 तं गृहोपवन एव संगताः पश्चिमक्रतुविदा पुरोधसा ।
रोगशान्तिमपदिश्य मन्त्रिणः संभृते शिखिनि गूढमादधुः ॥ *ibid*, 54
28. अथवा किं भवान्मन्यते । *Māl*, p 11
29 *Ibid*
30 *Śāk*, p 198.
31. अथवा किं भवान्मन्यते *Māl*, p 11
32. शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देवः *ibid* तन्त्रकारवचनम् *ibid*

33 अस्थिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोहणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ॥ *Ibid*
34 Kale's edition, p 103
35 *Arthaśāstra,* Book V, Ch 2
36. *Ibid.*
37 *Māl* , p 94
38 *Ibid* , pp 11, 94
39 *Ibid* , p 219 *cf* *Ibid* , p 198
40 *Raghu* , v 1, 29, xvii 60, 81
41 नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च –*Manusmṛti*, VII, 65
42 *Māl* , pp 198, 219
43. पत्रारूढं *ibid* , p 219, पत्रमारोप्य *ibid* , p 198
44 *Ibid* , p 198
45 *Ibid*
46 पुरोहितपुरोगाः . *Raghu* , xvii 13, पुरोधसा *ibid* , xix 54
47 K P Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p 126
48 *Arthaśāstra*, Book V, Ch 2
49 *Śāk* , pp 63 *ff* , *Māl* , p 11
50 *Māl* , p 11
51 *Śukranītisāra*, II 71-72
52 *Arthaśāstra*, Book V, Ch 2
53 *Ibid* , Book I, Ch 15
54 K P Jayaswal *Hindu Polity*, Part II p 126
55 *Śāk* , p 154
56 इति क्रमात्प्रयुञ्जानो राजनीतिं चतुर्विधाम् ।
आतीर्थादप्रतीघातं स तस्याः फलमानशे ॥ *Raghu* , xvii 68
57 मंत्रिपुरोहितसेनापतिराजदौवारिकान्तर्वासिक प्रसास्तृसमाहन्तृसन्निधातृपार्षद्राध्-यापक दण्डकारकदुर्गपालास्तीर्थमितिकौटिल्य : Quoted in the *Raghuvamśa* by Nandargikar, Notes on *Tīrtha,* xvii 68
58 *Māl* , p 9
59 *Śāk* , p 154, *Vik* , p 3
60 *Śāk* , p 182
61 *Ibid* , pp 193, 194
62 यः पौरत्रण राज्ञा धर्माधिकारे नियुक्तः *ibid* , p 40
63 *Māl* , pp 88-89 , *cf* *Raghu* , v 39
64 *Śāk* , p 49 , अधिकारपुरुषाः *Raghu* , v 63
65 *Raghu* , iv 6, v 65, 75, vi 8
66 वैतालिकाः *Śāk* , p 157, *Māl* , p 32, II 12 , *Vik* , I 2
67 *Māl* , p 88
68 *Ibid* , p 71
69. शासनहारिणा *Raghu* , iii 68
70 *Śāk* , p 198
71. कोषगृहे नियुक्ताः *Raghu* , v 29.

72 अवरोधरक्षैः *ibid* , vii.19.

73. प्रणिधि *ibid.*, xvii 48, *Ku.*, iii 6, 17, अपसर्पैः : *Raghu* , xvii 51.

74 यन्तार, सारथि, etc , *Raghu* , i 54, 74, iii 37

75 अधोरण *ibid* , v 48

76. द्वारस्थाः *ibid* , vi 48

77 कुशलविरचितानुकूलवेषः *Raghu* , v 76.

78 *Ibid* , xvi 57

79 *Śāk* , pp 57, 224

80 *Māl* . p 9, *Raghu* , iv 26.

81 *Raghu* , iv 26

82 वीरसेनोनाम स भर्त्रा नर्मदातीरेऽन्तपालदुर्गेस्थापितः । *Māl* , p 9

83 *Ku* , iii 41

84 *Māl* , p 101

85 *Raghu* , vi 20, 26, 82

86 वेत्रग्रहणे *ibid* , vi 26, वेत्रभृदा 82

87 *Śāk* , p 40

88 *Raghu* , xvii 48

89 *Ibid.*, v 68

90 *Raghu* , iv 6, vi 8

91 *ibid* , v 75

92 *ibid* , 65

93 *Vik* , IV 13

94 *Śāk* , p 182

95 *ibid*

96 *ibid* , p 224

97 *ibid* , p 57

98 *Raghu* , xvi 57

99 पूर्वकल्पितसमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनमुख दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय । *Mal* , p 11

100 गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते *Raghu* , xvii 50

101 पत्रारूढं *Śāk* , p 219

102 *ibid* , *Māl* , pp 88, 102

103 पत्रहस्ता *Śāk* , p 218, पत्रिकां p 219 , लेखं *Māl* . p 88

104 सप्राभृतकं लेखं *Māl* , p 101, प्राभृतको लेखः *ibid* , cf लेखं उद्घाटयति (opens) *ibid*

105 *Mal* , p 102

106 The Ayodhya Inscriptions of Pusyamitra

107 *Māl* , I 7

108 *Ibid* , p 219

109 *Ibid* , p 88

110 *Ibid*.

THE RAKSHASAS

BY

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The conventional picture of a Rakshasa given in the epic and Puranic literature is that of a fearful demon with black, corpulent body, flaming eyes, sharp claws, curved teeth, and brown hair Some of the Rakshasas are supposed to have supernumerary hands, legs or heads Some of them have their limbs placed peculiarly as in the case of Kabandha in the Ramayana They are held also to be experts in the magical arts, and they are always supposed to be unrighteous in thought and action

It is undoubted that a good deal of mythology has entered into these descriptions, and some of them represent the usual frenzied imaginative pictures conceived by the poets of the past For instance, Tarakasura in the "Skanda Purana " is represented as an ogre with the head of an elephant Some other descriptions are poetic embellishments and exaggerations of things capable of a commonplace interpretation For instance, the Bhagavata Purana describes Putana as a terrible giantess[1] who tried to kill the child, Krishna, by suckling him The Vishnu Purana[2] adds " And whatever child is suckled by Putana at night dies instantly, its limbs becoming exhausted and wasted " But, if we accept the definition given by the great medical authority, Susruta[3], " Putana " appears as a kind of dangerous disease to which children are subject, and from which presumably, the child Krishna, suffered The same commonplace explanation can be offered for the other demons who threatened the life of Krishna in his childhood—Sakatasura who tried to kill him appearing as a waggon, Trinavarta who carried him away in the

guise of a fearful bird etc. The Mahabharata itself conveys this common place explanation in the passage where Sisupala abuses Krishna[4] "Oh Bhishma, he killed a vulture in his childhood, does he deserve praise for this ? . What is there wonderful if he kicked down an inanimate piece of wood, namely a waggon ?"

Leaving out these imaginative fantasies, and poetic exaggerations, we come, to a core of hard fact—that the Aryan-speaking people, in their advance, had to struggle with a people called the Rakshasas It is assumed that these Rakshasas must have been racially identical with the Dasyus' with whom the Rig Vedic Aryans were in conflict It is agreed that the Dasyus must have been the Dravidian-speaking people who dominated India before the coming of the Aryan-speaking races Are we justified in regarding the Rakshasas to be a Dravidian-speaking stock displaced by the new invaders ?

Speaking with guarded assurance, it is permissible to doubt this. The Rakshasas are called variously as "Danavas", "Daityas" or "Asuras" The term "Asura" is almost certainly a term common to the Vedic Aryans and the Iranian Aryans, if we accept the theory that, in the religion of Zoraster, the Divs (Devas) are transmuted into forces of evil fighting against Ahura-Mazda—the force of good, and "Ahura" is only a form of the Indian term "Asura" The Asuras, according to this interpretation, would be a tribe of the invaders who, presumably, fell off from the Vedic practices, if not the faith of their compatriots, and consequently, were regarded as outside the pale The Ramayana regards the Rakshasa—Ravana—as well-versed in the Vedas, and as having won his powers by practising the austere penances prescribed by the Vedic ritual. The perennial complaint against the Rakshasas is that they use the powers, gained through such austerities, for unrighteous and evil purposes Hanuman, witnessing the civilised life of Lanka, marvels at the Vedic recitations he finds there, and laments that such a people should be so wicked in their conduct.

"Hanuman heard the recitations of the Vedas by the Rakshasas in their houses. He saw several of them, having finished their daily worship, chanting the Three Vedas (Rig, Yajus and Sama)[5] . . There, he saw some who were with 'Diksha' having begun great 'yagas,' and some who, having finished their 'yagas' had taken the holy bath, and some ascetics with matted hair[6].. and some who were performing sacrifices, according to the Atharvana Veda, for destruction of their foes"[7]

And yet, "these Rakshasas, having eaten meat, and fully drunk with liquor, were plunged in fearful gambols and amusements through the excess of their fierce energy."[8]

What of their King Ravana? Of heroic prowess, he had won his supreme position through assiduous austerities, and had gained the favour of Siva through his recitation of Sama Veda Hanuman marvels "This Rakshasa is afraid of no sin, yet, his splendour is astonishing, and his deportment magnificent"[9] In spite of all this, however, "those who saw him felt no joy, but only fear Though he was handsome, well-adorned and young, his appearance evoked only terror."[10] Why? As Hanuman himself remarked, "Alas, had he not entered the path of evil, he would have conquered the three worlds! He is a cruel wretch, inflicting suffering on the good, oppressing all the creatures, and without the least spark of mercy. All his valour and fame is destroyed by his wickedness"[11]

In the later hymns of the Rig Veda the word "Asura" comes to mean only a "demon", and the Atharva Veda uses the word only in this sense By the Post-Vedic period, the belief that the Asuras or the Rakshasas prowl about at night, and interfere with the performance of Vedic sacrifices is well established The term "Dasyu", which is properly the designation applied to the dark people conquered by the new-comers, is also often used in the sense of demons From the Ramayana, we gather that there was a dense Rakshasa settlement in the forest of Dandaka in the Deccan, and that the

habitat of the Rakshasas extended up to Lanka (Ceylon). It is possible to infer that the Rakshasas might have developed matrimonial and other connections with the previous inhabitants which might have, in course of time, led to differentiations in physiognomy and habits, and thus accentuated the gulf which separated them from their orthodox compatriots Such a development is already perceptible in the later Vedic period The Atharva Veda describes the Rakshasas as deformed and varying in their complexion from blue to green The typical Rakshasa of the Puranas is always dark in colour Ravana, in spite of his stately beauty, is "dark like a hill of black collyrium " But, even then, none of the Rakshasas is " Anasa " (nose-less)—as contrasted with the Dasyus conquered by the Rig-Vedic Aryans

I am aware that all this hypothesis rests mainly on unsatisfactory literary evidence of a later date, and that this evidence may be controverted, explained away, or interpreted on different lines A rational mind is prone to dismiss the whole conception of a ' Rakshasa ' as simply the product of imagination developed by a primitive and uncritical people, and as having the same basis of development as the conception of fairies, gnomes, goblins, and fiends found in the myths and folklore of other peoples of the world Still, I would suggest that the hypothesis I have put forward is plausible and deserving of further examination

1 Description of her appearance in Book 10, Chapter 6
2 Part V, Ch 5
3. *Uttara Tantra*, Chs 27 and 37
4 Sabha Parva, Ch 41, verses 4-11
5 Valmiki Ramayana, Sundara Kanda, Ch 4, verse 12
6 *Ibid*, verse 13
7 *Ibid*, verse 15
8 *Ibid*, Ch 5, verse 9, see also Ch 18, verse 2
9 Valmiki Ramayana, Sundarakanda, Ch 18, verses 29, 30 and 31
10 *Ibid*, Ch 22, verse 29
11 *Ibid*, Ch 49, verses 17-19

SECTION II

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

A PAGE FROM THE HISTORY OF KERALA

BY

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I wish to take the readers for a moment to the proud days of Malabar when Nayar soldiers protected the honour of their king as a sacred duty and took to fighting as a pastime Nearly eight centuries ago Māmankam festival held before the historic temple of Tirunāvāy[1] was not a mock-ceremony which it became later but was an occasion when all the ruling chiefs of Kerala assembled there for a lunar month electing one of them as Chairman for twelve years to settle disputes of an All-Kerala character and to conduct demonstrations of Art, War and various other Sciences [2] One such celebration conducted by a Zamorin is described in a literary work called Māmānkam Kilippāttu (18th century A D) It was really a gala month for the whole of Kerala Its presidentship was really a coveted one and competition to secure it was keen among the various potentates of the West Coast Custom demanded that the elected Chairman should be recognised as the overlord of Kerala[3] for the period When the same Chairman continued to preside over the festival a second time he must address a question to the vast assembly whether there was anybody there unwilling to acknowledge his suzerainty Tradition traces the origin of the ceremony to the primitive times of which we have no clear account [4] Owing to rivalries among different parties[5] in Malabar it was decided at one stage to elect the Chairman from outside Malabar, who were expected to be above party politics It was this practice that led the way to the arrival of *Perumāls*[6] in Kerala They were credited with the conduct of Māmānkams, till the beginning of the Kollam

era (825 A D.). Since that only two Royal families were concerned with its management and the rivalry between them blackened the pages of Kerala History for three or four centuries. After the Perumāls, Valluvakonātiri[7] assumed the Presidentship which he maintained for a century (925 A D)[8] when the Zamorin rose to be his formidable enemy. The latter offered an open challenge to the former at the Māmānkam grounds leading to a contest which ended in the complete victory of the Zamorin [9] The Raja of Valluvanad was not prepared to take the discomfiture coolly He decided to challenge the Zamorin's supremacy on all subsequent occasions by sending one hundred Nayar soldiers who were under a vow to fight it out to the last. They were called *Cavers*[10] as they all died on the spot fighting for the honour of their sovereign This rivalry developed into a blood-feud between the two kings and their subjects which lasted till the last Māmānkam[11] when something in the nature of a miracle which is recorded in a popular ballad[12] happened.

The story runs thus

" The *Cāver* tradition was religiously followed by the subjects of the Raja of Valluvanad They made it a convention that one man from each family within the jurisdiction of their Raja should take the death-vow and proceed to the māmānkam festival to fight and die for their king

Once it was the turn of the Chandroth family to send a representative and there was only a young boy of sixteen available The mother was anxious that no grown-up man could be sent and the prestige of the family would suffer by default Her sorrow brought tears to her eyes as she cared more for the reputation of the house than for anything else The boy noticed the mother's anxiety and enquired the reason She was unwilling to unfold the truth to her little darling lest she should make him also unhappy The boy persisted and the fond mother yielded to the entreaties of her loving son The whole story of māmānkam, their Raja's loss of its presidential chair and the association of *Cāvers*

with the festival ever since were then narrated with all the emotional fervour the mother was capable of. The spirit of *Cāvers* caught the boy making him resolve to go for Māmānkam that year and he wanted permission therefor The mother was not quite prepared for a proposition of the kind from her dear son still in his teens, who was by age and training unequal to the arduous duties involved in the venture. She enquired whether he realised the seriousness of the vow and the task he was expected to perform Chandunni, as the boy was called—seemed a lion's cub and readily answered the mother's query by a heavy ' yes ' The mother had no option but to bid him farewell In a way she was glad. At least she had a son to uphold the honour of the family The boy in spite of his inadequate training was not an ordinary urchin He selected from his armoury some select weapons handled only by experienced warriors The mother watched him with eager but complacent eyes and had a presentiment that the boy was out to achieve something great

The *Cāvers* assembled as usual, at the western gate of the Tirumanthankunnu temple[13] where they had to take the last ball of rice from the hands of Puthumanamma[14] and bid good-bye to their country and the world When the grand lady started her work of distribution she had a glance at the boy who was waiting at one end She smiled at his innocence and wondered what he had come for. When his turn came the venerable representative of the Puthumana family politely enquired " My dear boy ! why on earth you have joined these stalwarts who are under a vow of death after performing several deeds of valour and cutting numerous hostile heads Your age does not tell that you are capable of either Still you are a boy and I am a mother You may receive the rice from me " The extended hand did not reach the boy as he drew back His behaviour caused surprise to the onlookers not excluding Puthumana Amma, who being anxious to put him in good humour beckoned to him again to take the rice The answer for this was a somersault performed by the boy-hero who by one spring

threw himself a mile off and in another came back to the spot where he was standing[15] After this superhuman feat the boy addressed in respectable tone a query to the bewildered lady. "Mother, are you satisfied Don't give me rice otherwise" The mother had no words to applaud the boy's aeroplane-like flight She readily gave him rice along with her blessing The other *Cāvers* were no less amazed although they themselves were warriors good enough for such daring feats But they realised at the same time that he was born to be their leader They requested him to accept the position and he walked in advance after the usual ceremonial leave taking—The rest followed

Next we find them in the battle-field of Māmānkam which was going on in all its traditional glory challenging the Zamorin The loud cry of the *Cāvers* disturbed the solemnity of the august assembly and in a moment they were face to face with endless odds The Zamorin's numerous bodyguards were only too eager to pounce upon them A desperate fight ensued This time it was no easy task for the followers of the Zamorins, Many fell among them At the last moment all with wondering eyes saw our boy-hero rushing to the platform where the Zamorin was installed and aiming a stroke at His Majesty's head Fortunately for the Zamorin a hanging brass lamp protected him and before the modern Abhimanyu could aim another against his enemy he was transported to the other world —thanks to the unerring body-guards of the President and there the brilliant boy-warrior ended his earthly career"

In the details of the story I have followed the legend very closely Hamilton corroborates the main incidents of the episode,[16] only he adds an uncle whom the nephew follows to the field The local tradition of Valluavanad also introduces a slight variation in the closing scene of the episode When Chandunni aimed his blow on the Zamorin's head the latter got up from his seat and remonstrated to the boy-hero to desist from his vow and save him Chandunni retorted. "In that case Your Majesty should

swear that no Māmānkam will be celebrated hereafter in order to save my king countrymen and others from this tragic ordeal!" By the time the spears of the Zamorin's guards were on the boy and he attained the 'heaven of heroism'

The spirit of the story is quite in keeping with the martial traditions of Malabar, and it can well be accepted as authoritative in respect of the Māmānkam mentality which it faithfully reproduces It also gives us a glimpse into the social and political conditions of the day which relegate the king to the back-ground and give prominence to the leaders of the people in matters relating to the state and the preservation of its honour

The story of the Zamorin's cutting their throat referred to by Hamilton and other foreign writers at the end of the 12th year of their reign evidently suggested by the features of the Māmānkam festival has however, no support in indigenous tradition and folklore The period of 12 years applies to many customs in Malabar. Leases in respect of land-ownership and appointments are renewed after every twelve years[17] in ancient Kerala Even Hamilton admits that the custom was not in vogue during his time and the Māmānkam festival was instituted in its place Perhaps the death-swearing of the *Cāvers* was confused with that of the king and the tradition which finds a place only in the accounts of the foreign writers is perhaps the result of an imperfect understanding of the local customs [18]

NOTES

1 Ponnani Taluq, S Malabar

2 Francis Wrede (1793) quoted by K P P Menon, History of Kerala p 389

3 This was nominal as these overlords never interfered with the internal administration of their tributary kingdoms where the Kūrus (religious associations) Kūttams (secular assemblies) controlled the affairs Mamankam also synchronised with the meeting of Perumkūttam (the general assembly)

4 Francis Wrede ascribes it to remote antiquity, at any rate, prior to the Perumāls—*Transactions of the Literary Society, Bom-*

bay, pp, 2, 3 Local traditions ascribe it to Parasurama the mythical Hero

5 In ancient times we hear only of 'Kurus' and Kuttams and not Rajas in Malabar

6 Chief man

7 The Royal family of Valluvanād is now split into three houses, Mankadam, Katana Manna, and Airazshi, of S Malabar

8 Kerala Caritam, by K Kunhunni Nayar, Ch XIV

9 The part played by Koya, the Muslim Merchant Chief at Calicut is described in Keralolpathi, pp 94-95

10 Hamilton—*New Account of the East Indies* Vol I, p 172

11 The opinion is not unanimous as to the last date of the Mamankam The following dates are given by different authors Francis Wrede, 1753—History of Kerala, Vol I p 389, F Fawcett, 1743—Nayars of Malabar, p 384, K V Krishna Iyer, 1755—Zamorins of Calicut, p 105, C Achyuta Menon, 1612—Ezuthāccan and his Age, p 69, based on the legend connecting the festival with Meppattūr

12 The author has secured a copy of this

13 In which is enshrined the family deity (Mother) of Valluvanad Rāja

14 The Senior lady of the Putumana family from which the Prime Ministers of Valluvanād Raja were recruited

15 The place where the boy landed is even now called *Cāverkādu* (Caver forest) The temple is on a hill and the boy's performance covered a tremendous height and distance

16 Hamilton—*New Account of the East Indies* Vol I, xxv, p 172

17 It is called Vyazavattam—a cycle of the Jupiter in which Jupiter completes his round in the Solar circle

18 It seems to be a custom among the primitive folk all over the world It is significant that either the Māmānkam Kilippattu or the Ballads relating to *Cāvers* make no reference to this practice

MEMORIAL TO VASCO DA GAMA IN MALABAR

BY

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From the time of Alexander the Great to that of Vasco da Gama, Europe had little direct intercourse with the East. Columbus of Spain discovered America and Vasco da Gama of Portugal discovered the East India Sea Route Vasco was sent out by King Emmanuel of Portugal—the enlightened patron of sea adventure. He was thus one of the connecting links between Europe and India

Vasco, a famous navigator of Portugal, sailed in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut in 1498 After a short stay, he returned to Lisbon in 1499 He came to Calicut again in 1502 and 1524, the last time as Viceroy He died at Cochin in 1524, and his body was taken home and buried with honours

It was stated in the " Madras Mail " of October 28, 1939, that the Government of Madras had now decided to acquire a plot of land at Kappakaḍavu (literally harbour) twelve miles from Calicut to reconstruct the memorial tablet, which was constructed by the East India Company to commemorate Vasco's landing in Malabar The memorial was at the site of his first landing at Kappakadavu (then a famous port of commerce) with the year of his landing inscribed on it. It was washed away last year by an erosion of the sea Reconstruction of the said memorial will earn praise from historians as a noble act on the part of Government. Considering the difficulty of language and the hazardous nature of the voyage in the days of Vasco da Gama, he richly deserves this honour A similar commemoration—the Tercentenary of Madras, was recently celebrated.

Vasco da Gama, on his arrival at Calicut, sent a message to the Zamorin, announcing his arrival as an Ambassador of His Majesty Emmanuel, King of Portugal, with a letter and a presentation from His Majesty to the Zamorin of Calicut. He was invited to an audience and was carried in a palanquin to the palace of the Zamorin He and his party on their way to the palace, were first taken to a Pagoda , there they were 'purified' and perfumed ; sacred water was sprinkled on them Smelling paste made of sandal wood was also presented to them The temple was dedicated to the Goddess Mari Amma All that Vasco and his officers saw was the statue of a woman, and naturally, they wanted to know the name of the Goddess After knowing that it was "Mari", they confounded the name with that of the "Virgin Mary" and prostrated themselves at the feet of the Goddess

In the interview, Vasco feasted his eyes on the jewels worn by the Zamorin—rings in his ears, bracelets on the arms, bangles on the legs and a diadem of pearls on his head

Vasco addressed the Zamorin as follows —

> "Sire, you are great and powerful among the Rulers of India The King of Portugal has heard of your grandeur and has longed to obtain your friendship and good will"

The Zamorin was pleased to place in Vasco da Gama's hands the following letter addressed to King Emmanuel —

> "Vasco da Gama who has visited my Kingdom, has given me great pleasure In my kingdom there is abundance of Chinnamon. Cloves, Ginger. Pepper and Precious stones What I seek from thy country is Gold, Silver, Coral and Scarlet"

The safe return of Vasco da Gama to Portugal was celebrated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those

which had greeted the return of Columbus. King Emmanuel afterwards conferred the noble title of " Don " on Vasco, and gave him a pension of a thousand dollars a year and permission to wear a coat-of-arms Europe hoped that through Vasco's discovery, a new era had dawned upon human race This seemed to give a fillip to the whole of commercial sea-faring Europe

THE HERO STONES OF MYSORE

BY

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At the entrance to almost every hamlet in Mysore can be seen planted long rows of stone slabs, called Virgals, which commemorate the heroes who won the gratitude of their fellowmen, by martyrdom for God, King or Country A large percentage of these stones does not contain any inscription to help us to fix their dates and the names of the heroes, but all of them have sculptural representations of the fight in which the martyr fell, his ascent to Heaven seated in a celestial chariot to the accompaniment of heavenly music, and his eternal, blissful existence in Kailas These pictures give valuable information about the dress and accoutrements of various grades of rulers, soldiers, village officers and retainers They show details of duels, elephant fights and scenes from battles, which are useful to the student of culture On a virgal belonging to the thirteenth century, reproduced in "Kadamba Kula" by Moraes (p 265), there is a realistic picture of a naval battle The volumes of the Epigraphica Carnatica contain some interesting pictures of knives, choppers, daggers, swords and battle-axes, culled from virgals Soraba 6 and a few other virgals give the picture of a long plough, very much like the one in use to-day, probably to indicate that the hero was an ordinary "ploughman"

A large number of virgals contains inscriptions and the pages of the Epigraphica Carnatica and the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department are full of their reproductions and translations, and inferences from the details presented by them Generally, they give, the following items of information. the name and titles of the reigning

King, the relationship of the hero to the King, the occasion of his martyrdom, verses describing the exploit, the name of the persons who put up the memorial stone, composed the inscription and carved it, the extent of land gifted to the family of the deceased and for the conduct of the worship of the stone, the name of the priest entrusted with the latter task and the usual imprecatory verses, calling down curses on those who come in the way of the gifts

The stones were usually erected over the Hero Substance or Vira Vastu and 'on the very spot' where the martyrdom took place (Chennarayapatna 232) They were put up by near relatives, either brother, son, grandson, or widow, or, by master overlord or ruler, or by the villagers Sira 60 indicates that the erection of the stone and the donation of land had to receive the approval of the ruler Chikkballapur 99 is an instance where the merchant, who was given custody of his moneys by a soldier proceeding on a campaign, utilised the sum to raise a virgal, when he heard of the soldiers' death In cases of signal bravery on the battlefield, the King may himself order a memorial to be put up. Ballala III thus noticed the heroism of Achayya, chief of the Camel Corps, on the sanguinary field of Madavalli against the Sevuna army and, he graciously patted the dying Achayya on his back and spoke words of praise in his ears. (Mys Arch Rep 1937 pp 174-5)

The honour of a virgal is bestowed for various acts of heroism, the most general form being the rescue of the village cattle from raiders Cattle lifting seems to have persisted, since Mahabharatha days, as an accredited act of defiance, but. sometimes we hear of threats not only to property but even to the honour of women There are hundreds of virgals in honour of death while fighting with wild animals or highway robbers, while engaged in family feuds or sitting Dharana, or during boundary disputes or harvest fights or while rescuing kidnapped persons or recovering stolen property or while avenging insults thrown against a village or community. Soraba 73 commemorates

the death of a popular hero who led an insurrection against the levy of a hated tax There are stones in honour of acrobats who fell from poles and others who died while engaged in the fire walking or hook-swinging ceremonies Even the death of favourite hounds while loyally battling against tigers or wild boars is mourned by their grateful masters, by the erection of memorial stones.

Death by Sallekhana or the Jaina rite of fasting unto death is commemorated by admiring devotees Death of the wife by immolation or burial with her departed lord is honoured by the erection of a maha-sati-kal or mastikal, containing the representation of a post or pillar, with a woman's arm bent upwards from the elbow, issuing out of it, in accordance with the phrase found in the inscription that she gave 'arm and hand' Probably the woman was bound to the pillar, before the pyre was set on fire In some cases, however, the woman is carved free, unbound to any pillar

There are also stones which enshrine the memory of death in response to vows, offering to give up life if the king gets a son (Soraba 479) or if an army is blessed with success (Goribidnur 41) In these cases, the virgal represents the hero being beheaded by the royal soldiers Sometimes, as in Shikaripur 246, a man offers his head to 'the elastic pole' and then, the stone depicts death caused by the release of a bent pole fastened to his head Another vow was to jump down from the top of a Bherundeswara pillar, on to a bundle of upright spears Virgals honouring such martyrs are called Sula Brahma stones and they present sculptures of the pillar, the spears and the hero's ascent to heaven A large number of stones, like Heggadadevankote 18 and T Narasipur 91, describes the loyalty of retainers who allow themselves to be buried below their masters. These stones represent the scene of a man dying on his couch, with the servant supporting the cot from underneath. There are also scores of virgals and hero pillars or virastambhas extolling the loyalty and selfsacrifice of Garudas or

servants who refuse to survive their masters They describe how men jumped into fire when news reached them of the King's demise (Arkalgud 5,27) Shikaripur 249 praises the death of a man named Boka who swore, 'I will die with the Devi' and ascended to heaven, along with his sovereign, Lachchala Devi Sometimes even the wives and servants of the Garuda warriors committed harakiri Entire battalions wiped themselves out, in a frantic out-burst of grief. The usual form of death was by jumping down from a pillar. Sometimes, they cut themselves while seated on elephants.

Generally speaking, heroes are commemorated only by the erection of the hero stone but there are many cases where some architectural refinement is attempted The stones are put up on a platform or enclosed by a mantapa or stone roof Some virgals are raised in honour of three or four people who fell together Hassan 70 records the death of fifteen soldiers and of a famous war elephant If the wife of the hero performed 'sati,' that fact was also mentioned in the virasasana Occasion is also often taken to describe the exploits or benefactions of the parents or grand parents of the deceased

The stones were erected on the eleventh day after death (Davangere 116) and gifts were made on the occasion to Brahmins and others Tarikere 84 speaks of the big procession when the remains were brought into the village Near relatives of the deceased wore new clothes and all inhabitants of the village were fed The spiritual Guru of the family or community offered his blessings and assured the people that the dead hero was certain of the Heaven of Glory The virgal was offered every year, on the anniversary of the death or more frequently food and flowers Lands were set apart for this purpose by relatives or by the villagers The people praised the dead hero as 'a tiger cub,' 'a person who showed the way to heaven,' who was 'true to the salt he had eaten,' who 'refused to lead a commonplace comfortable life,' and who gained 'the rain of flowers,' and 'laid siege to Amaravathi,' and "knocked at the gates of Sura-

loka" or "Brahmaloka," "accompanied by both Vira Sri and Kirti Sri"

The virgals also mention grants made to the family of the deceased, either in the form of land or hereditary village offices Such lands were called Kal-nad or Nettaru Kodagi, i e, stone land or blood gift, and they were freed from all imposts Very often, the family was honoured by the grant of such coveted honours and privileges as the right to hold an umbrella or ride in a palanquin or upon a horse Mudgere 33 records the grant by the Brahmin residents, of a golden trumpet to the sons of the hero who relieved them from the depredations of a rogue elephant

"He who secures victory on the battlefield obtains Lakshmi, he who dies fighting, obtains celestial damsels The body is evanescent, it may be destroyed any moment Why should any one, then, feel worried about death on the battlefield?" "Life is uncertain, honour alone endures as long as the moon and stars So, acquire honour, even at the risk of life" "Two men and two only break through the effulgent solar disc the Yogi and the hero, who falls fighting against enemies" These verses from the virgals give us an idea of the inspiration that lent a glint of joy to the eyes of these heroes, as they valiantly sallied forth, in to the Valley of Death

THE IMPERIAL CHOLAS

Their relations with the Malabar Coast

BY

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Thanks to the selfless and assiduous labours of the great savants in the field of historical research into the antiquities of South India, the expansion of the frontiers of our knowledge regarding matters of early South Indian History during the last fifty years has been marvellous, one may almost say more marvellous than the expansion of the Chola kingdom under the imperial Cholas A vast area comprising thousands of square miles peopled by a comparatively semi-barbarous race mostly of Dravidian origin, with few titles to recognition as a nation inheriting an old culture, the land of monkeys during the time of the great Ramayana, a benighted portion of the *Bhāratavarsha* which remained in moral and intellectual darkness till the Aryan sages carried the light of culture from the summit of the Himalayas and the banks of the Ganges, such was the picture of the *Dakshināvarta* present in the minds of old writers on the history of India But it is long since the historians were obliged to awaken from that selfcomforting delusion The national transactions of the peninsular India brought to light in recent times remove the last shadows of that erroneous opinion Ancient South India was not a hotbed of barbarism It had its own share in the achievement of the national glories of the *Bhāratavarsha* in all spheres of life moral, intellectual and material. Nor was its share in the building up of the political life inferior to any other part of India, and it surely had its own titles to recognition even if compared to other parts of the world Great kings

and leaders of thought had, during the early centuries of the Christian Era, shed lustre on the national life which even in those primitive ages attained altitudes seldom surpassed in later times Religion, ethics, literature, arts and sciences developed under the benevolent patronage of great kings , life and property were safe , industry and trade expanded under an efficiently organised system of Government South India had among her sons eminent philosophers and poets, great statesmen and warriors founders of empires and builders of national life. Their services entitle them to the sacred veneration of humanity as benefactors of mankind

The political and national life of early South India attained its meridian of glory during the period of the imperial Cholas of the Vijayalaya line Under them grew up a well-knit empire comprising the major part of South India with numerous tributaries and feudatories Ceylon was its dependency and the Burmese kingdom of Kataha paid allegiance to it It had maritime relations with distant kingdoms like China which brought immense profit to its treasury The religious and intellectual life received as much attention as material and social advancement of the people Village assemblies which formed an important feature of South Indian polity developed into a most efficiently organised system of local administration under the direction and control of the central authority In brief, Tamilnad during the period of Chola imperialism attained a degree of political eminence equal, if not superior, to that of any other kingdom in the previous or succeeding centuries

The scope of this paper is not, however, to trace in any detail the expansion of the Chola kingdom or to picture the splendour that South India attained under its imperial patronage The purpose of this short paper is to draw the outlines of the relations which subsisted between the Cholas and the Malabar Coast The subject has derived the benefit of the learned exposition by several well-known writers, epigraphists and historians But a great deal yet remains for research to unearth It has also to be observed that infor-

mation collected from epigraphs and copper plates, which form the chief source of Chola History, unless supplemented, modified and corroborated by a study of the political conditions from other sources, cannot always be considered to be trustworthy. This principle, although generally accepted, is not invariably adopted in practice, and in the present case it appears that little attempt has ever been made to supplement the information or verify the conclusions drawn from the records of the Cholas This task is not, however, an easy one, for the material for the reconstruction of the early history of the Malabar coast is scanty But an attempt is considered worthwhile to clear certain points as much as possible with the help of the data available at present

The line of the imperial Cholas begins with Āditya I, the son and successor of Vijayālaya who laid the foundation of the Chola empire after the battle of Śri Purambiyan Under Āditya (871-907 A D) and his son Parantaka I (907-953 A D) the limits of the Chola dominion were pushed to the farthest extremity of the Peninsula The Pandyans were completely subdued A fragmentary inscription discovered in the Guhanāthasvāmi temple at Kanyākumari mentioning the thirty-ninth regnal year of king Parakesari and another epigraph in the Sthānunāthasvāmi temple at Suchīndram recording a gift of 50 sheep for lighting a perpetual lamp are supposed to belong to Parāntaka I Not only is no Chola invasion of any part of Kerala recorded to have taken place during this period, but it is definitely known that the relations of Āditya and Parāntaka to the rulers of Tiruvanchikkulam were most cordial Āditya I was friendly to Sthānu Ravi as evidenced by the Tillaisthānam inscription A certain Vikkiyannan was honoured by both the Chola King Rāja Kesari Varman (Āditya I) and Cheramān Tānu Ravi by conferring the privileges of using the seat of honour, chauri, palanquin, drum, a palace *panakam*, bugle, elephant-corps and by the hereditary title of Sembiyan-Tamilvel [1] Why both the monarchs conjointly conferred these marks of high distinction on Vikki Annan is a point

we need not pursue for our present purpose. What is relevant is the comity which subsisted between the two kingdoms That friendship was drawn closer by the marriage of a Chera princess by Parāntaka, the son of Āditya I. Arinjaya who later on succeeded to the Chola throne was the issue of this union This amity between the two nations afforded opportunity to many people from the west coast to build their fortune by taking service under the Cholas. The Chola records of the time refer to many such persons who distinguished themselves by their devoted service, a prominent example being Vellankumaran, one of Rājāditya's great generals.[2] One other fact may also be noticed *en passant* which illustrates this cordiality The Tiruvottiyur inscription belonging to the twenty-ninth year of Parāntaka I (936 A D) records a gift made by Iravi Nili, daughter of Vijayarāgadeva, a king of Kerala This Vijayarāgadeva is considered by some scholars to be the successor of Sthānu Ravi, and the consort of Kilantikal who made a gift of gold for keeping a perpetual lamp in the Tirunandikkarai temple in south Travancore [3]

From the death of Parāntaka I in 953 A D to the accession of Rāja Rāja, the Great, was a period of either short or weak reigns unproductive of any great national achievement in war or in peace But this period of comparative insignificance was more than compensated by the accession of Rāja Rāja I, which ushered in a new epoch of imperial expansion and all-round prosperity Under him the Chola policy towards the west coast is said to have undergone a thorough change, and the transactions in relation to Kerala during this period deserve careful study The first military achievement of Rāja Rāja is said to have been the invasion and conquest of Kerala The main piece of evidence for this assertion is the vague and eluding phrase *Kantalūr Sālai Kalam aruttu aruli* repeated in numerous inscriptions of Raja Raja as well as his successors Several scholars have exhausted their ingenious surmises in the interpretation of this recondite phrase. Most of them now agree in thinking that *Kalam*

aruttu aruli means 'destroyed a fleet.' Mr. Nilakanta Sastri, the learned author of The Colas, observes that no other meaning seems more likely than the one usually adopted for the whole phrase viz, who destroyed the fleet in the roadstead of Kantalūr Gopinatha Rao, the Travancore Archaeologist, took an altogether different view. He interpreted the phrase to mean "Rāja Rāja discontinued the Kalam (by implication the feeding) in Kantalūr Sālai (or the feeding house of Kantalūr) which was instituted by the Chera who had the presumption to call himself a sovereign before Mummudi Chola, the Chola, who by right of conquest, claims to the crown of the Chola, the Chera and Pāṇḍya kingdoms." Mr S Desikavinayakam Pillai, a Tamil scholar and antiquarian, of repute upholds this latter view, differing at the same time in the interpretation of *aruttu aruli* which according to him means regulated or fixed The identification of Kantalūr Sālai is equally important Venkayya suggested that "perhaps Kantalūr Sālai was near Viliñjam and that at the time of the Chola invasion it was held by the Pandyans" Gopinatha Rao has established that Vāliya Sālai temple in Trivandrum was known as Kantalūr Sālai and that it was the great feeding instituted by the Cheras for which that temple was famous in old days that was discontinued by the Cholas Later writers adopted the identification of Kantalūr with Trivandrum though they rejected the theory of the discontinuance of the feeding But in accepting Vāliya Sālai as the scene of the alleged destruction of the Chera fleet they have adopted an untenable line of argument, for that place is more than three miles removed from the sea coast Even if it is argued that Kantalūr Sālai is used comprehensively to denote Trivandrum, it cannot be contended that Trivandrum was at any time famous as a naval base Here it may not be out of place to point out that Parāntaka Pāndya in his Kanyākumari inscription claims to have performed the same deed at Kantalūr Sālai and to have dedicated ten golden lamps to the temple of Anantapuram, evidently Trivandrum It is also stated that he vanquished the Chera in battle, received tribute from

him, took the hand of the daughter of a Kūpaka king and captured Viliñjam[4] These arguments may be sufficient to raise a question regarding the correctness of the identification of the Kantalūr Sālai of the Chola inscriptions with Valiyaśāla at Trivandrum, though that place beyond doubt was also known by the same name It may be borne in mind that there are more than one place of the name Kantalūr in Travancore.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that the view that Rāja Rāja conquered the Chera country cannot be based on this vague phrase unless it be supported by other evidence The Tiruvalangad plates refer to Rāja Rāja's southern campaigns in the following words

" The Commandant (dandanatha) " say the plates, " of this ornament of the solar race then conquered Vilinda which had the sea for its moat, whose extensive ramparts were shining aloft, which was impregnable to other warriors and which was the permanent abode of the goddess of victory " This refers only to the capture of Viliñjam Another inscription which is included in the Annual Report of Epigraphy, Madras, as 394 of 1911, states that Rāja Rāja " destroyed the town of Madura, conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladesam and Kodungallur and that the kings of the sea waited on him "[5] Beyond these vague assertions there is little in the Chola records which throw light on the relations of Rāja Rāja with the Malabar Coast

His inscriptions in and about Cape Comorin, however, lend greater help to a clearer understanding of his actual relations with this country The earliest inscription of Rāja Rāja in this side of the Ghats is the one of the 8th regnal year found at Darśanamkōppu in Nānjanad which is now a portion of South Travancore It records the appointment of an accountant to the temple of that village Another inscription of his belonging to the 10th year found in the same place records the gift of a perpetual lamp The two Suchindram inscriptions, one belonging to the fourteenth and the

other to the fifteenth year of his reign, add nothing to our information as regards his relations with the West Coast except his incognizable exploit at Kantalūr sālai which is alluded to in the previous records also. The Tirunandikkara record of his eighteenth year is more important. It records the grant of the village Muttam which was renamed Mummudi cholanallur to the Mahādeva at Tirunandikkara for celebrating a festival of seven days duration, ending on Śatābhishak, the natal star of Rāja Rāja in the month of Alpaśi An inscription at Kanyākumāri inscribed in the 31st year of the reign recording the sale of certain lands for the establishment of a watershed gives some important information Kanyakumari with its new-fangled name of Rajarajesvaram is described as situated in Kumari Kulikkuti in Purattayanad belonging to Uttamachola valanad a sub-division of Rajaraja Pandinad This description occurring in an inscription belonging to the last regnal year of the king is very significant Nanjanad is included as a part of Rajaraja Pandinad and not Rajaraja Keralanad or Rajaraja Venad

A critical examination of these inscriptions will cast a shadow of suspicion over the alleged conquest of Kerala by Rāja Rāja, except the tract called Purattayanad or Nanjanad which then formed a division of Pandinad No inscription of Rāja Rāja is found in any place in Venad which lay contiguous to Nanjanad or in any locality further north of Venad ruled by other Kerala kings and chiefs In none of the inscriptions in Nanjanad is any claim made of a conquest of Venad or any other portion of Kerala, though Raja Raja's conquest of Gangapadi, Nulambarpadi, Tadiyarpadi, Vengainad and Kudaimalainad is alluded to Of course, his exploit at Kantalur salai is mentioned but as already stated the identity of Kantalur and the nature of the need are both beyond comprehension Be the meaning of this elusive phrase what it may, it may legitimately be asked why the victory over Venad and other kingdoms of Kerala, if there was any, is severely left out of account in these inscriptions,

especially when the conquest of distant parts of South India is mentioned We find him honouring his newly conquered territories with his name as Rāja Rāja Pāndinad, Rajarajesvaram and *Mummudicholanallūr. It is therefore surprising* why he did not likewise rename Kerala or any part of it except Nanjanad, if he did actually make a conquest All that he was able to achieve on this side of the Ghats is summed up in the obscure phrase Kantalūr, etc, assuming the Kantalūr referred to in the inscriptions is a place on the West Coast It is therefore difficult to believe the statement already quoted that he conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladesam[6] and Kodungallur, unless corroborated by sufficient evidence

It appears that Rāja Rāja's relations with this part of the country are misunderstood owing mainly to certain wrong notions as regards relevant facts We may believe, until sufficient proof is adduced to the contrary, that there was no occasion for any conflict between Raja Raja and the kings of the West Coast. The Chola relations with Kerala as we have seen were amicable during the time of Parāntaka I How that friendship was changed to hostility does not appear During the reigns of the weak successors of Parāntaka I, the Pāndyas and Ceylon asserted independence Āditya II had attempted their reconquest but with partial success What Rāja Rāja did was to bring under his undisputed sway the territories of the Pandyas and their Ceylon allies.

The existence of several inscriptions of Rāja Rāja in Nanjanad which now forms a portion of Travancore needs a word of explanation, as it has been to a very great extent responsible for raising a plausible view that the Chola king overran the west coast A correct idea of the political conditions of early Malabar will serve to remove this misconception . Nanjanad or Purattayanad as it was called, the southernmost portion of the west coast, originally belonged to the Āy kings who seem to have been on terms of perpetual hostility with the Pāndyas Vilinjam itself appears

to have belonged to them. The tract ultimately fell a prey to the Pāṇḍyas sometime before the Chola expansion, the Āys having come to extinction or fled to save themselves from the onslaughts of the Pāndyas This explains the absence of any record belonging to the kings of Venad in Nanjanad before the twelfth century A D., the earliest found there being one of 302 M E (1127 A D) On the north of Nanjanad stretched the kingdom of Venad also known as Kūpaka between the sea and the mountains as far north as Chengannur at all events with its capital at Quilon. North of Venad lay several kingdoms and chiefdoms owing allegiance to the kings of Makotayar Pattanam, the Modern Cranganore Whether Venad also paid homage to the kings of Tiruvanchikkulam is a question which cannot be easily determined Be it what it may, the relations of Venad which was an ally of the Āys with the Pāndyas were not cordial and this hostility appears to have continued even after the absorption of the territories of the Āys by the Pāndyas The suggestion of a combination of the Pāndyas and the Venad kings against the Cholas cannot therefore be taken as true unless supported by ample evidence This being the case, Raja Raja's expedition must be considered to have been undertaken with the object of bringing to subjection the refractory Pāndyas which he accomplished by establishing Chola authority in all parts of the Pandya territory including Nanjanad This accounts for the absence of any mention made in Rājā Rāja's inscriptions of any action between the Cholas and Venad

Rāja Rāja's son and successor Parakaseri Varman Rājendra Chola claims in one of his inscriptions to have "seized the heirloom of the Kerala monarch including the crown praised by many and rightfully worn by him" (1018 A D) There is little evidence to prove the truth of this claim There is also no means of ascertaining the identity of the king whose heir loom he seized, for as is well-known there were at the time many kings in Kerala The Tiruvalangad plates, although eloquent in praising the king,

carefully avoid details which would have thrown some light on these 'obscure transactions.' "The fearless Madhurāntaka" record the plates. "crossed the Sahya and forthwith set upon the Kerala in great force, and there ensued a fierce battle which brought ruin upon kings Having thus conquered the Kerala king and harrowed the land guarded by the austerities of the lord of the Bhrgus, the prince returned to his capital the abode of prosperity."

One cannot place absolute reliance in statements like this, more of the nature of *Prasastis* than records of actual transactions Rajendra might have invaded some part of Kerala which formed the basis for a glowing account in the hands of the Prasasti writer Rājendra takes credit for repeating his father's deed at Kantalur salai Another inscription of that king regarding a grant of certain lands made by him to the temple Rajendrasola Vinnakar at Mannarkoyil built by king Rajasimha evidently in honour of Rajendra, furnishes more reliable information It is not, however, possible to identify Rājasimha who is described as a Chera Rājendra's later exploits in the Pāndya and Kerala kingdoms are narrated in some detail "Among the three allied kings of the South (he) cut off on a battle-field the beautiful head of Manabharana (adorned with) large jewels—seized in battle Vira-Keralan whose ankle-rings were wide, and was pleased to get him trampled by his furious elephant Attivarana, and drove to the ancient Mullayar Sundara Pāndyan of endless great fame—(He) sent the undaunted king of Venad to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the senior (chief) of Iramakutam (Kolattunad). While the strong Villavan (Chera) in his terror hid himself in the jungle, the Chola put on a fresh (garland of) Vañji-flower" This account of the drastic steps adopted by Rājendra to quell a southern rebellion as it is said cannot be verified since there is no other source of information in regard to these exploits

Rājendra's inscriptions in Nanjanad do not make any substantial contribution to our knowledge. The earliest is

the Kanyākumari epigraph of the fourth regnal year with respect to an allotment of the revenues from Kanyākumari for celebrating the natal star of his consort, Kiḻānatikal The king was at the time of making the grant seated in the Keralan Malika at Gangaikonda Cholapuram (a new name given to Kanyakumari) The palace was called Keralan Malika, perhaps in commemoration of a victory gained in some parts of Kerala But it has to be remarked that the inscription does not mention Kerala as one of the countries conquered by him though a list of such kingdoms is given therein In another inscription of his, also recovered from Kanyākumari, allusion is made to a Kūpaka king It is said that Rājendra liberated the king from the bondage apparently to the ruler of Venad This interpretation cannot be accepted as correct for both terms Kūpaka and Venad denote the same country The words occurring in the inscription is *Kūpakattaraśai sēvakaittulaittu* which means 'putting down the prowess of the Kūpaka king" The name of the Kūpaka king so described or the circumstance of his discomfiture does not appear from other records

For a short period of about twenty-six years after the death of Rajendra the Chola empire again fell into disorder and the battle of Koppam in 1060 aggravated the evils Virarajendra made an attempt to regain ascendency in the southern provinces During the period of Kulottunga I the power of the Cholas again rose After subduing the Pāndyas who had assumed independence during the period of chaos that ensued after the death of Vīrarājendra, Kulottunga is said to have set fire to the fortress of Kōttār, subdued the numerous forces of the Keralas and erected a pillar of victory on the sea coast[7] The Vikramaśoḻan-Ula and the Kalingattupparani are both eloquent in eulogizing his achievements There are a few inscriptions of Kulottunga in Nanjanad recording some charitable endowments made either by himself or by his officers There is evidence that a Chola garrison was stationed at Kottar to protect the frontiers of the Chola dominions But there is nothing to show

that Kulottunga did actually conquer Kerala A Chola-puram inscription of the thirtieth year of this king records a grant of the village Andaykudi to the temple of Rājendra-śolesvaram erected by Arayan Madhurāntakan *alias* Kulottungaśola—Keralarājayan of Mulaiyur The inscription begins with a long historical introduction detailing the achievements of Kulottunga The word *Keralarajan*, found in the name of the person who erected the temple, is apt to raise a *prima facie* presumption in favour of Chola ascendency over Kerala But the fact that the record itself is silent as regards any conquest of Kerala is dangerous to the theory, especially because it gives the names of the countries subdued by Kulottunga It is stated that the Chola king captured the northern region, seized the two countries, Gangamandalam and Konkanadesam, took possession of the pearl fisheries, the Podiyil hill, Kanyākumari, Kudamalai-nādu and Kottaru There is no reference, not even a passing allusion, to any engagement in Kerala to be found in the inscription The claim that Kulottunga received tribute from Kerala therefore requires better proof before it might be accepted

After the death of Kulottunga I the Chola power entered on a period of decline when the Cholas won no new victories By 1127 A D , i e , seven years after the death of Kulottunga, the king of Venad was able to extend his dominion by seizing certain parts of Nanjanad A Cholapuram inscription of 302 M E (1127 A D), records an assignment of revenues of certain lands at Vadasseri in Nanjanad by the officers of Vira Kerala Varma of Venad to the temple of Rājendracholapuram Udaya Mahādevar at Kottar [8]

Numerous Chola inscriptions and monuments exist in Nanjanad, a fact which abundantly proves the Chola occupation of that tract of country during the period of their ascendency Besides the inscriptions noticed above there are some others belonging to Rajadhiraja deva, Jaṭāvarma Sundara Chola Pāndya and a few officers in the Chola service Many places in Purattayanad had the honour of ac-

quiring new names reminiscent of the Chola kings who captured them. All this is proof positive that the Chola sway was undisputed in that part of the country. But with all the vague allusions to conquest of Kerala in many of the Chola *Prasastis* one cannot help feeling a very strong suspicion about the veracity of the account of the expansion of Chola power over the whole of Kerala It appears that the imperial Cholas never invaded Kerala with a view to making it a permanent part and parcel of the Chola dominions. The rivalry was mainly with the Pandyas whose power was completely crushed in many pitched fields of battle Some of the Chola emperors might have visited certain parts of Kerala in the course of their triumphal processions or military expeditions, and the Prasasti writers who inherited the Sanskrit tradition of magnifying the glories of the patrons by freely indenting on rhetorical devices of hyperbolic expression, found it to their advantage to record certain half-truths about the extensiveness of the conquests and the thoroughness of the victories to bring the whole of South India under the mantle of Chola imperialism leaving out no part however distant or inaccessible The Chola relations with the West Coast will therefore remain partly obscure until the vagueness of the Chola records is removed by new light emanating from independent sources.

NOTES

1 See the Tillaistanam record of Kadamba Mahadevi, the wife of Vikki Annan

2 See Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1905-6, p 181

3 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol IV, p 144

4 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol I, No III, pp 1-7

5 In the Tiruvalangad Plates the invasion of Kerala is thus described

मर्वक्षत्रवधव्रतप्रणयिना रामेण यन्निर्मितम्
राष्ट्रम शिष्टजनाभिराममतुलम् दुर्गं महीध्राणवै· ।

जित्वा तत् सकलावनीन्द्रमकुटश्रेणीलसच्छासन-
स्सोऽभूत् सर्वधनुर्भृतां क्षितिभृताम् आनन्दसन्दोहभृत् ॥

But in the Kanyākumari inscription of Virarājendra no mention is made as to Rajaraja's conquest of Kerala See T A S III, pp 156-157

6 It is difficult to identify this place

7 The Chidambaram inscription of Kulottunga I refers to these transactions in the following verse

पाण्ड्यान् दण्डेन जित्वा प्रचुरशरमुचा पञ्चपञ्चाननश्री.
दग्ध्वा कोट्टारदुर्गम् तृणमिव स यथा खाण्डवं पाण्डुसूनु ।
पिष्ट्वा तत् केरळानां बलमतिबहुल श्रीकुलोत्तुगचोल-
श्चक्रे शक्रप्रतापस्त्रिभुवनविजयस्स्तंभमम्भोधितीरे ॥

8 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol IV, p 17

TAMIL NAMES OF PLACES IN TRAVANCORE

BY

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We have already made an attempt, in another[1] connection, to show from evidence in Tamil Literature that Malayalis are none other than Tamilians, though some of their customs and manners are different, due to the peculiar physical features and the military preoccupation of the ancient inhabitants of the country The Nayars (referred to in the poetical extracts in the booklet entitled ' Pracheena Malayalam ' by the late Mr Kunju Pillai Chattambi, as Nāgathar) are none other than Tamilians who formerly worshipped snakes, and even now do so in places like Mannarsalai Naga worship, it must be remembered, is common in other parts of the world also, where the physical features are the same or similar, and where groves exist in abundance infested with snakes, as for instance, Nepaul It will be our task in this paper to show that the great mass of the place names in Travancore (and probably in Cochin and Malabar too), afford the clearest testimony of their Tamil origin and go to strengthen the evidence furnished by Tamil Literature, that the Chera country was one of the three Tamil kingdoms of old, named Chera, Chola and Pandya, and that the people of that country were none other than Tamilians. The name Chera comes first, probably because it was the most ancient of the three as is partly borne out by the fact that Megasthenes, the Greek Chronicler who accompanied Alexander the Great to India in 324 B C makes mention of the Cherabothras of the South of India For the early history of the Chera Kingdom especially for the first three centuries of the Christian era, we would refer the reader to the book entitled

'Chronology of the early Tamils' by Mr K N Sivaraja Pillai

We have likewise to remember the fact that the Chera King, Cheran Shenkuttuvan, brother of Ilanko Adikal, who was the author of the famous Tamil Epic 'Silappadikaram,' refers to himself as a *Tamil* king who was going to war with certain Aryans, for slighting the prowess of the Tamil Kings. If to this the knowledge be added that the whole of South India including Keralam or the present Malabar, Cochin and Travancore was known by the name of Tamilakam, or Home of the Tamils (*vide* Kanakasabhai Pillai's famous book "Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago"), it will be easy for us to reconcile ourselves to the fact that the great bulk of the names of places in Travancore, Cochin and Malabar are Tamil or of Tamil origin Let us examine some of the principal names of places, beginning from the south We must admit, of course, that there are names though quite a small number of them, which are obscure and which need to be studied further, before their Tamil origin can be made clear.

(1) *Venad* —Tamil வேணாடு (வேணா —meaning either earth or king + நாடு, country) The name may have been given because it contained cultivable land or because unlike other regions, it was ruled by kings from time immemorial Venad was the name of ancient Travancore up to the time of the great Marthanda Varma Maharajah, who conquered various principalities in the north and consolidated them into the present state of Travancore It extended from Attengal to Cape Comorin Venad finds mention in ancient Tamil literature Some of the kings were authors of Tamil works such as திருவிசைப்பா (Tiruvisaippa), one of the sacred books in Tamil The kingdom lasted for nearly ten centuries and the Venad kings have also attested as witnesses in many of the documentary transactions of the northern principalities

(2) *Travancore* —Tamil திருவிதாங் கோடு or திருவாழுங் கோடு (திருவிது + ஆர் + கோடு) meaning beautiful country or country where Lākshmi abides

(3) *Nanjinad* —Tamil நாஞ்சி நாடு - (நாஞ்சில், plough+ நாடு, country) Land of *the plough*, which it is even now.

Nanji Kuravan who is supposed to have once ruled it, got his name from the country, and not the country from him

TALUKS

(4) *Thovalay*—Tamil தோவாளை This is an old Tamil name whose derivation is obscure But it finds mention in the account of the ancient Greek Travellers, corrupted into "Bamalay"[2]

(5) *Agastheeswaram*—Tamil அகஸ்தீசுவரம் derives its name from Agastiya, the Tamil sage, to whom a temple was originally raised there, but it was subsequently converted into a Siva temple The name of the sage was probably Akattiya (one who came from Akkadia in Mesopotamia)

(6) *Eraneil*—Tamil இரணியல —an abbreviation of the word இரணசிங்கநல்லூர It probably took its name from a renowned warrior, named இரணசிங்கன் The taluk of that name is now absorbed into that of Kalkulam

(7) *Kalkulam*—Tamil கல்குளம், (stone+tank) Probably derives the name from a tank hewn out of a rock

(8) *Vilavancode*—Tamil விளவங்கோடு a corruption of the word வள்ளுவங்கோடு (Valluvancodu) a part of ancient Valluvanad

(9) *Neyyattinkaray* — Tamil நெய்யாற்றின் கரை Derives its name from *neyyar*, a river which flows through the taluk

(10) *Tiruvanandapuram*—Tamil திருவனந்தபுரம் (திரு + அனந்த + புரம்). The present capital of Travancore This place is mentioned in the hymns of the Vaishnava Alwars

TOWNS OR VILLAGES, ETC

(1) *Aramboly* —Tamil ஆருவாமொழி a corruption of the word ஆரைவாய்வழி (Araivayvazhi), meaning a gate through a fort

(2) *Boothapandy*—Tamil பூதபாண்டி Place where Boothams or spirits are worshipped The images of the Boothams are still to be found in the temple of Boothapandy Derives its name from பூதப்பாண்டியன் father of பசும்பூண் பாண்டியன் the conqueror of the Ay country.

(3) *Thazhakudi*—Tamil தாழக்குடி (Thazhakkudi)—means a village situated in the தாழ்வரை or Valley of the Ghauts.

(4) *Maruthuvamalay* — Tamil மருததுவாமலை - (மருநது + வாழ + மலை)—a mountain in which medicinal herbs grow

(5) *Nagercoil*—Tamil நாகர்கோயில Nagercoil is the chief town of the Agastheeswaram taluk. The name seems to have been of recent origin, because the town grew up near or around the temple dedicated to Nagas or snakes The temple is still in existence there

(6) *Kottar* —Tamil கோட்டாறு. (கோடு + ஆறு = a river bend) It is an old town which is mentioned in the account of the Greek travellers It finds mention also in the Thevaram hymns of Saint Appar in the 7th Century A D

Places, such as அழகிய பாண்டியபுரம், கடுக்கரை (கடு-monkeys கரை —bank or mountain side), இரவிபுதூர், திருப்பதிசாரம், மருஙகூர் (மருங்கு, proximity+ ஊர், village), வெள்ளிமடம், ஆளூர், பாறசசாலை and இறைசசகுளம், require little explanation as their Tamil origin is obvious

(7) *Thiruvettar*—Tamil திருவட்டாறு or திருவாட்டாறு Derives its name from a *bend* of the river at that place The place finds mention in the hymns of the Vaishnava Alwars

(8) *Kuzhithuray*—Tamil குழித்துறை The right name is குளித்துறை—a bathing ghaut of a river

(9) *Venganoor*—Tamil வெஙகானூர் (வெம + கான + ஊர a place in a wild forest)

(10) *Kulathoor*—Tamil குளததூர்—a place noted for its tank

(11) *Kazhakkoottam*—Tamil கழககூட்டம (கழை = bamboos + கூட்டம = group)

The names of taluks and places north of Trivandrum may appear a little more obscure, but, on closer scrutiny, will reveal their Tamil origin

TALUKS

(1) *Nedumangad*—Tamil நெடுமஙகாடு. corruption of நெடுவன காடு (நெடு + வன + காடு=a long wild forest), and not நெடுமண காடு, which is meaningless) The long stretch of wild forest in the taluk will vouch for the appropriateness of the name

(2) *Chirayinkil* —Tamil சிறையின்கீழ் —lit Beneath an *embankment*

(3) *Kottarakara*—Tamil கொட்டாரக்கரை = on the side of a Palace

(4) *Kunnathur*—Tamil குந்நத்தூர (குன்றத்தூர a land or village over hills)

(5) *Karunagapally*—Tamil கருநாகப்பள்ளி Place containing a temple where black snakes are worshipped

(6) *Chengannur*—Tamil செங்குந்நூர (செங்குன்றூர = place of *red* hills) The description is quite true The place finds mention in the *Periapuranam* of Sekkilar in Tamil, where விறன்மிண்ட நாயனா (Viranminda Nayanar), one of the 63 Tamil Saints, is referred to as a Vellala of Sengundoor in the Chera country An interesting controversy is now on foot as to whether the Nayanar was a Tamilian or a Nair

(7) *Tiruvella*—Tamil திருவல்லா It is the திருவல்லவாழ (Tiruvallavazh) mentioned in the Vaishnava hymns and sacred to the Vaishnavas, as a place of pilgrimage

(8) *Ambalapuzha*—Tamil அம்பலப்புழை meaning a bend of the river at the foot of a temple The temple referred to is obviously the one dedicated to Krishna there

(9) *Changanachery*—Tamil சஙஙனாசேரி — a corruption of சங்கரனாசேரி (Sankaranarcheri)—a town having a temple devoted to Sankara

(10) *Shertallay*—Tamil சேர்த்தலை=A head of land deposited by the sea, like வைப்பு (Vaippu) to the north of it This Taluk was not in existence before the 12th Century A D It was ceded to Travancore under the name of (Karappuram) by the Cochin State along with Parur and Alangad, under a treaty in 1761 during the reign of Rama Varma Kartigay Tirunal Maharajah

(11) *Vycome*—Tamil வைக்கம் It is either a name like Vaippu (sand deposited by the sea), or a place of Siva Prathishta by the Tamil Saint Manickkavasagar who came to the place about 300 A D To this fact, its other name, viz, வாதபுரீசுவரம் (Vathapureeswaram) and the name of the temple deity பெருந்திருக்கோயிலப்பன் (Perunthirukoilappan) which is a corruption of பெருந்துறைக்கோயிலப்பன (Perunthuraikoilappan), seem to bear testi-

mony Vaikam (வைக்கம்) would be the latter case, mean 'place of Prathishta'

The suggestion that it may be a corruption of Viagrapuram is a mere surmise and carries less probability with it.

(12) *Yettumanoor*—Tamil ஏற்றுமானூர corruption of ஏற்றமான ஊர் (Yettamana + oor)—a town on a high level

(13) *Kottayom*—Tamil கோட்டையம் -an abbreviation of கோட்டையகம் (Kottayakam) = inside of a Fort, probably the fort of the Thekkumkoor Rajas from whom the territory was taken in 1750

(14) *Moovattupuzha*—Tamil மூவாற்றுப்புழை + the bend or junction of three rivers

(15) *Thodupuzha*—Tamil தொடுபுழை = a river bend *adjoining* the above Taluk

(16) *Kunnathunad*—Tamil குன்னத்துநாடு (குன்றத்து + நாடு = A region of hills)

(17) *Alangad*—Tamil ஆலங்காடு (ஆலங்காடு) = a forest of banyan trees

(18) Parur —Tamil பறவூர் This place is mentioned in the *Silappadikaram* as பறையூர் (2nd Century A D)

TOWNS, VILLAGES, ETC

(1) *Aryankavoo* —Tamil ஆரியங்காவு = ஆரியன் + காவு = a grove dedicated to the worship of Aryan or Buddha, known as Sastha

(2) *Idaimon*—Tamil இடமண் = இடைமண் or land between mountains and lowlands

(3) *Trikkunnapuzha*—Tamil திருக்குன்னப்புழை or திருக்குன்றப்புழை A river bend adjoining a holy hill

(4) *Haripad*—Tamil ஹரிபாடு = the seat of Hari or Vishnu

(5) *Mannarsalai*—Tamil மண்ணார்சாலை (மண் + ஆர் + சாலை a region filled with earth or mud) The temple at this place is dedicated to nagas or snakes

(6) *Alleppy*—Tamil ஆலப்புழை = a river bend under or near a banyan tree.

(7) *Periyar*—Tamil பெரியாறு = a large river, the largest in Travancore. This is mentioned in Silappadikaram (2nd Century A D) as பேரியாறு

(8) *Alwaye*—Tamil ஆலவாய. May be either a contraction of ஆலவாய (Alavay), an ancient name by which Madura was known, or simply ஆலவாய, meaning the foot of a banyan tree

(9) *Vembanad*—Tamil வேமபனாடு, Probably a contraction of வேம்பன + நாடு, land of Vemban, one of the appellations of Pandiyans, one of whom is said to have conquered the kingdom, formerly representing the territories of the Vadakkumkur and Thekkumkur Rajas Thus, the lake may have taken its name from the adjoining Vemban's territory and may have been known as the lake of Vemban's nad

Before concluding, we will draw the attention to two important points —

(1) The word ' Dravidian ' which is used as a generic term for a group of kindred languages, is sometimes misleading It has to be noted that the word 'Dravida' is simply a Sanskrit corruption of the word 'Tamil,' the latter having passed through the various stages of its transformation as Damil, Damila, Dramila and Dravida, before it was finally incorporated into the Sanskrit language It is wrong to suppose as some scholars do, through an inordinate and misplaced reverence and attachment towards everything Sanskrit, that the word 'Tamil' is a corruption of the Sanskrit 'Dravida', as no reasonable person would argue that the Tamilians who were speaking the language long before Sanskrit made its appearance, were waiting for the Sanskritists to come and name their language Whenever, therefore, the word ' Dravida' is used, it should be invariably taken to mean 'of Tamil origin' As far as historical, epigraphical or literary records go, there is not the slightest evidence to show that ancient Tamil was derived from any other language

(2) The bulk of the Tamilians in Travancore are *not foreigners,* as some scholars, in their ignorance of Travancore history, imagine, but they are *natives* of the country, and as

much so, as any other community, and have equal rights and privileges with the others So far from being foreigners, they are the lineal descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Tamil kingdom of Venad The Tamilians of the north became slowly metamorphosed, through extraneous influences, such as war, into Malayalis, with differing customs and manners exactly as Tamil was gradually transformed into Malayalam by the admixture of Sanskrit words In the early wars of Martanda Varma Maharajah, before Dalawa Rama Iyen came the Tamilians Dalawa Arumukham Pillay and Commander-in-Chief Kumaraswamy Pillay, rendered yeoman services to the country, and later, Soundariapandiyan Pillai of Thazhakudy did the same.

NOTES

1 A paper read before the Kerala Society, Trivandrum by the writer, on 24th January 1931 on "Are Malayalis Tamilians? and published in the Kerala Society Papers

2 This information was furnished to the writer by Mr Sivaraja Pillai

INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES

1 Venad (വേണാട്), 2 Travancore (തിരുവിതാംകോട് *or* തിരുവാഴുംകോട്), 3 Nanjinad (നാഞ്ചിനാട്), 4 Thovalay (തോവാള), 5 Agastheeswaram (അഗസ്തീശ്വരം), 6 Eraniel (ഇരണിയൽ), 7 Kalkulam (കൽകുളം); 8 Vilavancode (വിളവങ്കോട്), 9 Neyyattinkaray (നെയ്യാറ്റിൻകര), 10 Tiruvanandapuram (തിരുവനന്തപുരം).

Towns or Villages etc

1 Aramboly (ആരുവാമൊഴി), 2 Boothapandy (ഭൂതപ്പാണ്ടി), 3 Thazhakudi (താഴക്കുടി), 4 Maruthuvamalay (മരുത്തുവാമല), 5 Nagercoil (നാഗർകോവിൽ), 6 Kottar (കോട്ടാറ്); 7 Thiruvettar (തിരുവട്ടാറ്), 8 Kuzhithuray (കുഴിത്തുറ); 9 Vanganoor (വെങ്ങാനൂർ), 10. Kulathoor (കുളത്തൂര്) 11. Kazhakkoottam (കഴക്കൂട്ടം).

Taluks.

1 Nedumangad (നെടുമങ്ങാട്), 2 Chirayinkil (ചിറയൻകീഴ്), 3 Kottarakara (കൊട്ടാരക്കര), 4 Kunnathur (കുന്നത്തൂർ), 5 Karunagapally (കരുനാഗപ്പള്ളി), 6 Chengannur (ചെങ്ങന്നൂർ), 7 Tiruvella (തിരുവല്ലാ), 8 Ambalapuzha (അമ്പലപ്പുഴ); 9 Changanachery (ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി), 10 Shertallay (ചേർത്തല), 11 Vycome (വൈക്കം); 12 Yettumanoor (ഏറ്റുമാനൂർ), 13. Kottayom (കോട്ടയം), 14 Moovattupuzha (മൂവാറ്റുപുഴ), 15 Thodupuzha (തൊടുപുഴ), 16 Kunnathunad (കുന്നത്തുനാട്), 17 Alangad (ആലങ്ങാട്), 18. Parur (പറവൂർ).

Towns, Villages etc

1. Aryankavoo (ആരിയൻകാവ്); 2 Idamon (ഇടമൺ); 3 Trikkunnapuzha (തൃക്കുന്നപ്പുഴ), 4 Haripad (ഹരിപ്പാട്), 5 Mannarsalai (മണ്ണാർശാല); 6 Alleppy (ആലപ്പുഴ), 7 Periyar (പെരിയാറ്); 8 Alwaye (ആൽവായ്), 9 Vembanad (വേമ്പനാട്).

VIJAYANAGAR AND CEYLON

BY

T V MAHALINGAM, M A.

Vijayanagar, the last of the great Hindu empires in South India, was from the point of view of its size the biggest of the many that South India had seen Among the foreign countries with which it came into close contact and at least parts of which it actually brought under its subjection was Ceylon This pear-shaped island which is rightly called " the pearl-drop on the brow of India " has a continuous history of political, cultural and social contact with India in general and more particularly South India ever since very early times

Vijayanagar's relations with Ceylon began subsequent to this period The Ceylonese ruler at the time was Bhuvanaika Bahu V (1372-1406) According to Ferishta who gives a descriptive account of the kingdom of Vijayanagar about A D 1378, the ruler of Ceylon besides others kept ambassadors at the Vijayanagar court and sent rich presents to the king annually[1] This is evidently a reference to the friendly embassies sent by the Ceylonese ruler to the Vijayanagar sovereign

After the death of Kampana the Vijayanagar Viceroy in South India, the area seems to have got out of control. Hence Virupaksha the son of Harihara II reconquered the Tundira, Cola and Pandya countries and settled down as the Viceroy of the area He led an expedition even to Ceylon portions of which he appears to have conquered In the *Narayanivilasam* he claims to have set up a pillar of victory in the island of Ceylon[2] The Alampundi Plates of Virupaksha refer not only to his conquest of the Tundira, Cola and

Pandya countries, but also mention that he conquered the people of Ceylon and brought booty to his father which were in the shape of the crystals and other jewels.[3]

The conquest of parts of Ceylon during the days of Harihara II is also mentioned by Nuniz. Referring to one "Ajarao," which appears to be a corrupt form of the full name Virupaksha Raya (II) he says that "he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamamdell, which had also rebelled after the first destruction of this kingdom"[4] Ceillao is a reference to Ceylon It appears however that the conquest of Ceylon by the Vijayanagar king was largely an exaggerated account of the conquest of the small kingdom of Jaffna, which abets on the northern part of Ceylon, for in the next century we notice that this kingdom was one of the tributaries of the Vijayanagar empire[5] The assumption of such grandiloquent titles such as *Purvapascimadaksinasamudradisvara* (lord of the western, eastern and southern ocean) by Harihara II also indicates that the Vijayanagar empire had during his time reached the natural frontiers of South India, and perhaps included parts of Ceylon also

About the revenues of the Vijayanagar empire during the time of Deva Raya II, Nuniz says · "In his (Deva Raya's) time the king of Coullao (Quilon) and Ceyllao, and Paleacate (Pulicat), and Peguu, and Tanacary (Tenasserim) and many other countries paid tribute to him" According to Abdur Razak the *Danaik of* Vijayanagar went on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon and was away from the capital between November 1442 and April 1443, and hence he was recalled by Deva Raya II[6] This *Danaik* has been identified with Laksmana Dandanayaka the *Mahapradhani* of Deva Raya II. The visit of Lakkanna to the frontier of Ceylon was in all probability in connection with the reconquest of parts of Ceylon which had been conquered by Virupaksha II in 1385, but had apparently gone out of control subsequent to his days. Besides an inscription at Nagar in the Chingleput district credits Deva Raya with

having levied tribute from Ceylon (*Ilam tirai kondu*) [8] The ruling king of the island at that time was Parakrama Bahu II (1412-68) of the Kotte dynasty. Contemporary poems speak of the people of Jaffna as Kanarese, and this is corroborated by the evidence of Valentyn who refers to an invasion of Ceylon by the Kanarese [9] Since Abdur Razak mentions that the *Danaik's* voyage was to the 'frontier' of Ceylon it is possible that he reconquered only Jaffna and parts of the north of Ceylon and did not go into the heart of the island, perhaps the call from the imperial headquarters prevented him from pursuing his successes into the interior. But there can be no doubt about the statement of Nuniz that tribute was levied by the Vijayanagar king from Ceylon It is interesting to note that Valentyn mentions a Ceylonese expedition to Adriampet (Adhirampattinam) in South India since a Ceylon ship laden with cinnamon had been captured by the South Indians [10] It is not apparent however if the invasion of Ceylon by Lakkanna Dandanayaka was a result of the Ceylonese expedition to South India During the close of the reign of Deva Raya II the Vijayanagar empire "extended from the borders of Sarandip to those of Gulburga and from Bengal to Malabar, a space of more than 1000 *parasangs*."[11]

We do not know if Ceylon continued to be under the control of Vijayanagar subsequent to the days of Deva Raya II It is possible that distant Ceylon must have asserted its independence and stopped paying tribute to Vijayanagar during the period covered by the reigns of Mallikarjuna and Virupaksa

In the next century Ceylon itself was passing through political vicissitudes About the beginning of the sixteenth century the dynasty of Jayavardhanapurakotte slowly rose into prominence, and continued in power for about two centuries About 1521 Vijaya Bahu VII (1509-21), the ruler of Ceylon, was at war with the Portuguese, who were giving the people much trouble "The report of their iron was louder than thunder when it burst upon the rock Yugan-

dhara. Their cannon balls flew many a mile and shattered fortresses of granite." Hence he enlisted the support of the Zamorin of Calicut who was a tributary of Vijayanagar.[12] The war however ended in what is known as the 'sucking of Vijaya Bahu' by his sons, and his dethronement His three sons divided the realm into three kingdoms The eldest was Bhuvanaika Bahu (1521-50) who ruled from Kotte as the suzerain Among the other two one was at Rayigama and the other at Sitawaka The last brother at Sitawaka who wanted to deprive the eldest at Kotte of his suzerainty of the island was very frequently at war with him

According to Lungi Barthema, the whole of Ceylon or at least some little part of it acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayanagar[13] But two inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya mention his conquest of Ilam (Ceylon) An epigraph at Maniambalam in the Pudukkottai State S. 1433 states that Srimat Narasingarayar Kittanarayar 'was pleased to take Ilam and all countries' An epigraph at Piranmalai in the Ramnad district dated A D 1522-23 claims for Krishnadeva Raya the conquest of Ceylon[14] It is difficult to say if the two inscriptions ascribing the feat to Krishnadeva Raya are historically quite reliable It may be doubted if Krishnadeva Raya could have found time to march to the southern extremity of the empire at that time It was not unusual in those days for the kings to take credit for the achievements of one of their subordinates In 1521 one of the brothers of Vijaya Bahu of Ceylon requested the Zamorin of Calicut for help, which was apparently given Evidently the help given by the ruler of Calicut to the Ceylonese prince was considered to be the help given by Krishnadeva Raya himself.

Similarly Acyuta Raya has been credited with the conquest of Ceylon An epigraph dated A.D 1539 refers to his conquest of Ilam.[15] Further a record at Ennayiram in the South Arcot district dated in the same year states that he exacted tribute from Ceylon[16] Since Acyuta Raya invaded the Travancore country it is considered that this alleged con-

quest of Ceylon by the Vijayanagar emperor "cannot be absolutely false" The war between the two brothers one at Kotte and the other at Sitawaka in Ceylon went on unabated, the Zamorin of Calicut espousing the cause of the younger brother From the different references by contemporary inscriptions it is not unlikely that Acyuta Raya might have helped one of the parties Such a possibility is supported by the fact that he invaded the Travancore country a little prior to the date of the epigraph

According to Nagam Aiyah the ruler of Ceylon was a subordinate of Bhutala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) and paid tribute to him[17] It appears that he stopped sending his usual tribute Hence Ramaraja Vitthala after his conquest of the Travancore country appears to have sent an expedition into Ceylon and levied tribute from its ruler[18] It is doubtful if he actually went to Ceylon, but in all likelihood he sent his army to Kandy Probably it is this event which is referred to in a letter of 6th December 1546 which the Governor of Goa Joao de Castro wrote to king Joas III wherein it is stated that the Nayaka of Madura, Visvanatha, waged a war against the king of Conde (Kandy) Castro helped the Ceylonese ruler by sending 40 soldiers to protect the ruler[19]

About A D 1565 Ceylon appears to have been invaded by Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura for the reason that the king of Kandy failed to pay his annual tribute to the Vijayanagar king According to the account contained in the *Singla Dvipa* Katha Krishnappa Nayaka invaded Ceylon with an army of 20,000 soldiers, and defeated the recalcitrant ruler at Puttalam In spite of the advice of his ministers to the contrary the Kandiyan ruler gathered an army of 60,000 Ceylonese and 10,000 Kattars (Portuguese ?) and gave battle to the invaders Not only was his army defeated, but he himself was slain in the battle The family of the deceased king was sent to Aurangam the old capital of Ceylon, and treated with respect and consideration. Krishnappa Nayaka himself re-

mained in Ceylon for three days and returned to headquarters after appointing his brother-in-law Vijaya Gopala Nayaka as the Viceroy in Ceylon and making arrangements for the regular remittance of tribute [20] This is confirmed by independent epigraphical evidence, though of an indirect nature. Credit for such a conquest is taken by the Vijayanagar emperor Sadasiva Raya since Krishnappa Nayaka undertook the expedition perhaps only as a Vijayanagar Governor An inscription at Tiruttani dated in 1564-65 Raktaksi credits Sadasiva with having looted Ceylon [21] Then an epigraph at Taramangalam dated in 1567 refers to a Vira Vasanta Raya who conquered Ceylon, and records the grant of Ilamsamudra (Ilam is Ceylon) to the Kailasam and Ilamisvara temples named apparently after Lanka [22] The triumphs of Sadasiva in the extreme south appear to have been so complete and thorough that the Vellangudi Plates of Venkata II credit Sadasiva with the overlordship of the south [23] Sadasiva was therefore able to summon all his dependents and rajas from the banks of the R Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon for the battle of Rakshsas Tangdi [24]

The appointment of Vijaya Gopala Nayaka as the Viceroy in Ceylon appears to have been only a temporary arrangement for we do not hear of any subsequent Viceroyalty of Ceylon Perhaps his appointment was only to receive and remit the tribute due from Ceylon

Ceylon appears to have stopped the regular payment during the time of Sriranga II Hence tribute was again forced to be paid by the king of that island Sriranga II claims to have levied tribute from Ceylon [25] An epigraph at Tindivanam states that he levied tribute from all countries and from Ilam [26] But it appears he was too busy in the north to have found time to lead an expedition to distant Ceylon During the period of his rule Venkata who was in charge of the Candragiri Viceroyalty also claims credit for the conquest of Ceylon Evidently it was this invasion and conquest of Venkata that is meant by Sriranga's boast in which

he takes that credit to himself as many other sovereigns of Vijayanagar did earlier.

A good deal of the subsequent relations of Ceylon with Vijayanagar is shrouded in mystery As the central government weakened the Nayaks of Ginji, Tanjore and Madura not to speak of the Odeyars of Mysore grew into prominence and power Among them the Nayaks of Tanjore continued to be loyal to the imperial house till very late in its own history, while Madura perhaps on account of its comparative distance from the headquarters rebelled as often as it could, sided as many times as possible with the rebels and enemies of Vijayanagar and gave immense trouble to the royal house All the while the Tanjore Nayaks claimed suzerainty over Ceylon The coming of the Portuguese to South India and Ceylon and their settlement in them proved a source of trouble to the country They interfered as often as they could in the civil wars in South India siding generally with the Nayaks of Tanjore Likewise they interfered in the confused politics of Ceylon and Jaffna supporting one or other of the rival claimants to the suzerainty of the island According to the *Sahityaratnakaram* of Yajnanarayana Dikshita the Portuguese had to be dislodged from Negapatam during the time of Acyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore and as a result of that they went away to Jaffna and Ceylon They interfered in the politics of Jaffna, supported a rival to the throne and after driving away the ruler of the island occupied it themselves The dethroned ruler reached Tanjore and represented his woeful plight to Acyutappa who promised him help But we do not know if any assistance was given then [27]

In 1591 the Portuguese undertook an invasion of Jaffna on hearing that the Christians were being persecuted both by the rulers of Kandy and Jaffna Andrew Fustado the Commander occupied Jaffna after killing the king and his eldest son The younger son Pararajasekhara Pandara a minor was placed on the throne with an uncle of his as regent till he should come of age. The regent himself died in 1617

leaving a young son and a regent, the latter of whom was killed by one Sangili Kumara who usurped the throne subsequently His pretensions to the throne were not recognised by the people and hence he was driven away

But with the help of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore he got himself reinstated on the throne and the Portuguese recognised him as king But they soon dethroned him and occupied the island Sangili Kumara was therefore obliged to flee to Tanjore to seek refuge at the court of Raghunatha According to the *Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba Raghunatha crossed over to the island with his army after constructing a bridge of boats over the sea, and offered battle to the Portuguese, who however fled through the sea leaving behind them what all they had Raghunatha having come out victorious reinstated Sangili Kumara on the throne of Jaffna and left a garrison for his support [28] The Portuguese again interfered, reduced the kingdom of Jaffna to subjection, deposed the native dynasty and at last captured Sangili Kumara and sent him to Goa, where he was tried and executed [29]

Local disputes continued to exist in Jaffna and at the request of one Arche Dom Liz Raghunatha again interfered in its affairs and tried to take possession of it The first invasion under Khen Nayak proved futile , but the next and a more elaborate one met with no better result , the prince who was opposed to Sangili Kumara himself embraced Christianity in 1620 and made over his kingdom to the Portuguese [30]

From the available evidence we hear of an embassy from Ceylon during the time of Vijayaranga Cokkanatha Nayaka of Madura It was by the king of Ceylon who made a proposal for a matrimonial alliance between the two families. Vijaya Ranga Cokkanatha being a conservative in religious and social matters turned down the proposal with scant courtesy, since the Ceylonese ruler was considered to be of an inferior caste [31]

NOTES

1 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p 46.

2. S K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p 53

3. *Ep Ind*, III, p 228

4 Sewell, *op cit*, p 301, the suggestion of Sewell that by ' Ajarao ' Nuniz means two kings, Bukka II and his successor Deva Raya I is a mistake See *ibid*, p 51

5 Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, pp 84-85.

6 See Sewell, *op cit*, p 74

7 *M E R*, 1904–05, para 58

8 144 of 1916, *Rep.*, para 60

9 H W Codrington, *op cit*, p 92

10 See *ibid*, p 84

11 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by Her own Historians*, IV, p 105

12 Sewell, *op cit*, p 374

13 See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, I, p 57 *n*

14 146 of 1903, *Rep*, para 23

15 40 of 1897, 222 of 1924, *Rep*, para 49

16 331 of 1917, *Rep*, 1918, para 73

17 *Travancore State Manual* Vol I, p 297

18 129 of 1905, *Rep*, para 60, the date 1536 given for the epigraph is evidently a mistake

19 See Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol I, p 169 and 170, *fn*

20 See R Satyanatha Aiyar *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, pp 70-72, H Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol I, pp 169–71, Taylor, *Catalogue Raissone of Mackenzie Mss*, III, pp 183-6

21 451 of 1905, *Rep*, 1906, para 49

22 19 of 1900, *Rep*, p 82

23 *Ep Ind*, XVI, p 320

24 Ferishta, III, p 413

25 *M E R*, 1905, para 35

26 *Arch Sur Rep*, 1911-12, p 183

27 S K Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p 271, see also Danvers *Portuguese in India*, II, ch vii

28 See S K Aiyangar, *Sources* pp 287 and 289, Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, Ch viii

29 See H W Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p 112

30 See Danvers, *op cit*, II, ch viii

31 R Satyanatha Aiyar, *The Nayaks of Madura*, pp 230 and 256, Taylor, *Or Hist Mss* II, Appendix, pp 46-7

KUNAVĀYIRKKŌTTAM AND VAÑCI

BY

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Mr V R Ramachandra Dikshitar has, in the introduction to his excellent English translation of Cilappatikāram, stated that Vañcimānakar, the well-known work of Mahāvidvān R Raghava Aiyangar, has settled once for all " the controversy as to the location of the original Cera capital, and after a critical examination of all aspects of the question he has come to the only possible conclusion that this Vañcimānakar was the present town Karuvūr, in the Trichinopoly District "[1] Some of us are not quite so sure as Mr Dikshitar about the finality of this settlement Mr Raghava Aiyangar published his book in 1917, and even so recently as 1937, twenty years after that publication, Mr K G Sesha Aiyar of Trivandrum, who is unfortunately no longer with us, questioned the tenability of the conclusions therein arrived at by that great research-scholar, for whom I entertain feelings of the profoundest admiration and respect There are numerous problems facing the protagonists of the theory which seeks to identify Vañci with Karuvūr in Trichinopoly, and I propose to deal with a few of them in the present paper

The first question that may be examined with advantage is where Kunavāyirkkōttam is situated—the place where, according to Cilappatikāram, Ilankōvatikal, its talented author, lived as a Sannyāsin.[2] Aṭiyārkkunallār, whose date in any event cannot be later than the 15th century A C , says that by Kunvāyil is meant the village of Trkkunavāyil

and that it was situated on the eastern side of Vañci. He also says that Kōttam means a Jaina temple[3] Rao Sahib M Raghava Aiyangar merely states that this temple stood on the eastern side of Vañcimānakar, without stopping to enquire whether it is in existence now or whether it was at any time a shrine of celebrity.[4]

There is a shrine in Cochin which in ancient times was known as Kunavāy, and which once upon a time held a position of pre-eminence It is now called Trkkanāmatilakam In an ancient Manipravālacampu of Kērala, composed in the 12th or the 13th century A C, fragments of which alone have been recovered by me and which has therefore not yet been published, I have come across the following significant passage It is a description of Tirumarutūr, a village in which Tirunelli, the celebrated North Malabar shrine, is stated to be situated.

" कोल्लविभूति कोल्लुं विभवा नूഴ मटड्डु कोट्टुड्डोल्लरिलुमेഠറ विल-ङ्डिन पण्टुपयाता कुणवायक्कुणमपि कुणपं दधती वळ्ळुवनगरप्पळ्ळि जयन्तो पुतुवोटिन् पुकഴ वीഴत्तिन शोभा मन्दीकृतमङ्गलपुरमहिमा "

It will be seen that the author begins from the south, and touches Quilon, Kotunnōlūr, (Kotumkōlūr, the modern Kotunnallūr, whose anglicised form is Cranganore) Kunavāy, etc When Kērala, in course of time, lost touch with Tamilnad altogether and in consequence forgot the meaning of *vāy* (gate), the final syllable 'il' of Kunavāyil was wrongly supposed to be the affix of the locative case, and Kunavāy or Kunavā was presumed to be the name of the place This Kunavā became Gunakā in Sanskrit, the hard *k* at the beginning changing itself into the soft *g*, and the *v* at the end into *k* V and *k* are sometimes interchanged in Malayalam and Tamil, as when *ōvu* (sluice) becomes *ōku* and *pāval* (*monodica charentia*) *pākal*, without modification of sense

In Śukasandēśa, a poem of the Sandēśa type, composed after the manner of Kālidāsa's Mēghasandēśa, by Lakshmī-

dāsa, a Nampūtiri Brahman of Karinnampalli Illam, before the 11th century A C , the following verses occur · —

" आयात्यस्तं विरहिषु निजं तापमासज्य भाना-
वूढोल्लासं प्रविश गुणकामूहशाली विशालाम् ।
अग्राम्यालङ्करणहसितालापलीलाविशेषै-
र्मानोद्रेकं मनसिगुणितं कुर्वतीमङ्गयोनेः ॥[5]

" काम्याकल्पः कनकभवने यत्रचोत्कान्तसीम्नाम्
भङ्गं कुर्वन् जगति गुणकानाथ इत्यूढकीर्तिः
आस्ते गौरीकलहमनुशङ्क्येव वेशाङ्गनानाम्
वीथीभिक्षाचरणविमुखश्चन्द्रलेखावतंस ॥"[6]

From the above verses it may be seen that the place bore the signification Gunakā in Sanskrit literature and that the deity worshipped in the local temple was Śiva In another verse of the Pūrvasandēśa, excerpted below, this place is also referred to as *Gunapura*

" पार्श्वे पार्श्वे मदभरपटुध्वानलोलम्बलोलैः
पत्रच्छायातिमिरमलिनाभ्यन्तरैर्वल्लिगेहैः ।
मार्गारामस्तवगुणपुरासत्तिमासूत्रयिष्य-
न्त्यन्तर्गन्धान्तरपरिगतस्मेरवक्त्राध्वनीनाः ॥ "[7]

Bhramarasandēśa, written by another Nampūtiri poet, Vāsudēva, about 1622 A C , also refers to Kunavāyil as Gunakā in the following verse —

" तान्तामृद्धिं जनपदगतां निर्विशन् मार्गवेग-
श्रान्तां कान्तामतिमृदुलया वीजयन् पक्षपाल्या
माध्वीं कुञ्जेष्वतिमृदु पिबन् पाययन् गाहितासे
युद्धोद्घुष्टां सपदि गुणकां माटधात्रीन्द्रगुप्ताम् "[8]

And finally, Mēlputtūr Nārāyana Bhattatiri, one of the premier poets of Kērala, who was a contemporary of Vāsudēva, describes it as Gunapura in two verses addressed to

Vira Kērala Varma, the king who was ruling over Cochin at that time. Those verses are the following:—

" गुणपुरमीम्नि वसन्तं शृणुमो माटेश्वरं पुरैव वयम् ;
अद्यतु विलोकयामस्तमिमं गुणपूरसीम्नि निवसन्तम् "

" पुरा ते कन्दर्पप्रमथन, पुराणेषु शृणुमो-
महासेनासक्ति सततमपि दुर्गानुसरणम् ;
इदानीं विस्पष्ट द्वितयमपि तन्माटनृवर
स्फुरत्सेनादुर्गे गुणपुरनिकेते निवसत. "

Later, Kunavāyil came in Malayalam to be known as Trkkanāmatilakam. Matilakam was added to the main word Trkkanā, because in ancient times the temple of Śiva there, which embraced an area of about two and a half sq. miles, was enclosed by a lofty wall. Leaving out this appendage and the prefix *Tr* (Tiru), which is only a corruption of Śrī, indicative of prosperity, the real name of the place left behind is Kanā, in which, although the *u* of Kunavā has given place to *a*, the long *a* at the end does duty for *anā*.

From the above records it will be clear that the original name of the place was Kunavāyil. The Śiva temple there was the most prominent shrine of the Namputiri Brahmans in the early days, that being the only shrine to which all their thirty-two grāmams (villages) paid undivided homage. The tradition is that the Namputiris met in daily conclave in the extensive bathing house attached to the local tank, and decided all problems appertaining to their socio-economic, religious and educational advancement. This tank is even now in existence. Down to the 14th century, it continued to maintain its pride of place unimpared, but subsequently, as the result of a feud between the local assembly (yōgam) and the villagers (grāmam) of Iriññalakkuta, the place suffered an ignominious eclipse, and a new yōgam of Namputiris was set up at Trichur. It is needless for the purpose of this paper to follow the fortunes of the

temple of Trkkānāmatılakam through the corrıdors of later history.

Thıs Kunavāy ıs sıtuated seven mıles to the north of Cranganore, and not to the east, and hence perhaps ıt may be argued that the descrıptıon of Atıyārkkunallār does not tally wıth the actual lie of the sıte at present It may ın thıs connectıon be stated that, accordıng to Kērala tradıtıon, the old town Vañcı, now known as Tıruvañcıkkulam, extended as far as Kunavāy, and that Kunavāy, ıtself was a suburb of it Why ıt was known by a name meanıng 'eastern gate' ıs a mystery Whether, at the tıme that name was gıven, there was a further belt of land on ıts western sıde whıch subsequently became subject to sea erosıon is more than we know That there were such erosıons ın South Indıa, as testıfied to by the submersıon of Panaınād, we learn from Śangam lıterature The orıgın of the name ıs, however, ımmaterıal and all that has to be borne in mınd ıs that the name ıs there

Let us next take up the questıon of the ıdentıty of Vāñcı It ıs not my ıntentıon to take the readers through the long labyrınth of dıscussıons whıch have gathered around thıs problem from the tıme when the late V Kanakasabhaı Pıllaı, ın hıs *Tamıls Eıghteen Hundred Years Ago*, expressed that Vañcı should be looked for on the Malabar Coast Mr M Raghava Aıyangar admıts that, ın the days of Cēramān Perumāl Nāyanār (8th century A C), Cranganore was the capıtal of the Cēras, and that ıt was then known also by the name of Vāñci[9] Thıs ıs ınevıtable, sınce Cekkızhār has sung ın hıs Perıyapurānam "சேராகு லகோவீற்றிருந்து முறைபுரியும் மலக்கோளூழ்தூர கொடுங்கோளூர" "அந்நாட்டினீளாரணைய நிரந்தணைந்தா வஞ்சிய கனகாவாய"[10] He and Mr R Raghava Aıyangar, however, advance the ıngenıous, though unconvıncıng, argument that, after the Śangam perıod, the Cēras had to leave theır ınterıor capıtal and flee to the west Coast owıng to constant quarrels among

them and the Pāṅdyas and the Cōlas. The question may here be legitimately asked why the Cēras should have waited so long to discover the patent vulnerability of their capital to attacks from outside, seeing that such attacks were frequent even in the days of Puranānūru The fact appears to be that Cranganore bore the name of Vañci also, besides Makōtai and Muciri prior to the days of Cenkuttuvan [11] The Pēryār, on whose banks he received the offerings of the Kuravas, when he went on a trip to the mountains, is the Periyār river of North Travancore which joins the sea at Kottamukku near Cranganore It cannot be easily identified with the Āmrāvati river which flows along Karuvūr, because the latter does not bear the name of Periyār Several of the curiosities presented to Cenkuttuvan by the Kuravas, such as white tusks of elephants, loads of *akil*, pots of honey, chips of Sandalwood, cardamom stalks, pepper stalks, arrow-root flour, ripe coconuts, jack-fruits, rich bunches of arecanuts and bunches of the big variety of sweet plantains,[12] are peculiar to the mountains from which the Periyār originates, while they are not to be found in the hills near Karuvūr Atiyārkkunallār clearly says that Cenkuttuvan returned to Vañci on the very same day on which he saw those mountains [13] This would not be possible if he proceeded to the banks of the Periyār from Karuvūr To the question why Cenkuttuvan should have proceeded to the Nilgiris on his journey to the Himalayas, if his capital was Karuvur, the answer given by Mr R Raghava Aiyangar is that it was by way of circumambulation This answer too is far from convincing

No doubt, the name of this western Vañci in subsequent times became Añcaikkalam, meaning 'the abode of the Mother' But who is this Mother ? I am of the view that it is none other than Kannaki herself, whose image was consecrated by Cenkuttuvan within the precincts of Vañci This fact is accepted by Mr R Raghava Aiyangar on the basis of certain statements in Manimēkalai [14] Sundaramūrtināyanār refers to the place as Añcaikkalam Uddanda Sāstri,

ın hıs Kōkilasandēśa. composed ın the 15th century, describes ıt as follows ·—

" रम्यां हर्म्यध्वजपटमरुद्वीजितभ्रमयुग्या-
मग्रे पश्याञ्जनवळपुरीमाश्रिता शङ्करेण ।
यत्र श्लिष्टो परयुवतिभिश्चुम्बति स्विन्नगण्डम्
चूर्णीतः प्रिय इव रतिश्रान्तमास्यारविन्दम् "

He correctly translates kalam ınto khala, but renders *Añcaı* ınto *Añȷana*, because he does not know the meanıng of that Tamıl-Malayalam woıd[15] The author of Bhramaıasandēśa uses the equıvalent पञ्चरङ्गाधिनाथम् ıgnorantly assumıng *añcu* or five to be the meanıng of '*añcaı*' In a Vattezhuttu ınscrıptıon ın the Tıruvancıkkulam temple the word used ıs Tıruvañcakkalam[16] All thıs ıs due to the fact that Kannakı's temple at Cranganore assumed supreme ımportance ın later tımes, swallowıng up the glory of the local Śıva temple, at whıch Cenkuttuvan worshıpped Cranganore ıs ȷust on the northern outskırts of Tıruvañcıkkulam, and the Goddess there ıs commonly known as 'Ottamulaccı' or the deıty wıth a sıngle breast, a descrıptıon whıch thoroughly fits ın wıth Kannakı at the tıme of her tragıcal death Innumeıable songs, known as *tōrram*,[17] are current throughout Kērala recıtıng the story of Kōvalan (who, besıdes Kōvalan, ıs gıven the name of Pālakan) and Kannakı, The desıgnatıon Pālakan too ıs not ınappropriate, ın vıew of the fact that the word Kōvalan ıs ıtself a corruptıon of Gōpālan

There ıs an ınscrıptıon ın Tıruvañcıkkulam referrıng to the deıty of the temple there as Vanculesa,[18] but I do not attach much value to ıt, seeıng that it came ınto exıstence so late as 1831 A.C The references to Karuvūr Purānam ın support of the theory put forward by Mr R Raghava Aıyangar are no better, seeıng that that Purānam also came ınto exıstence only durıng the last two or three centurıes

Where ıs the evıdence to prove that Cenkuttuvan ınstalled the ımage of Pattınıkkatavul (Kannakı, the goddess of

chastity) in East Vañci ? Mr. R. Raghava Aiyangar speaks of a minor temple there, in which a deity known as Vañci Amman is worshipped But that deity does not possess the celebrity of the goddess of Cranganore , nor is she reputed to be a goddess with one breast Moreover, as far as I am aware, no *tōrram* songs are sung in praise of that goddess either in Trichinopoly or in Salem. To my mind, West Vañci earned the name of Kotumkōlur subsequent to the consecration of the shrine of Pattinikkatavul by Cenkuṭtuvan, on account of the bloody sacrifices offered to her Again, it is stated in the Uraiperukatturai portion of Cilappatikāram that the Ilamkośar of Kongunāṭu (கொங்கிளங்கோசர்) instituted festivities in honour of Pattinikkaṭavul [19] If east Vañci had been the capital of Cenkuttuvan, they could have remained satisfied with the temple consecrated by him there, since it was situated in Kongu, and the probability is that the people of Kuttanād and Kutanād should have instituted special festivities in Kērala in commemoration of that event But the Katturai speaks of the festivities of Kongunād and the temples newly consecrated in Ceylon and Urayūr

I may just touch one more point before I bring this paper to a close One of the names by which the old Cēra Kings were known is Porunaituraiyan, as may be seen from Divākaram, the earliest Tamil lexicon The word *turai*, though it is susceptible of more than one connotation, can only mean sea-port in the present instance, since otherwise there would be no special significance in giving that appellation to those rulers Ānporunai may or may not be one of the designations of the Āmrāvati , but where was this sea-port on the banks of that river, of which the Cēra was the owner ? On the other hand, if by Porunai in this case is meant the Periyār river, the title Porunaitturaiyan becomes singularly appropriate It is my view that Makotai must have been known as Porunaitturai also in former times, and that the rulers of Cochin when they migrated thence to Trppūnittura, their present capital, gave it that very name, as

evidenced by the fact that Pūnittura is a corruption of Porunaitturai The Periyār river is designated Pūrna in Sankaravijaya, wrongly attributed to Vidyāranya.[20] I presume that Pūnittura is derived, not as Mr. Sesha Aiyar would have it from Pūrna,[21] but from Porunai itself The Sanskrit equivalent for Pūrnittura is Pūrnatrayi, in which the *ai*'s of Porunai and Turai are seen disguised as *a* and *i* A fanciful etymology for this word is given in the Nārāyanīyam Campu of Nīlakanthakavi, a work composed in the Manipravala style towards the close of the 16th century A C The relevant verse runs as follows —

" तत्राग्रहारे च वसद्विजानां पूर्णा त्रयी भाति सदा मुखेषु ;
तेनैव सन्तः किल तं प्रदेशं पूर्णत्रयीनामकमामनन्ति "[22]

If the old Tamil lexicons do not mention Porunai as a synonym of the Periyār, it is worthy of note that they do not mention it as a synonym of the Āmrāvati either In the Akanānūru it is stated that Ānporunai flows near Karuvūr, and from the fact that there is a place known as Karūrpatana, meaning the salt-pan of Karuvūr to the north of Cranganore, it has to be inferred that western Vañci was also known as Karuvūr

It is superfluous for me to adduce more arguments All that I venture to point out is that the question whether Cēran Cenkuttuvan's capital was east Vañci or west Vāñci remains still unsettled One party avers that the Cēras fled from east Vañci, after the Sangam period, on its invasion by the Cōlas, while the other party contends that east Karuvūr was a military outpost of the Cēras whose capital was west Vañci, established with a view to resisting invasions Which of these two propositions is correct, further research alone can demonstrate I must therefore request scholars to suspend their judgment and approach the problem with an open mind.

One more word, and I have done Mr Dikshitar further states that the Nātus of the ancient Cēra kingdom

were broadly classified into Malainātu and Katalmalaināṭu, that Malaināṭu was the real Kongunātu, having for its capital Karuvūr, and that Katalmalaināṭu comprised the provinces of Kuttanātu, Kuṭanāṭu and Pūzhināṭu in Kerala.[23] This statement is not supported by Sēnāvaraiyar, Nāccinārkkinyar or Pavanandi, and I do not know on what authority my friend makes such a clear-cut division of the Cēra kingdom of old Cekkizhar, in his Periyapurānam begins the story of Viranimintanāyanār of Cengannūr (Cenkuntūr) which is admittedly part of Kuttanāṭu in Travancore, with a description of Malaināṭu and not Katalmalaināṭu [24]

NOTES

1 V R R Dikshitar's Cilappatikāram, p 44 (Oxford University Press, 1939).

2 குணவாயிற் கோட்டத்தரசு துறந்திருந்த
குடக்கோச்சேரல் இளங்கோவடிகட்கு
Dr V Swaminatha Aiyar's edition of Cilappatikāram, patikam, p 1

3 குணவாயில்—திருக்குணவாயிலென்பதோரூர், அது வஞ்சியின் கீழ்த்திசைக்கண்ணுள்ளது *Ibid*, p 11

4 Cērancenkuttuvan, 1915 edition, p 23

5 Pūrvasandēśa, verse 74

6 Uttarasandēśa, verse 15

7 Pūrvasandēśa, verse 72 *Ibid*, p 35

8 *Vide* my Vijñānadīpika, Vol IV, p 36

9 Cēran Cenkuttuvan, p 131 *Vide* also Vancimānakar, p 19

10 Cēramān Perumāl Nāyanār Purānam

11 Cēra kings of the Sangam Period, p 82

12 Cilappatikāram, p 457 Periyār may also refer to the Ponnāni river (Bhāratappuzha), which is now known as Pērār But Cenkuttuvan could not have returned therefrom to his capital on the very same day

13 *Ibid*, p 18 குன்றம்—கொடுங்கோளூருக்கு அயலதாகிய செங்குன்றென்னு மலை — அது திருச்செங்கோடென்பவ ரெனின் அவரறியார்; என்னை? அத்திருச்செங்கோடு வஞ்சிநகர்க்கு வடதிசைக்கண்ணதாய் அறுபதின் காதவாறுண்

டாகலானும அரசனும உரிமையும் மலை காணகுவமெனறு
கண்ட அன்றே வஞசிபுகுதலானும அது கூடாமையினெனக.

14 Vañcımānakar, 1917 edıtıon, pp 88-89. See the lıne

முறைமையிழநத மூதூரகததே

15 Pūrvasandēśa, verse 87

16 Trav Arch Serıes, Vol VI, p 191

17 *Tōrram* means appearance or manıfestatıon, and ın thıs ınstance means the appearance of Kālı, under whıch form Kannakı ıs worshıpped

18 Trav Arch Serıcs, Vol VI, p 191

19 Cılappatıkāram, p 31

20 " पूर्णानदीपुण्यतटे " Curıously enough the publıshed versıon of Vıdyāranya's Sankaravıjaya contaıns verses from Rājacūdāmanı Dīkshıta's Sankarābhyudaya Rajacūdāmanı lıved about 3 centurıes later than Vıdyāranya

21 Cēra kıngs of the Sangam Perıod, p 94

22 *Vıde* my Vıjñanadīpıka, Vol III, p 21

23 Dıkshıtar's Cılappatıkāram, p 30

24 " வரையின வளனுமுடன பெருகி பலகுநாடு மலைநாடு

For other arguments ın support, see *C S Cheluva Aıyar's* paper on Vancımānakar, Journal of Orıental Research, Vol III, pp 113-134

BIRUDAS OF ANCIENT TRAVANCORE KINGS

BY

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The ruling family of Travancore traces its descent from the ancient Cera kings referred to as independent in the edicts of Asoka Maurya (3rd Century, B C). Their history goes back to an epoch before the *Mahā Bhārata* war in which according to the *Śilappadikāram* Udiyan Ceral,[1] a Cera king acted as host to the combatants of that war The Ceras were noted for their charity, and were famous in warfare and statecraft Thus we find in *Puranānūru* that " Ceramān Udiyan Ceralātan " is mentioned as " Perum Corru "[2] *i e*, one who distributed food in abundance, and " Vānavaramban " *i.e*, one whose territories were encircled by the sea, while his son Nedum-Ceralātan bore the title " Imayavaramban " *i e*, one who extended the territory upto the Himalayas [3]

Another king Ceran Senguttuvan is mentioned as " Kadal Pirakkottiya "[4] *i e*, one who destroyed the efficacy of the sea as a refuge Even so late as the 9th century A D Rājaśekhara the Cera king, is recorded as " Śri Rājādhirāja Rāja Parameśvara Bhattāraka "[5]

The tradition of the Cera kings is inherited by the rulers of Travancore who are considered to be their direct descendants. In an Inscription[6] of the Kollam year 364 *i e*, A D 1189 Vira Udaya Mārtānda Varma (called also Koda Mārtanda Varma) a Travancore king is styled as " Kolambādhīśa " while a successor of his, Ravi Varma Sangrāmadhīra (Kollam 474-488 *i.e*, 1299-1313 A D) the greatest and by

far the most powerful not only of the kings of Travancore, but also of the whole of Kerala, who conquered the whole of South India defeating the Cholas and Pandyas and crowned as Emperor on the banks of the Vegavati in Conjeevaram, bore the Birudas[7] "Chandrakulamangalapradipa" i e, the light of the lunar line of kings, "Yādavanārāyana" i.e, the Krishna of the Yadavas, "Keraladeśapunyaparināma" i e, one born as the result of the holy acts of the Kerala country, "Namantarakarna" i e, Karna under another name "Kūpakasārvabhauma" i e, the Emperor of the Kūpaka country, "Kulaśikharipratistāpitagarudadvaja" i e, the establisher-planter of Garuda banner on Kulaparvatas, "Kolambapuravaradhīśvara" i e., the supreme God of the great city of Kolamba, "Sri Padmanābhapādakamala-paramārādhaka" i e, the devout worshipper of the lotus feet of God Śri Padmanābha, "Pranatarājapratisthācārya" i e, the preceptor in putting in stability those kings who bow down, "Vimatarājabandikāra" i e, the imprisoner of enemy kings, "Dharmatarumūlakanda" i e, the prime root of the tree of Dharma, "Sadgunālankara" i e, the ornament of the virtuous, "Chatussasti Kalāvallabha" i e, the lover or master of 64 arts, "Daksinabhojarāja" i e, the king Bhoja of the South, "Sangrāmadhīra" i e, firm in battle,[8] Mahā Rāja Parameśvara Jayasimhadeva Nandana [8]

In a lithic record[9] of Keralapuram dated the Kollam year 491 i e, A D 1316, Vira Udaya Mārtānda Varma, a Travancore king is referred to as "Vira Pāndya Deva" probably to indicate his victory over a Pāndya king One of his successors "Āditya Varma" was known as "Sarvanganātha" as is seen from an inscription[10] at Vadaseri dated the Kollam year 549 i e. A D 1374 In an inscription[11] at Suchindram dated Kollam 586 i e, 1411 A D Mārtānda Varma, a Travancore king of the 15th century A D., is recorded as "Keralakshmapatindra", while another king by the name of "Āditya Varma" is referred to as "Akhilakālavallabha" in the Trikkanamkudi Bell inscription[12] of the Kollam year 644 i e, 1459 A D In a later inscription[13] dated Kollam 661

i.e., A D. 1486 the Travancore king of the time Jayasimha had the Birudas "Ancinanpugalidam" and "Ceravamsakiritapati" i.e, the crowned king of the Cera dynasty

Udaya Mārtānda Varman, known as "Jayattunganāttu Muttavar" another king of Travancore who reigned in the 7th century of the Kollam year i e, 16th century A D bore the titles of "Śankaranārāyanamūrti Velaikāran" (Servant of God Śankaranārāyana[14]) and Śankaranārāyana "Venrumankonda," (one who acquired the earth by victory) and "Bhūtalavira" (the only hero in the world), while two of his successors Vira Rāma Varman (Kollam 712 A D 1537) and Vira Kerala Varman (Kollam 720 A D 1545) were surnamed "Venrumankonda Bhūtalavira." [15 & 16]

All kings of the Travancore Royal family were known as "Kulaśekhara Perumāl" and sometimes "Venāttu Adikal" Rāja Mārtānda Varma the Great, the maker of the present Travancore (904 to 933 M E 1729-1758 A D) dedicated the whole state to Śri Padmanābha in A D 1750 (925 M E), and he and his successors assumed the title of "Śri Padmanābha Dāsa[17] To his nephew Rāma Varma Mahārāja (Kollam 933-973) A D 1758-1798 the Nawab of Carnatic conferred the titles[18] "Munne Sultan Mahārāja Rāje Rāma Rāja Bahadur Shamsheer Jung" Since his time all the ruling kings of Travancore bear the honorific titles "Śri Padmanābha Dāsa Vanchi Bala Kulaśekhara Kiritapati Munne Sultan Mahārāja Rāje Rāma Rāja Bahadur Shamsheer Jung."*

NOTES

1 Śilappadikāram Canto XXIII, LL, 55-60 Puranānūru st 2

2 See Puranānūru st 2 edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr Swaminatha Iyer, p 3, (1894) and p 5 *Cera kings of the Sangam period* by K G Sesha Iyer

3 Patirrupattu 2nd patigam see page 10 of Cera kings of the Sangam period

4 See Patirrupattu, patigam V, and also *Cera kings of Sangam period*, p 22

*Read before the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta

5. *Talamana illam copper plate,* T A S , Vol II, p 13.

6 T A S Vol III, p 50, *Gosalakrishna Shrine inscription,* Trivandrum

7 *Stone inscriptions, Valiachalai temple,* Trivandrum T A S , Vol II p 58-59.

8 T A S Vol II, p 58, *Valiachalai inscription*

9 T A S , Vol II, p 171

10 T A S Vol I p 171

11 T A S Vol VIII p 28

12 T A R 1108 p 21

13 Paraśurāman Perunteru inscription now at Padmanābhapuram Museum (T A R , 1113, p 18)

14 *Mundeśvaramudayar temple inscription* (T A R , 1108, p 37)

15 T A S Vol IV p 99 *Thovala inscription*

16 *Suchindrum inscription,* T A S , Vol IV p 101 & 104

17 T A S Vol IV p 114

18 *Travancore State Manual* Vol I Page 408

SOME HISTORICAL PLACE-NAMES OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

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Cities like nations have their rise and fall The proudest cities of the ancient Tamilnad are petty hamlets on the modern map of Tamil India cherishing merely the dreamy memory of their departed glory Centuries before the foundations of Madras (Cenna-pattanam) were laid, there was a great paṭṭinam at the mouth of the Kāveri[1] Kāveri-p-pūm-pattinam as it was called, was the paṭṭinam par excellence[2] The classical Tamil poem picturing its magnificence is known as Paṭṭina-p-pālai and the saint-poet who was born there, is still known as Paṭṭinattār or Pattinattu-p-pillaiyār[3] (the revered Pillai of Pattinam) This great city is now an insignificant hamlet in the Tanjore District[4]

When the ancient Chola Capital was Uṟaiyūr or Uṟandai, Trichinopoly was a small rockshrine in its vicinity Saint Tiru-gñānasambandar refers to it as 'the rock of Cirāppalli' in the Tēvāram songs[5] Just as Kāviri-p-pūm-pattinam was known as *Pattinam*, Uṟalyūr was known as *Ūr*—the city[6] The town that grew round the rock of Trichinopoly, however, has overshadowed the ancient Uṟaiyūr which has dwindled to the size of a suburb of the Trichinopoly city[7]

The principal town in the ancient territorial division known as 'Kongu-Nād' (comprising the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem and part of Mysore) was Pērūr (literally great town) It is situated on the river Kānchi (now Noyil) and hence described as Kānchi-vāy-p-pērūr[8] It was ranked next to Chidambaram in point of religious importance[9] The present town of Coimbatore is, as its

name indicates, a new town (puttūr). Coimbatore is a corruption of Kōvan-puttūr[10] In the inscriptions of the 13th century this Puttūr is included in the Pērūr division[11] But now Pērūr has lost its glory and Coimbatore has grown so important as to give its name to the District

The history of the great sea-ports of the Pāndya country also illustrates the principle of 'the old order yielding place to the new' The port of Korkai situated at the mouth of the Tāmraparni was so prosperous in the early centuries of the Christian era that Pāndya kings assumed the title of Korkai-y-āli and Korkai-k-kōmān the lord of the Korkai port Korkai was the queen of the eastern sea In course of time, however, Korkai was silted up and Kāyal rose to prominence It became 'a great and noble city' by the 15th century A D The fall of Kāyal also came in due course and the Portuguese realising the possibilities of Tuticorin made it a sea-port town "As a port Tūttu-k-kudi (Tuticorin is a Portuguese corruption) stands second in the Madras Presidency and fifth in British India"[12] Still the memory of the old Kāyal is preserved in Kāyal-patnam, Tinnevelly District, otherwise called "Sonagarpatnam" which is inhabited almost exclusively by Muhammadans[13]

On the West Coast the greatest sea-port in the ancient days was Musiri, at the mouth of the Culli river now known as the Periyār[14] When Cheramān Perumāl, a contemporary of the Śaivite Saint Sundarar ruled over the Chera country, the seat of his government was Kodungōlūr or Mahōdai[15] and the sacred shrine was Anchai-k-kalam[16] Kodungalūr (a corruption of Kodungolur) is now an insignificant hamlet near Cranganore It is still a moot point whether Tiru-vāñchi-k kulam near Cranganore, or Karūr (Karuvūr) in the Trichinopoly District was the ancient Chera Capital Vañchi.

On the banks of the Tāmraparni there are a few places which bear the marks of past grandeur Mana-padai vīḍu is a tiny village on the right bank of the Tāmraparni The name of the place suggests that it was once a military en-

campment The spot opposite to this Padaivīdu is known as Cepparai where the ruins of massive structures are still to be found. The adjacent village bears the name Rājavalli-puram. Rājavalli perhaps refers to the queen of the Rāja whose name is associated with Manapadaivīdu "In common with Korkai, Kāyal and Adichanallur, all situated on the Tāmpraparni and proved by evidence of one kind or another to have been important towns in the past, Manapadai has long fallen into insignificance"

The extent of some of the ancient cities may be inferred from the geographical position of villages the names of which bear the suffix vāyil or vāśal Śilappadikāram refers to Kuna-vāyil kōttam as the place where the Chera prince Ilango lived after he renounced his royalty. This place probably marked the eastern gateway of the city of Vanchi. By the time of Adiyārkkunallar the commentator of Śilappadikāram, Kuna-Vāyil had evidently become a separate village [17] Place-names such as Kuna-vāyil and Kuda-vāyil may enable us to fix the geographical limits of some of the ancient cities It is well known that Tiru-ārūr (Tiruvārūr) was a great town in the prehistoric times Legend has it that the beau ideal of justice—chola king who sacrificed his only son to redress the grievance of a cow—lived at Tiruvārūr A few miles to the west of this town there is a village which bears the name, Kudavāśal (literally the western gateway) It is possible that the western limits of Tiruvārūr extended up to the spot now called Kudavāśal a variant of Kuda-vāyil [18] Similarly the village bearing the name Kuna-vāśal to the east of Gangai-konda Cholapuram, which was the capital of the Tanjore Cholas for over a century was perhaps the eastern gateway of that city [19] The configuration of the ancient city of Kañchi is pictured in an old Tamil poem [20] Kanchi says the poet is like a peacock, Attiyūr is its head and its splendid grove is its tohai (tail) The lakes on either side are its wings and the fort its body The identification of Attiyūr and the lakes mentioned in this poem may enable the student of physical geography to discover the limits of the far-famed city.[21]

Cities or villages situated at the confluence of rivers are indicated by the suffix *kūdal*[22] The place where the Bhavāni meets the Kāveri is known as Bhavāni kūdal, the village situated at the confluence of the Amarāvati (Ān porundam) and the Kāveri is called Tiru-muk-kudal[23] In the Tinnevelly district the Cittār (Cirrāru—small river) meets the Tāmpraparani at the place now known as Śivalaperi[24] The ancient name of the village was Muk-kūdal—the Triveni of the Pāndināḍ The glories of this spot are set out in a popular drama entitled 'Mukkūdal Pallu Nātakam,' which is the model of its kind in modern Tamil Literature In the inscriptions of the 11th century it bears the classical name Ten-Tirumāl Irunjolai[25] The popularity of the Aḻagar temple at Mukkūdal was evidently responsible for this name[26] The *chattram* at Mukkūdal munificiently endowed by Dalavoy Mudaliyar testifies to its popularity as a place of pilgrimage in South India[27] The present state of the place may be understood by the local proverb 'set your daughter to an oil-mill than give her in marriage to a man of Śivalapperi[28]

திருவநதைககளப These few place-names taken at random show the possibilities of a systematic and detailed study of the many interesting and historical names, which are being investigated by the author of this paper.

NOTES

1 Śilappadikāram, Manimekalai and Pattinappālai contain a description of this great pattinam Pattinam is sea port town

2 The sacred shrine Pallavanīccaram at Kāveri-p-pūm-pattinam is referred to as Pattinattu-p-pallavaniccaram in Saint Gñānasambandar's Tevāram

3 In Pillaiyar, ār is an honorific suffix

4 It is ten miles south east of Shiyali, in the Mayavaram Taluq, Tanjore District

5. சிராபபளளிக குனறுடையானைக கூற வெனனுளளம குளிருமமே - தேவாரம

6 ஊரெனபபடுவது உறையூர

7 *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p 327,

8. *மீகொஙகில அணிகாஞசிவாயப் பேரூரா பெருமானை*
சுநதரமூாததிகள தேவாரம கோயில – குறிஞசி 10.

9 Pērur is generally known as Melai–c–chidambaram

10 Kōvan–puttur was named after an Irula chief Kōvan– Tiru–p–Pērur Puranam, Carita varalāṟu, p 60

11 *பேரூா நாடடு கோவனபுததூா எனற வீரகேரள நலலூா*
Ibid, p 48

12 Tinnevelly Gazetteer, p 20

13 *Ibid*, p 499.

14 This river is referred to as Culli–am–pēryāru or Culli–p–pēriyāru in the Tamil classics *சுளளியம பேரியாறறு வெண்ணுரை. அகநானூறு* 149

15 *சேராகுலககோ வீறறிருநது முறைபுரியும குலமகோமூதூா கொடுஙகோளூா - பெரியபுராணம சேரமான பெருமாள நாயனா புராணம* 1

கோதையரசா மகோதை யெனக குலவு பெயரும் உடைத தாலில - பெரிய புராணம சேரமான, 4

Mahodai is described in St Sundarar's Tevaram as a town situated on the sea coast *ஆரகருங கடலஙகரைமேல மகோதை அணியாா பொழில அஞசைககளததபபனே - திருவஞசைககளப பதிகம.* 7

16 The expressions used in Peria–Puranam with reference to Tiruvanchai–k–kalam seem to show that it was originally the name of the temple at Kodungolur e g, *சேவீறறிருநதாா திருவஞசைக களம்* 1 *தெனனவா முடியாா திருவஞசைககளம்* 10. *இநது முடியாா திருவஞசைககளம*

17. *குணவாயில - திருககுணவாயில எனபதோா ஊா அது வஞசியின கீழததிசைககண உளளது. அது குணககணவாயில குணவாயில, குணககினகணவாயில குணவாயில எனச சாரியை பெறறும பெறாதும வரினும அமையும — சிலபபதிகாரம பதிகம 1-2 அடியாாககு நலலாா உரை.*

குணவாயிற கோடடம - திருககுணவாயிற் கோயில — சிலபபதிகாரம அருமபதவுரை.

18 The distance between Tiruvārūr and Kuḍavāsal is about 10 miles as the crow flies

19 Kunavāsal is about 10 miles distant from Gangai Konda cholapuram, and now called Kangaikandapurum and three miles to the east of Jayangondacholapurum

20. *எரியிரணடுஞ சிறகா எயில வயிறுக*
காருடைய பீலி கடிகாவாச - சீருடைய

அததியூா வாயா அணிமயிலே போனறதே
பொறறோான கசசிப் பொலிவு - யாபபருஙகல விருததி
93, உரை,

21 Pandıt M Raghava Iyengar ıdentıfies Attıyūr wıth Cınna-k-Kanchıpurum See Arāıccı-t-tohutı, p 225

22 The spot where the Tunga and Bhadra unıte to form the Tunga-bhadıa ııveı ıs known as Kudalı

23 Venja-makkudal ıs the name of the vıllage sıtuated at the confluence of the Kudavanar and Amaravatı

24 Cıttar (Cırraru) takes ıts rıse from the Kuttalam hılls and Tampraparanı from the Pothıgaı hılls ın the Western Ghats

25 The Perumal at Sıvalperı (Mukkudal) ıs called 'Alagar' ın Mukkudalpallu Natakam and Nınrarulına Karumanıkka Devar ın ınscrıptıons துணடா நாயகா செணடலஙகாரா அழகா முக கூடல ஊரெஙகள ஊரே - முககூடறபளள 19
அடிககுள அடஙகும படிககு முதலவா அழகா முககூடல் வையனுளனே முககூடறபளள 117

26 Tırumal ırunjolaı ıs one of hundred and eıght celebrated shrınes of Vaıshnavısm It ıs 12 mıles to the north of Madura and popularly known as 'Algar Koyıl'

27 Accordıng to Mukkudarpallu Vadamalayappa the founder of the Pıllayan famıly ın Tınnevelly was a resıdent of Mukkudal when he was the agent of the Madura Naıcks சொககிகுற கூட லுக்கு தநதைசகதா ஆணை செலவும செஙகோல வடமலைநதிரன எஙகள் ஊரே - முககூடறபளள 14

28 Tınnevelly Gaz p 486

VIJAYADITYA III, A FAMOUS EASTERN CHALUKYAN KING 844—888 A.D.

BY

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All the available copperplates assign 44 years to Vijayaditya III, son and successor of Kali Vishnuvardhana Working forward from Kubja Vishnuvardhana (ac 615 A D) we arrive at 844 A D for the accession of Vijayaditya III His nephew and successor Chalukya Bhima I ascended the throne in Saka 814 (M E R 1918, 131) But, Dr Fleet adopted 888 A D for his accession, because by calculating backward from Ammaraja II whose coronation took place in 945 A D he found 888 A D as the correct date of the beginning of Bhima's reign Bhima had to clear his way to the throne which might have taken about four years and, so, the actual coronation ceremony was deferred to 892 A D But, his reign was calculated as beginning in 888 A D

The death of Kali Vishnuvardhana perhaps in a battle with the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha resulted in a distracted country and a divided royal family Ayyaparaju (839 of 1922) having predeceased his father there were three sons left—Vijayaditya, Vikramaditya and Yuddhamalla Naturally, the eldest, Vijayaditya ascended the throne after his father and, having no issue, appointed his next brother as Yuvaraja (M E R 1914, 84) This must have enraged Yuddhamalla who sought the help of the foreigner who was only too glad at the renewed prospect of imperial sway over Andhra

In some of the inscriptions of Amoghavarsha, the King of Vengi is spoken of with scant courtesy The reference

must be to Yuddhamalla the pretender who wanted Ratta aid at any cost and not to Vijayaditya too proud to bend to a conqueror, too patriotic to sell away his country for the sake of peace The Sirur grant of Saka 788 has the following —" Having his feet touched by the diadems of hostile kings and being possessed of heroism that is known through out the whole circuit of the earth, Atisayadhavala is worshipped by the lords of Anga, Vanga, Magadha, Malava and Vengi " (I A XII, 219) Worse words are used in his Sanjan plates of Saka 793 (E I XVIII, 254) —" The Gangas, who became disaffected through baseness were bound down with fetters and met with death The lords of mandalas who were friendly, made his camp-ground along with the enclosure, free of dust by wage, but the lord of Vengi and others by unpaid labour "

The Ratta sovereign displayed all his diplomacy in bringing together in a confederacy all the potentates in the Deccan and in isolating Vijayaditya III to whom he threw a challenge (S I I, I, 39) But, Vikramadhavala, Vijayaditya III rose to the height of the occasion, first kept the enemies at bay and in terror, and then plunged in all directions scattering their forces and plundering their wealth, exciting the wonder and respect of Atisayadhavala and his son Akalavarsha

We do not know in what chronological order the momentous events of this reign took place At the beginning of the expedition, the old commander Kadeyaraja (M E R 1923, 97) died and the mantle of chief command fell on the worthy shoulders of his son Pandaranga He led the armies of the King's samantas (M E R 1923, 97) and first reduced the twelve forts of the Boyas or chiefs of Nellore District who rebelled against his master at the instigation of his enemy Then, he stormed and captured the fort of Kathevaram in Tenali taluk After quieting the southern region, Pandaranga conquered Venginadu which had evidently passed under the enemy and reestablished his lord's authority in the home dominion

More important than these was the dissolution of the close alliance among Krishna (called variously as Kannara, Vallabha and Ratta), Sankila, Mangi and the Ganga. Krishna II was the son of Amoghavarsha He and Sankila are said to have been terribly frightened when their city Kiranapura was burnt by Pandaranga (E. I V, 123 , E I XVIII, 229) A suggestion has been made that this Krishna was not the Ratta but the Paramara King of Malwa who was dependent on Amoghavarsha (E I IV, 227) Vijayaditya might have gone from Chakrakuta against Krishnaraja of Malwa and Sankila of Dahala and burnt the city in which they were residing and thus shattered the confederacy to pieces. It all depends on in which part of the reign of Vijayaditya these events happened If they had taken place in the first part when Amoghavarsha was alive, then Krishna might be identified with the Paramar If, otherwise, the reference must be to Vijayaditya's chief foe the Ratta King without whom the whole drama would lose interest

Two views have been put forward about the identity of Sankila that he was a Chedi king and that he was a Vaidumba chief of the Chittoor—Cuddappah region. The weight of arguments tends towards the latter view In the ninth century, there was war between the Chola of Renadu and the Vaidumba of Chittoor for supremacy in which the Eastern Chalukya helped the Chola (M E R 1923, 98) So, the Vaidumba had a grudge against the Chalukya and evinced friendliness to the Ratta who was his support and overlord Sankila is called a friend of Baddega a name borne by the grand father of Arikesari (patron of Pampa) 860 A D and by Amoghavarsha III (M E R 1918, 132) More important than all these arguments is the mention of Sankila with Mangi Nodamba in a grant of Ammaraja II (E I. IX, 50) So Sankila was a Vaidumba chief and his friend Krishna who lived with him in Kiranapura was the Ratta, the bulk of the story taking place after the death of Amoghavarsha (815-877 A D)

Mangi is said to have fomented opposition among the Gangas (M.E.R. 1918, 132). An epigraph of Vijayaditya donates a village to his minister Vinayadisarman for his useful advice which compassed the defeat and death of Mangi in a battle with the Gangas (E. I. V, 123 , I A XIII, 51) A later grant says that Mangi was a Nodamba chief (of Bellary District) a vassal of the Ratta (E. I. IX, 50). A still later inscription picturesquely speaks of the game of ball played by Vijayaditya on the battle-field with the head of Mangi (E I IV, 239). Mangi Nodamba, a neighbour of Sankila Vaidumba must have stirred the southern Gangas Rajamalla and Ereyappa to actively help their Ratta master (I.A XIII, 213, E I V 134 , M E R 1918, 132 , 1911, 65) All these events took place in the south-west frontier of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom

That the Southern Dravidian powers too joined in this war is interesting news to us. Due to marriage alliances, the Ratta and the Pallava drew together, and the Pandya might have become their temporary ally The Pallava was interested in the Nellore frontier and perhaps the Pandya came as an ally of the Pallava Nandi of Tellaru, Nripatunga and Aparajita were the Pallava contemporaries of Vijayaditya Among the Pandyas, Srimara fought with the Vallabha (the usual name for Chalukya) and the Kalingas (another name commonly though not quite correctly applied to the Andhras) S I I. II, 515 , E I. XVIII, 13. On the banks of the Arisil, the Pallava (Nripatunga) and the Pandya burnt a confederacy of foes (M E R 1907, 63) Vijayaditya is said to have taken the gold of the Pandyas and the Pallavas (M E R. 1914, 84 , S I I , I, 39). As the Cholas were just then rising, there is no mention of any encounter with them.

In the North and North-west also, Vijayaditya did not spare his enemies He forcibly appropriated to himself the accumulated wealth of the unequalled Gangas of Kalinga after conquering them, accepted presents of elephants from Kalinga and Kosala, burnt Chakrakuta or Bastar of the Naga king, and, *perhaps,* marched into Central India by de-

featıng Sankila of Chedı and Krishna of Malwa and burning to the ground Kıranapura where they were campıng (M E R. 1914, 84, E.I IV, 239 ; I A XIII, 213 , E.I VII, 26).

Probably, as a crownıng achıevement, the conquerıng hero overran and devastated the Ratta kıngdom and capıtal also. The *dıgvıjaya* descrıbed ın the above pages must have brought Vıjayadıtya III epıc fame That was why he assumed many and expressıve surnames It ıs no wonder then that Amma II recorded that hıs great ancestor was honoured by the Vallabha (E. I VII, 179)

In all these engagements and adventures, Pandaranga the general and *ajnapti* of Vıjayadıtya was by hıs master, and both came out unscathed and wıth renown at the end Most of the wealth that he acquıred from hıs expedıtıons, he dıstrıbuted ın charıty ın hıs kıngdom (M.E R 1914, 84 , J. A H R S V 113).

Such was the generous, good, vıctorıous and famous Emperor, Vıjayadıtya III lord of the Deccan and the three Kalıngas who took the ınsıgnıa of paramount power, the Ganga and the Yamuna from the Ratta and dısplayed them ın all pomp ın hıs standard

In the long strıng of surnames of thıs kıng, *Trıpuramartya mahesvara* stands to denote hıs destructıon of three cıtıes Kıranapura, Achalapura (Kondapalle) and Nellurapura (Nellore) *Gunaka* or *Gunaganka* or *Gunakenalla* refers to hıs good qualıtıes or as some say, to hıs mathematıcal acumen *Ranaranga Sudraka, Vıkramadhavala, Bırudanga Bhıma* and *Parachakra Rama* stand for hıs valour and *Nrıpatımartanda, Arasankakesarı* and *Trıbhuvanankusa* for hıs supreme power Vıjayadıtya III was not the first or the last Eastern Chalukya to bear such hıgh-soundıng tıtles Vıjayadıtya II hıs grandfather bore some grand *bırudas* But in the whole dynasty none could beat the record of the hero of this artıcle in the number, varıety and sonorous nature of hıs tıtles.

THE ORIGIN OF KRISHNĀPURAM

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Krishnāpuram is a small village situated on the Tiruchendūr Road in the Tinnevelly District It is six miles from Pālamkōttāh The temple at Krishnāpuram which abounds in exquisite specimens of art attracts visitors from everywhere It is a deserted village standing in an isolated melancholy waste of red soil Only palmyra trees toss and wave in that barren region It is almost incredible that Krishnappa Naicka should have founded a temple here , but the abandoned wells and the ruins of houses seen in the vicinity bear testimony to the fact that it was once a flourishing and populous town

This paper deals with the origin of this ancient town that occupied an important place in the history of Tinnevelly nearly four hundred years ago The Madurai Puranas attribute its origin to Krishnappa Naickan who was the ruler of Madura between 1563-73 [1] This tradition is confirmed by the copper plates[2] preserved by the trustees of the temple ' By Krishnabhūpathi, of sacred fame was built a temple at Krishnapuram, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of pranava, and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large rangamandapa raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of sprouts (?) He built a car like the Mandara mountain and also broad roads around the temple "[3]

But, Bishop Caldwell, in his history of the Tinnevelly District has recorded the following traditional account regarding the origin of the place " Ariyanāyakamudaliār, having succeeded in quieting the country, the Nāyaka ruler

Kumāra Krishnappa (or Krishna) occupied himself, it is said, in building a town to the east of Pālamkōttah, which he called after himself Krishnapuram This statement, however, is not supported by local evidence. This Krishnāpuram appears to have been built by a mudali called Mayil-ērum-perumāl, who being originally a Saiva became a convert to the worship of Krishna and afterwards a tādar (dāsar) or Vaishnava devotee "[4]

Sri M P S Doraiswamy Mudaliar, in his introduction to the edition of the work Dēyvachchilaiyār Virali vidu dūtu[5] supports the traditional version quoted by Caldwell, and points out from the work he has published that it was one Mayil-ērumperumāl mudaliyār who built the city, constructed the temple and the tower and made a car for the procession of the deity [6]

Before we proceed to examine this contention, it is necessary to know who this Dēyvachilaiār was The author himself gives a genealogical table in his edition The author of the Viralividu-dūtu also states that Deyvachilaiār was the nephew (மருகன) of Ariyanāyakamudaliar,[7] who held office as minister under the Nāyaka rulers Visvanātha, Krishnappa and Vīrappa Nāyaka [8] He came of the Kūvam Mayilērumperumāl family

In support of his contention, Sri Doraiswamy Mudaliar quotes the following from the text

‘ஆதிவடவேஙகடவ ராட்கொணடனுக் கிரிகக
கீதிகொள கிடடு புரததை நிரமிதது—வீதிகணடு
வானமுதற றாவிவரை வாழ வேஙகடமாயர்க
கானதொரு கோயிலமைத தருளி—மேனிமிந்த
சுறறு மதிளுந தொகுதத நிலைக கோபுரமும
மறறுமுளள தெலலாம வகுதத தறபின—கொறறத
திருவளரத் தேருஞ சிறபபுட னுணடாககிப
பெருமையாயக கீரததி முணபு பெறற—முருகுயிரககு
மன்றலநதாக கூவமயிலேறி வமசமென்னுங
குனறுதனிலிடட குலதீபம்’ (28-33)

Here the editor, refers to the term mayılēri to mean Mayılērum-perumāl-mudalıār. Thıs ıs untenable. To get a clear and more correct understandıng of the passage, ıt wıll be better to read a few more lınes precedıng the text quoted above, along wıth ıt

—தீட்டுபுகழக
கசசி விசுவேநதிரன கிட்டிணபபன காலததே
மெசசுமதி மநதிரியாய வீறறிருநது—முச்செகததை
பநநாளிலாணட வரியநயினை பகிபன்
றனைருயிர மருகனருணகி—யிநநிலததில
ஆதிலட வேஙகடவா

It ıs clear that the work ıeferred to was done by the மருகன or nephew of Arıyanāyakamudalıār and that the mayılērı mentıoned ın the last lıne must only refer to the illustrıous famıly to whıch he belonged. 'மயிலேறி வாசபெனனு குனறுதனிலிட்ட குலதீபம்' means the 'shınıng lıght of the mayılērı famıly' One can see that thıs expressıon refers to Deyvachılaıāı and not to Mayılērum-perumāl-mudalıār as has been stated by Srı Doraıswamy Mudalıār ın hıs ıntroductıon It ıs only a note of extravagant praıse sung ın honour of hıs hero by the poet Kumārasvāmı Avadānı.

The expressıon கீாததி முனபுபெறற, ın the thırty-second verse[9] has beguıled the edıtor ınto thınkıng that Mayılērum-perumāl mudalıār was the author of the constructıon It really refers to Deyvachılaıār who was 'already renowned' by hıs achıevements The poet's repetıtıon of Devyvachılaıār's labours ın two dıfferent places, perhaps, ıs also responsıble for the confusıon.

Another story from a palm leaf text quoted[10] by the edıtor also confirms thıs vıew It states " . . அவா மசசினன தெயவசசிலை முதலியாா செயதுஙக நலலூருககு மேறகிலிருககிற கிட்டிணைபுரததில வெகு திரவியஞ சிலவு செயது கிட்டிணன கோயில உணடு பணணியிருக்கிறா " Thus ıt ıs clear that Deyvachılaıār **was responsıble for the construction of the temple.**

Deyvachilaiār was the nephew of Aryanāyāka mudaliyār, who in turn was a minister under Krishnappa Naicker Krishnappa was ruling at Madura and his minister Ariyanāyaka was helping him in the administration This small work of the construction of the temple and the city was perhaps left in the hands of Deyvachilaiār, the nephew of the minister The copper plates as official documents state that the city and temple were built by the king This poem, written with specific purpose eulogising Deyvachilaiār attributes the origin of the city to its hero, who was immediately responsible for the construction Deyvachilaiār was the man on the spot who constructed it under the orders of the king through his uncle Ariyanāyaka And so there is really no inconsistency between the statements of the copper plate grant and Kumārasvāmi Avadāni, the author of the poem

It now remains to examine the hearsay account of Caldwell that the city owed its origin to one Mayilērum-perumāl-mudaliār Here tradition has probably mistaken Deyvachilai Perumāl for Mayilērum-perumāl, since the former belonged to the same family and as the poet remarks he was an illustrious and important member of the family So one who came of the Mayilērum-perumāl family was mistaken for Mayilērum-perumāl himself

Chronology also favours the position that has been taken in this paper Deyvachilaiār flourished in the middle of the 16th century,[11] the period when Krishnappa Naicker also ruled So, it can safely be said that Krishnāpuram owed its origin to Deyvachilaiār, who carried out the orders of Krishnappa Naicker, the ruler of Madura

NOTES

1 Gazetter of the Tinnevelly District, Vol I, p 474

2 These plates are kept in the inner prākāra of the temple and any one can see them They are published in Ep Ind Vol ix

3 Ep Ind Vol ix, p 341

4 Caldwell History of the Tinnevelly District, p 59

5 Dēyvachilaiār Virali vidu ḍūtu edited by Sri S Vaiyapuri Pillai and Sri M P S Duraiswamy Mudaliar and published by Periyan V N Srinivasa Iyengar 1936.
6 Viralividu dūtu intro v
7 *Ibid*, p 3, line 27–28
8 478 of 1916
9 Viralividu-dūtu, page 3
10 *Ibid*, intro vi.
11 Viralividu-dūtu, intro, viii

KERALA CULTURE—ITS DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

BY

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There has lately been a great interest in the study of Indian culture In Southern India, at any rate, this is greatly due to the influence of professors like Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Ayyangar He was one of the first professors to lecture on the cultural history of India as distinct from the history of wars and dynasties Therefore, on this occasion I propose to give some account of the culture of that part of the country which I know best

There is no doubt a fundamental unity in Indian culture But ours is not a unified culture like the German or the French , it is of a composite type and the component parts stand out in bold relief For instance, the culture of Bengal, of Maharāstra, of Andhra, and of Kerala have distinctive features, and these are still persisting, in spite of the centripetal forces that have been operating lately However unified India may become politically in future, the cultural differences between different natural regions will remain Nor is it to be feared that national unification will be imperilled by their existence.

I

Kerala is one of the cultural regions of India The habitat of this culture extends from Kasergod in the north to near Cape Comorin in the south This region is co-extensive with the use of the Malayalam language Politically it comprises the States of Travancore (excepting its southern extremity) and Cochin, and the District of Malabar. The population of this region is about ten millions

A culture is necessarily connected with a people. Ethnically, there are three or four chief strains in Malabar, the Nambudiri Brahman, the Nair, the Thīya or Eazhava and the various classes of aborigines (pulayas, pariahs, etc.). Christians and Musalmans are now numerous, but ethnically they are of one or other of these various strains, excepting small sections that are descendants of Syrian or Arab colonists Of these various ethnical units, the Nairs are the most important and the culture of Malabar is essentially bound up with the Nairs, who are Malayalis par excellence

As Sardar K M Panikkar says, Nairs are not a caste *but a community* *The great bulk of them are now* agriculturists, but there are a few nāduvazhis (chieftaincies) at the top, and at the bottom there are various occupational sub-castes The origin of the Nairs is still shrouded in obscurity, but the probability is that they are the south-Indian branch of the great Nāga race which in pre-Aryan times were spread over many lands and islands in Asia and Australia. Perhaps they are of the original Dravidian stock, one of the early daughters of the large Dravidian family. It is possible that the original habitat of this race was the lost continent between India and Australia, for in the islands of the region, especially Ceylon, there are vestiges of a Nāga culture In particular, there is remarkable resemblance between the Singhalese (the Goygamas) and Malayalis in many respects It is true that the Nambudiri Brahmans, believed to be pure Aryans, subsequently came and greatly influenced Malabar culture, but such influences are mostly in regard to religion and worship, and the peculiar features of Malabar sociology survived the Nambudiri impact Rather the Nambudiris became Malabarized and had to adjust themselves to the peculiar culture of Kerala.

The sociology of Kerala has certain distinctive features One is the non-nucleated character of the village , another is the Marumakkattāyam system of inheritance ; a third is the *kanom* system of land tenure Kerala has had also its feudalism, but it was in many ways different from the

types known in Europe There are also distinctive systems of medicine, astrology and witchcraft Peculiar festivals like Onam and Mamankam, classical plays like Kathakali and Yathrakali, folk dances like Tiruvatirakali and various kinds of martial dances like Patayani Poorakali are also found in Malabar Not the least feature of Malabar life is the intermingling of several external religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—with a Hindu religious system which shows the influence as much of Buddhism and Jainism as of Hinduism

In most parts of the inhabited globe, the rural folk live in concentrated villages, but in Malabar such villages do not exist and people live in scattered homesteads in the midst of their farms and fields Most houses are surrounded by gardens and have their own wells, and nearby are tanks and brooks which contain fresh water in most parts of the year In no part of the world perhaps do rivers contain such crystal water as in the Periyar Pampa, Meenachil and Bharatapuzha rivers This explains the cleanliness which characterises the people of Malabar and also the whiteness of their clothes Few countries in the world can boast of their common people being so clean and neatly dressed Of course, our clothes in the past have been meagre, but like the ancient Greek, the Malayali did not want to hide his spotless skin and well-formed muscles

Life in ancient Malabar had some vague resemblance to life in ancient Greece Like ancient Greece, Malabar was split up into various nads and principalities each with its own popular assemblies but the whole country had a cultural unity and took part in certain national festivals like mamankam Every free Malayali received military training in those days, and took part in the defence of his country The Malabar kalari or military school also reminds one of the Greek gymnasium. The physical training given in both had much in common, in the objective aimed at, in the methods followed, and even in the ceremonies connected with it.

If the Malabar kalari system was unique, even more so was the Malabar system of medicine. The Ashta Vaidyas were the unquestioned leaders of medicine in Malabar and have maintained their preeminence from generation to generation, and I believe they will continue to do so in future They have a remarkable pharmacopeia, because the flora of Malabar is unique Malabar possesses most valuable herbs, and physicians all over India seek them The Dutchman, Van Rheede with the help of an Italian Carmelite missionary, Fr Matheo, and an Eazhava vaidyan, Itty Achyutan of Karappuram, published a book of 12 volumes on Malabar flora in 1680-1700 (Amsterdam) under the title " Hortus Malabaricus." and it is rightly regarded as a pioneer work in Indian botany

Perhaps even more unique is the astrology and witchcraft of Malabar I will leave this subject, however to someone who has more knowledge of and faith in it

The religion of Malabar is also distinctive The Nairs were serpent worshippers and the front tuft of hair worn by Nairs was symbolic of the cobra's hood Every Nair tarwad even to-day has a sarpa kavu (snake shrine) which is kept with great veneration The Bhadrakali cult of Malabar is also unique , for one thing Kali is regarded not as the consort, but as the daughter of Siva Many of the rites of Kali worship are unknown elsewhere in South India and remind one of Bengal Malabar, like Bengal, has specialized in śakti-pūja, and our pūjāris seem to have attained to great heights.

The glory of Kerala was at its height when the Māmānkam ceremony was celebrated every twelve years (Vyāzha Vattam—Jupiter cycle) at Tirunāvayi on the Bhāratapuzha river There assembled all the nobility and scholarship of Kerala It was much fuller than its Kumbakonam counterpart It was somewhat like the Greek Olympic, but much more than that The rulers of Malabar came there in the proudest array and competed for preeminence Poets and scholars took part in literary competitions and the winners

were acclaimed all over the country. It is now long dead, but its memory will ever remain fresh in the minds of all true Keralīyas.

I shall not here deal with the classical dances, as the subject has lately been dealt with fully The Chakyars of Malabar were great exponents of the histrionic art from ancient times, and although Kathakali proper is rather recent, it is only a development of earlier systems of Natya well-known in Malabar The great Malayalam poet, Vallathol, has lately made commendable efforts to revive the histrionic art of Malabar, and he deserves all encouragement

II

Kerala was originally a part of the Tamilakam, and we know that it shared fully in the Tamil culture Some of the greatest Tamil works of antiquity—Silappadikāram, Pattuppāttu Padirrupattu—were mostly written in honour of ancient Chera Kings How did such a country develop this distinctive culture? The answer is to be found partly in the abundance of the S W monsoon and partly in the peculiarities of the land In my opinion, this is due also to the continuous contact which Malabar has had with foreign lands from days of yore This contact was more external than internal, but even the internal contacts of Malabar are important In the first or second century of the Christian era, King Śenguttuvan of Kerala is said to have had a Digvijaya raid which went as far as the Himalayas He is also said to have conquered Bengal This may now be regarded a mere purānic account, but considering the close resemblance between Bengali and Malayalī culture in many respects, I for one am inclined to think that there had been formerly some kind of intimate contact between these two talented peoples That it was not mere friendly contact but somewhat aggressive is also possible One wonders if the present use of the word 'vankan' (Vanga=Bengal) in Malayalam is an indication of this.

More important, of course, was the maritime intercourse with foreign countries. Malabar had always been known to the great trading nations of the West and the East. It had contacts with the Phoenicians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Arabs, Greeks, Romans, and Venicians and there are still vestiges of Malabar's trade with some of these nations The Romans were in constant touch with Malabar, and their ancient coins lie buried in many parts of Kerala These nations were attracted to Malabar chiefly by our pepper and other valuable spices In those days spices were essential for food and medicine Pepper was highly priced by all nations of antiquity and all the pepper available then was in Malabar Hence the fact that Malabar was the part of India best known to the Greeks and Romans In the accounts of India by Pliny, Ptolemy and the anonymous work *Periplus Maris Aerithrae,* Malabar comes in for the greatest attention Cranganore, then called Muziris (Tamil Muśiri, Malayalam Muyirikodu) was the principal Indian harbour to which the foreigners came and the Roman travellers called it the premier port of India, two Roman cohorts were stationed there in the 1st century A.D and there stood also perhaps a temple dedicated to Emperor Augustus

In mediaeval times the Muhammadan Arabs blocked up the direct trade routes to Europe, and monopolised the trade of Malabar, except for a small share which went to Syrian Christians The harbour of Cranganore got silted up during a huge flood in 1341, but at the same time Cochin became a suitable harbour and the trade of Cranganore passed largely to Cochin In 1498, the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama arrived at Calicut. From that time they and the Dutch monopolised the pepper trade of Malabar. Towards the close of the 16th century, the Dutch raised the price of pepper by creating an artifical scarcity This incited English merchants to establish the East India Company in 1600 Thus the pepper of Malabar led to the foundation of the British Empire in India. Pepper was the chief cargo in those days in the ships sailing

from India ; Calico and muslin came next. We at present cannot quite realize why Europeans cared so much for pepper at that time. As there was no fodder for cattle in winter till the late 18th century, cattle was killed in autumn and meat was preserved in pepper. After turnips and other root crops came into vogue, winter fodder became available and the demand for pepper declined. Hence the fall of pepper trade in the 19th century.

These contacts with the West must have led to a mutual exchange of ideas and arts. Malayalis seem to have learned much from the foreigners, besides obtaining their gold in exchange for their valuable goods. The influence on learning was not great, as the foreigners who came were mostly traders, but the influence of the Greeks in astronomy, of the Arabs in navigation and of the Syrians in medicine and mantravadam was perhaps real. The Arabs or Syrians introduced paper and the writing thereon. It is curious to note that one of the noted mantravadis of Malabar was a Syrian priest and his name is mentioned with great veneration in mantravada ceremonies. The Portuguese introduced new modes of living and new furniture. They constructed some large buildings in the coastal regions. They also gave an impetus to economic development by exporting coconut products especially coir, and the coconut yarn industry arose and flourished as a result. The Dutch went further and made a thorough economic survey of the pepper areas. They also introduced new industries. The contribution of the Portuguese and the Dutch to Malabar scholarship was also great. The Portuguese introduced printing in Malabar and one of the first printing presses set up in India was in Vaippin, near Cochin in 1577.

Malabar had also active contacts with Burma, Siam and China in those days. The Chinese sailing vessals frequently plied on the Indian Ocean and Quilon was the entrepot of their trade. According to Marco Polo, (1293) the bulk of Malabar's pepper went to China and only a small portion found its way into Europe. The Chinese were excellent iron-

workers, and Malabar seems to have learnt much from them, not only in regard to iron-working, but also silk-making fishing and other arts. In India's trade with Ceylon, Malaya and Pegu, Malayalis seem to have played an active part, and there is evidence to think that Malayali traders colonized in those lands long ago Some of the Hindu temples found in these places were built by trading colonists from Malabar

The trade with the West was managed mostly by the foreigners, but Malayalis seem to have taken some part Among the Indians, Malayalis were perhaps the first to go to Europe Early in the 16th century, two Nairs went to Portugal and one of them seems to have become famous subsequently Orthodox Hindus, however, were rather averse to going abroad, but Moslem and Christian Malayalis had no such aversion Both these classes had a hand in the trade with Arabia, Africa and the Eastern islands, and even after the firm establishment of Portuguese power in the East, such ventures continued According to Portuguese reports the direct route to India was shown to Gama by a few Malabar Christian traders whom he met on the African coast It is also remarkable that there were at that time in Calicut people who could speak Portuguese with Gama A Christian from Cranganore, called 'Joseph the Indian' by Europeans, travelled in Western Asia in 1490 and later in Europe in 1501, and an account of his travels was published in Italy under the title "Novus Orbis" in 1507 It contains a description of Malabar for European readers In about 1750, Joseph Kariatti of Alengad went to Rome for education and returned with the highest university degrees in theology He was perhaps the first Indian educated in Europe He again went to Rome in 1778 He travelled extensively in Portugal and Italy, and returned after a long and tortuous journey in the Atlantic An account of this in Malayalam, written by his companion Thomas Paremakel, is one of the earliest prose works in the Malayalam language This book contains an account of

countries in Southern Europe just before the French Revolution, and some day this may be raised to the dignity of a source-book for the European history of the period

A valuable result of foreign contact was the introduction of new religions. All the great religions of the world came into Malabar soon after their foundation Buddhism and Jainism found their way to Malabar at an early date and took strong hold of the common people Sankaracharya's teaching caused a serious setback to their progress, and in spite of opposition from orthodox Hindus, they still survive in certain parts The Jews are said to have settled in Malabar as early as the 6th century B C and the descendants of the early colonists are still with us Christianity was introduced here by one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, St Thomas, who is believed to have established seven churches in Malabar—all in important centres at the time It is also believed on good authority that among his converts were persons of the highest position, including the reigning Chera king, Palli Bāna perumāl A small bronze statue of this Perumāl can be seen in the precincts of the Nilamperur temple near Kottayam Curiously enough, round the neck of this statue are a cross and a rudrākshamāla, symbolic of the eclecticism that then prevailed both among Hindus and Christians in Malabar Subsequently, two colonies of Christian traders settled in Malabar, in Cranganore and Quilon and these took an active part in the pepper trade for long Islam also came into Malabar, some say before the death of the Prophet, and it also received adherents from the higher classes Having been planted here so early, these faiths became native to Malabar and their followers became an integral part of the Kerala community Socially they mingled freely with other Malabar brethren and while the high-caste Hindu kept up most fastidious rules about pollution in regard to the depressed classes, the followers of Judaism, Islam and Christianity were treated with great respect, and were granted high social privileges There are also still prevailing certain practices which indicate a

high state of amity between the adherents of the different religions. Even in regard to religious observances, there was co-operation between temples and churches to a remarkable degree in the past.

High praise is due in this connection to the Rulers of Malabar. They have always been models of religious toleration While the Roman emperors and Sassanian kings hunted out Christians from their territories, the enlightened kings of Malabar received them with open arms, built churches for them and conferred on them privileges enjoyed only by the highest in the land It is thus that we see churches and mosques to-day standing on tax-free land by the side of temples and kovilakams In former times, Christians were most numerous in the Cochin territory and they looked up to the King of Cochin as their protector The kings of Cochin have always offered their patronage unstintedly to their Christian subjects and for some time important communications between the Popes of Rome and the Christians of Malabar passed through the king A few of these letters are still preserved in the Vatican archives, and have been published The Christians of Quilon had also cordial relations with the kings of Venad (ancient Travancore) After Maharaja Marthanda Varma's conquests in the 18th century, a numerous Christian population came under the king of Travancore, and he also gave his patronage freely to his loyal Christian subjects The chief protector of Musalmans was the Zamorin, but later on the Kings of Travancore and Cochin also granted their patronage to them

Kerala has changed considerably in recent times Pepper has ceased to be an important article of commerce, and the world trade in this commodity has been captured by Dutch East Indies When the Dutch took pepper saplings from Malabar in the 18th century for being planted in Sumatra, the Zamorin piously hoped that Malabar's supremacy in pepper was invincible. But this has proved a vain hope Today 90% of the world's pepper comes from the Dutch Indies , we hardly export 1 per cent Coconut later

took the place of pepper, but it has also had a decline and its future does not look bright. The depression has hit Malabar severely. With the growth of population and with no large increase in income, the economic position of Malabar has gone down and the standard of living among the common people remains at a rather low level

This is not the place to speak about the economic problem My object here is to appeal for a serious study of the Kerala culture. Our peculiar sociological features are fast disappearing, owing to the impact of external forces, and it is the duty of the present generation to collect and hand over to posterity a true account of it The late Mr K P Padmanabha Menon, H H Rama Varma, Appan Tampuran, Sardar K M Panikkar, T K Krishna Menon and a few others have done valuable pioneering work It now remains for younger men to follow it up One reason for the neglect of Kerala is that it scarcely finds a place in the History courses of our Universities It is true that Kerala did not come very much into the general current of Indian history, but this is all the greater reason for making this a special subject in history, at least in the Honours course I do hope that the new University of Travancore will give this subject the prominence that it deserves

The national unification of India is a desirable goal, but it would be a serious calamity if this involves the demolition of the distinctive cultures nourished for ages in the different natural regions of this sub-continent Indian culture is a Compound of all these cultural elements, and to neglect the component parts would be to neglect the whole. Whatever may be the future of Indian unity, the distinctive culture of Kerala will remain, and the glory that was Kerala will always be enshrined in the hearts of her numerous sons and daughters

SOME VIEWS ON SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

BY

SADASYA TILAKA T K VELU PILLAI, B A , B L.

Trivandrum

I belong to one of the earliest batches of Sri Ranga-swamy Aiyangar's students in Travancore The history chair was then occupied by Mr R S Lepper who was one of the famous trio of teachers of history in South India, the other two being F W Kellet of the Christian College and H J Allen of the Presidency College Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar, formerly Mr Lepper's favourite student, became his assistant and co-adjutor in the Trivandrum College The master and pupil admired each other so ardently that we the students caught the infection and admired and loved both of them The history class was to us all a great fascination It was a circumstance of happy augury that the principal of the College Dr A C Mitchell who persistently discouraged the teaching of Philosophy in the College lent his unstinted support to the history chair which was established at his instance In former days the subject was taught in the Matriculation and F A classes by persons who had no training in History and possessed little precise knowledge of the subject The Peoples' Library in Trivandrum had a rather good collection of books but very few dealing with History, Economics, Politics or Sociology The foundation of the History Chair was received with acclamation There was a feeling among the younger generation that those who chose History and Economics for their optional subjects for the B A Examination, would be in an advantageous position in dealing with political and administrative questions in future years This feeling was set to advantage by the attraction created consciously and unconsciously by the learned Professor and his learned Assistant

It was Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar who taught us Indian History. The lectures were so informing and the delivery so fascinating that we often wished that the bell which tolled the end of the hour should fail to function, and that the hour should be one of a hundred and twenty minutes instead of sixty I still remember the preliminary lectures on historic method and historical criticism which were delivered as a preliminary course to the study of the subject All of us profited very much by the spirit of discovery which was created by Mr Rangaswamy Aiyangar The history of South India was then an unexplored subject The last forty years have shed light on numerous alleys of darkness We have now several books written by industrious scholars on various aspects of South Indian History besides comprehensive accounts of the achievements of particular ruling dynasties, the Cholas, Pandyas, Pallavas and the kings of Vijayanagar But the bearing of the history of Travancore and the West Coast on general history has not hitherto been adequately recognised As a humble pupil of Sri Rangaswamy Aiyangar who has been so fortunate as to be associated with him rather intimately during a long period of time, I am contributing this article to the Commemoration Volume

The credulity of prominent writers appears to have created a kind of general impression that, while the Pandyas and the Cholas conquered kingdoms and built up empires, the Chera kings of Travancore normally confined their attention to the tracts west of the Sahyadri, leading uneventful lives in sequestered repose except on occasions when their territories were overrun or attacked by their more powerful rivals It is also asserted that Travancore was subdued by the Pandyas and Cholas alternately while in later times it was a tributary of Vijayanagar and still late of Madura The stories of these conquests and the accounts of political subordination are nothing more than a convenient historical fiction The facts are essentially different from what they are made out A few instances may be examined in order to show that the prevailing views require revision.

The Madras Museum plates mention that Nedunjadayan, the Pandyan king, unsheathed the victorious weapon in order to destroy the town of Vilinjam which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, whose strong and high walls, which rub against the inner part of the receding sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is as strong as the beautiful Lanka, and whose lofty walls are resplendent with jewels It is also stated that Nedunjadayan destroyed the king of Ven who had a victorious army, and took possession of murderous elephants resembling hills, horses the family treasures and the fertile country, along with his magnificent treasures[1] Venkayya took the view that Vilinjam was a place in Travancore captured by one of the Pandyan kings and suggested that from the manner in which Vilinjam and Ven are mentioned it may be concluded that the former was one of the towns, if not the capital of the latter To a great extent Venkayya was influenced by the words Tennan Vanavan and Sembiyan which occurred in the text of the inscription It was argued that the fact that the Pandyan king assumed the Chera and Chola titles showed that he conquered those kings[2] It was admitted that 'as the history of the Chera was very little known, we have only what has been done for Chola history to fall upon'[3] However the story of the conquest of Venad gained currency by repetition Vilinjam lay within the territory of the Ayvels and not within the limits of the then Venad If so, the conquest of Venad is a boast or perhaps a modern interpretation which is not warranted by the text of the record The success claimed by the Pandyan king might have been gained over Sadyan Karunandan of the Kalukumalai inscription[4] But the conquest, and annexation, at least for a time is still regarded as a true historical fact[5] The Trivandrum Museum plates tell a different story It distinctly states that the Venad king not only defended his country with success, but pursued the invaders beyond the Ghats Nedunjadayan was obliged to strengthen the fort at Karaikottai in order to withstand the aggressive activity of Travancore. His successor

Sri Maran Sri Vallabhan also takes credit for conquering the Keralas (Larger Sinnamanur plates) On this point Mr. Nilakanta Sastri observes "We seem to have no means of elucidating the references to the victory over the Kerala and the fight at Vilinjam, except by supposing that trouble from this quarter seems to have been more or less permanent and that the western country never reconciled itself to the yoke of its Pandya neighbour "[6] The words 're-concile itself to the yoke' implies a former conquest, at all events, some kind of subordination But so long as a former conquest whether by Nedunjadayan or any of his predecessors is not proved the learned professor's observations serve only to perpetuate an erroneous opinion

The alleged victories of the Cholas stand on no better footing It is true that references are found in the Chola inscription of the conquests of certain places such as Kottar, Kanyakumari, Suchindram and Vilinjam All these places were within the territories of the Ay kings on whose overthrow they passed into the possession of the Pandyans On the decline of the latter power the Cholas established their supremacy and exercised their sway in the south as far as Cape Comorin The tracts adjoining the Ghats on the west as far north as Suchindram also passed to them With this historical background various writers have unquestioningly accepted the erroneous interpretation of the elusive phrase Kantalur Salai Kalam arutharuḷiya It has been taken to mean that the Chola king destroyed the ships at the roadstead of Kantalur The destruction of ships at Kantalur Sala is nothing more than a fib as Kantalur even if it is taken to be the old name for Valiyachala in Trivandrum lay three miles in land Trivandrum was known as Syananduram and Ananthasayanam and never as Kantalursalai But other accretions have gathered on this shifty nucleus Malainadu which the Cholas profess to have conquered is explained as meaning Travancore This is due to ignorance of ancient political geography Malainadu is the western hill-country and may be identified with Coorg.[7]

The term is often used to denote the country about Kodungallur.[8] The Silappadikaram states that Kannaki left Madura and proceeded to Malainadu Bhaskara Ravi Varman of Mahodayapattam is described as the ruler of Malainadu. An inscription at Thiruvadandai refers to Valluvanad in Malabar as being in Malainadu[9]

The confusion caused by these erroneous premises was worse confounded by the ambiguous use of the name Cheras, to denote the rulers of Mahodayapuram (Cranganore) The evidence discloses that the only representatives of the original Chera stock were the kings of Venad and Kolathunad , the former in the southern and the latter in the northern extremity of a once extensive empire Thiruvanchikulam and the adjoining tracts were ruled over from time to time by alien dynasties who appear to have come in by right of conquest It is to these foreign dynasties that the status of Sthanu Ravi, Bhaskara Ravi and others who figure in the inscriptions should be traced and not the original Cheras The accepted fact that there is not a single epigraphic record found in any part of Travancore which was the original Venad attributed to any foreign king, Pandya or Chola, proves beyond a doubt that Travancore was always independent of them as they were independent of the kings who reigned at Kodungallur Time and again there were disputes regarding the possession of the tract of country comprised within Nanjanad, In the 12th century A D Vira Kerala Varma, king of Venad, appears to have taken advantage of the unsettled state of Nanjanad and annexed the tract to his dominions Venad retained possession of the territory, for we find that the king's successor Kodai Kerala Varma making gifts of land in the villages of Suchindram, Thenvalanallur and Thekkumputhur to the deity of Suchindram, and assigning to the temple the revenues from certain villages in Nanjanad[10] But there is not a particle of evidence to show that either the Pandyas or the Cholas held any sway in the country north of Nanjanad belonging to the Venad kings

In these circumstances it is strange that the Venad king Vira Kerala is described as a feudatory of the Pandyan king, Maravarman Sri Vallabha Sewell and Nilakanta Sastri who accept this view do so on the authority of Dr Hultzsch and Prof. Rangachari who say that as Ravi Varma was a contemporary of Sri Vallabha the former must have been the latter's feudatory The greatest monarch of the Travancore line in mediaeval times was Ravi Varma, Kulasekhara He was the accredited ruler of the whole of Kerala. Under him Travancore won its proud position as the most powerful military state in South India While still young the king defeated Vikrama the Pandyan prince and won the hand of the reigning Pandyan King's daughter Vikrama Pandya whom Ravi Varma defeated was a capable prince who is said to have carried his arms to the Kakathiya frontier The Lilathilakam ascribes to him military successes over the Muhammadans [11] South India now lay open before Ravi Varma , on the north the struggles between the Hoysala, the Yadus and the Kakathiyas tended to weaken all of them The Cholas had been completely suppressed The fratricidal wars in the Pandya country between Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya, the sons of Mara Varman Kulasekhara, facilitated Muhammadan aggression The invasion of Malik Kafur was in response to an invitation from Sundara The fate of Hinduism was in the balance and there was no ruler in the country on the east of the Ghats to stem the tide of Muslim invasion which threatened to become a permanent domination It was when these momentous changes were taking place that Ravi Varma of Travancore crossed the mountains, defeated Vira Pandya, and pursued him to the frontiers of Konkan. His coronation at Conjeevaram as Emperor of South India (Maharajaparameswara) and the repetition of the ceremony in Srirangam and Thiruvadi attest to his resolution to hold the conquered regions permanently Ravi Varma was the Defender of Hinduism in South India against the Muslims He styled himself Thrikshatra Chudamani, the crest jewel of the three kingdoms, the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya

The Travancore king anticipated the work of Kumara Kampana and Vira Ballala III by several decades. 'The role of champion of Hindu rule in the south' says Dr S *Krishnaswami Aiyangar*, '*fell to the lot of the last great* Ballala, Vira Ballala III, because of the disappearance of Ravi Varma Kulasekhra who struggled hard throughout the last decade of his reign and fell in the efforts in his turn. Notwithstanding his failure, the work that he attempted was carried to a success in the establishment of the Hindu Empire of the south which became known in history as the Empire of Vijayanagar Ravi Varma Kulasekhara's effort may therefore be regarded as the first effort of this struggle which culminated in the successful establishment of the Empire '[12]

Ravi Varma was cut off in the prime of life His death appears to have been sudden But certain scholars take the view that he was driven out of Kanchipuram in 1316 A D by Muppidi Nayaka, the Kakathiya general [13] This is an improvement at least in language on what a Travancore archaeologist was persuaded to state, viz , Ravi Varma seems to have been driven out of Kanchipuram and the surrounding region This version is the result of a wrong date attributed to the king's death (1316 A D) There is incontestable evidence to show that the death took place in 1313 A D We find an epigraphical record of the year 1316-17 which is specially, stated to be the fourth year of Udaya Martanda Varma, the successor of Rami Varma The influence of Travancore beyond the Ghats continued even after the death of Ravi Varma Udayamarthanda Varma maintained his authority in certain parts of Tinnevelly He seems to have defeated Vira Pandya who returned to Madura after the death of Ravi Varma The title Vira Pandya Deva assumed by Udayamarthanda Varma was in all probability in commemoration of his victory over Vira Pandya The kings of Travancore are thus seen to have been interesting themselves in the affairs of the Pandyan kingdom seizing large tracts of country Alfonso de Albuquerque (1503) has

left descriptions of the extent of the territories of Travancore in the east coast as far as Kayal and beyond the sea in the island of Ceylon. The king of Travancore commanded twenty thousand horsemen and numerous corps of archers.[14]

It was this relationship between Travancore and the trans-Sahyadri country which led to a long conflict with Vijayanagar a hundred years later It was therefore in the fitness of things that Travancore resolved to resist the aggression of Vijayanagar towards the south Albuquerque has recorded that in the war which the king of Travancore carried on with the king of Narasingh who had many soldiers both horse and foot, he attacked him with sixty thousand archers and overcame him.[15] The war appears to have been a prolonged one Varthema states that Travancore was a friend of the king of Portugal and was at war with others.[16] The king was held in great respect by the Portuguese and the imperious Albuquerque was himself obliged to advise his officers to beg favours for the Christians from him on behalf of the king of Portugal, though he believed in the argument of powder and shot in the case of other rulers

Despite these well-established facts writers on South Indian History, particularly those who take Vijayanagar as the principal theme speak with easy confidence of the success of Vijayanagar over Travancore The story has been repeated so many times that it is often regarded as a kind of historical creed The fact however was otherwise The burden of proof is no doubt heavy But in the interests of true history that burden has to be discharged In order to clear the ground we have first to shake ourselves free of preconceived notions of the nature of the conquest of South India by the kings of Vijayanagar The major portion of South India welcomed the Badaga armies willingly and cheerfully as the kings of Vijayanagar held themselves out as the Establishers of the Vedas, the champions of Hinduism, its patrons and protectors, at a time when the Muhammadan invasions threatened a peaceful life and liberty of conscience The religious foundations of Sringeri and Ahobilam

helped them with moneys and encouraged them with spiritual blessings. The priests viewed them with favour The renovation of old temples and the foundation of *mutts* was a favourite policy of the rulers and officers of Vijayanagar All castes, all communities found it to their interest and agreeable to their inclination to place themselves under the rising Hindu power The old ruling dynasties which exercised sway in South India in the country between western ghats and the sea had ceased to exercise authority The conquest of the south from the Moghul to Cape Comorin was thus a triumphal procession rather than a sustained military expedition But Travancore was in a different position It did not require the assistance of Vijayanagar either for the preservation of its religion or the maintenance of its security She had no occasion to be afraid of the Muhammadan invasions On the other hand it was to Travancore that the image of the deity of Madura was taken for safety It is in disregard of these proved facts of history that theories of the defeat of the Travancore armies and the acceptance of the Tiruvadi king of the role of a feudatory of Vijayanagar are still adhered to by scholars

The course of the relations between the two states was of a different character It was a fight between two independent powers Udaya Marthanda Varma king of Travancore was a powerful monarch who was able to extend his authority in Tinnevelly and other places from his head-quarters at Kalakkad His territories extended from Quilon to Kayal on the east coast [17] 'About this time' observes the Madras Epigraphist 'a part of the modern district of Tinnevelly was included in Travancore and its king was very powerful and was looked upon as the ruler of Southern India '[18] He was so strong that he assailed Chandrasekhara Pandya the vassal of Vijayanagar and gave asylum to Saluva Vira Narasimha, Krishna Deva Raya's governor in charge of the Thondaimandalam who rebelled against his sovereign Achyuta proceeded to the south with a large army.

The cause usually assigned for the war between Travancore and Vijayanagar is the alleged withholding of tribute which the former had pledged to pay The genesis of the undertaking has not been definitely ascertained and no serious attempt has hitherto been made to examine the question. The publication of Sewell's 'Forgotten Empire' and 'the Sources of Vijayanagar History' by Dr S Krishnaswamy Aiyangar gave uncontested currency to the fable of the victories of Vijayanagar in the south Sewell relied mainly on the accounts left by Nuniz and Paes and the extracts from literary works published by S K Aiyangar under the auspices of the University of Madras provided material for favourite positions The probative value of the several extracts was not critically examined The Achyuta rayabhyudayam of Rajanatha Dindima, the court-poet of Achyuta is often cited as evidence of the supremacy of Vijayanagar over Travancore But the work is nothing more than fulsome flattery Statements deliberately false and exaggerations manifestly gross rob the poem of much of its historical value Rajanatha describes the defeat of Achyuta Devaraya at the hands of Adil Shah of Bijapur into an easy victory and makes the 'defeated' Sultan prostrate himself before the king As a matter of fact the king was a craven and would not fight He was glad to purchase his safety giving Adil Shah ten lakhs of gold pardoes and yielding up the city of Raichur which his predecessor Krishna Deva Raya had taken from the Sultan [19]

The story of Achyuta's successful invasion of Travancore is belied by a variety of circumstances from start to finish According to the poet the cause of the expedition was the withholding of the tribute agreed upon No writer has hitherto endeavoured to investigate the nature of the transactions which led to the alleged undertaking to pay tribute The circumstances under which she was persuaded to own her subordination have not been explained by any writer In the early years of the 16th century Travancore was not only independent of

Vijayanagar but was able to defeat the 'imperial' forces[20] Krishna Devaraya, the greatest of the Vijayanagar kings, reigned between 1509 and 1530 A D But neither epigraphic records nor literary works attribute any definite act of interference by that monarch in Travancore[21] According to Paes the kingdoms which were subordinate to Vijayanagar were five in number, and Nuniz, gives their names, Bengapor, Gasoppa, Bacanar, Calecu and Batecala Travancore Venad or Thiruvadi Rajya does not find a place in the list Along with this may be considered a statement made by the Madras Epigraphist that Achyuta's was apparently the first inroad against the extreme south of India by any king of the second Vijayanagar dynasty[22] Thus the matter stands There is no evidence, epigraphic or literary, which shows that Travancore was ever invaded by Vijayanagar before Krishnadeva Raya That king did not invade the kingdom or receive any promise of tribute The Zamorin of Calicut appears to have been the only Malabar king with whom Vijayanagar had any relation friendly or hostile until the reign of Achyuta Deva Raya Apparently the first attempt at conquering Travancore was made by Achyuta and his general Salaka Timma The Achyutarayabhyudayam makes a definite statement that the king stayed at Sri rangam and left the task of chastising the Thiruvadi to the General Timma Salaka Thimma does not appear to have gained any victory at the battle of Thamraparni whither the Travancore armies proceeded to arrest his progress The result of the battle does not seem to have been favourable to the invaders The fighting was sustained and severe Rajanatha himself states that the result was uncertain for a long time, (*Asthirajayapajayam*) though he claims a victory for his king in the end The poet does not stop there, but makes the king of Travancore taken captive, to prostrate before the general's deputy, then before the general and finally before the king himself in regular gradation The prostration is not more a fact than the alleged prostration of Adil Shah before Achyuta on the banks of the Krishna,

another invention of Rajanatha The poet says that the captive king took his captor in triumph to Ananthasayanam (Trivandrum)—another improbable story There is no record either in cadjan, copper or stone which may be used as evidence of the visit There is no inscription in any part of what is or what was then in Travancore which records the victory of Vijayanagar at the battle of Thamraparni

The inscriptional evidence relied on by writers who establish the alleged victory is of an untrustworthy character. The statements made by *prasasti* writers in Achyuta's employ cannot be taken seriously They were apparently made to order for purposes of glorification Achyuta's inscriptions fall into the same category as the dubious of documents of his generals and dependents Visvanatha Naik for example takes credit for annexing the territories of the king of Travancore as well as those of Vanadaraya the Pandyan king among others Rangachary accepts this story of the success over Travancore but rejects the Naik's claim to the conquest of Vanadaraya[23] The annexation of the Pandyan kingdom is quite improbable, perhaps absolutely impossible , for one of the avowed objects of Achyuta's invasion was to help the Pandya against Travancore and not to subjugate his dependent's kingdom Achyuta married the Pandyan's daughter soon after the battle of Tamraparni Viswanatha's claim to victory is thus nothing more than an empty boast The 'annexation' of Thiruvadirajyam bears the marks of patent mendacity. The inscriptions collide with one another in the statement of facts, and provide no better evidence than Rajanatha's poem The cause of the invasion as described by the poet bears unmistakable marks of improbability The details given by him are extemely suspicious Travancore was never subdued by Vijayanagar either before Krishna Devaraya or after him in the time of Achyuta The Travancore Archaeologist has chosen to rely on the averments made in the Achyutarayavijayam and Mr Rangachary who follows him makes the statement that the Maharaja besides

promising a regular payment of tribute in future, the Travancore king seems to have restored the territory to the Pandyan king which he had unlawfully seized.[24] The literature on the subject does not unravel a single instance in which tribute was actually paid We find every time there was an invasion the non-payment of tribute to Vijayanagar or Madura being made the *casus belli* The account is proved to be wrong by the king of Travancore continuing in possession of tracts of territory in Tinnevelly after the battle of Tamraparni In 1541 A D he not only instituted a santhi in the temple of Pallikkal (Tinnevelly District) but renamed the temple itself after him in commemoration of his authority In 1544 Vijayanagar led an expedition into Travancore

However the lingering shadows of the imaginary version encouraged historians, writers from Travancore among them, to accept that story as correct and to rear new edifices on the old foundations This they do by torturing two inscriptions discovered in Suchindram temple in South Travancore In Suchindram there are two inscriptions which refer to Vittala Maharaja the Vijayanagar General For the proper elucidations of the meaning of these records some of the events which transpired after the battle of Tamraparni require enumeration The Vijayanagar forces entered Travancore through the Aramboly pass under the command of their great general Vithala He had with him several commanders of proved merit, Chinna Thimma the Mahamandaleswara, Krishnappa the brave son of Viswanatha Nayak of Madura and Sadasiva the chief of Keladi Both of them were utterly defeated near Kottar, and driven away from the field Peace was concluded soon after that event But it is sometimes stated even by well-known writers that for over a century and a half Venad was looked upon as a chiefship in direct subordination to the Vijayanagar Empire, and after its downfall to the Nayak kingdom of Madura.[25] It is also said that the subordinate political relations are an established fact [26] According to Rev Heras the Maharaja of Travancore capitulated and promised to pay an annual tri-

bute.[27] The evidence for all this consists of two epigraphic records found at Suchindram The first of them in point of time is the one on the northern wall of the eastern gopuram of the temple of Stanunathaswami. It bears the year 720 M.E. (1543 A D) It records that the Gopuram was constructed by Vithala who is described as *Pandya rajyasthapanacharya* If the Gopuram was intended to commemorate his work or to establish the supremacy of Vijayanagar over Travancore one should naturally find some reference, some allusion to the relative position of the two kingdoms. But there is none, on the contrary the donor is described as *Pandyarajya Sthapanacharya* Nor does the other inscription, that of the king of Travancore which records a grant of lands for offering to Thiruvenkata emperuman for the benefit of Vithala Maharaja on his birthdays, take the case any further It bears the date 26th Alpasi 722 It is also silent on the political relationship between the two kingdoms The theory of Travancore's subordination is belied by another inscription one in the temple of Tirupati [28] It records a grant by the king of Travancore of a village on the banks of the Tamraparni, for the performance of certain ceremonies for the merit of Vithala This goes against the version in the Travancore State Manual[29] that the king of Travancore ceded the Tinnevelly district to Vijayanagar The Tirupati record does not suggest any subordinate position to Travancore Its language is quite consistent with the view that it remained independent Rama Varma, the ruler of Travancore, appears to have made the assignment in recognition of private friendship with Vithala It is significant that there is not the remotest hint to the overlordship of Vijayanagar over Travancore, no hint inconsistent with the theory of complete independence However peace appears to have been maintained for some time But in 1558 Vithala again invaded Travancore and was again defeated It is suggested that Vithala himself lost his life in the fight Thus on both occasions when the Vijayanagar armies under Vithala entered Travancore they were signally defeated Yet we find the defeat of Vijayanagar turned into

a success by interested poets and the Ramarajyam and the Yadavabhyudaya Vyakkhya referring to Vithala in terms of high praise for their achievements.[30] The Nayak of Keladi also comes in for eulogy in the Siva tatva Ratnakara The defeat of Travancore by Vijayanagar and the political subordination of the former to the latter are entirely unfounded.

The echoes of the versions repeated by the historians have however brought in their wake another imposture viz, the suzerainty of Madura over Travancore The supremacy of Vijayanagar and the representative position of the Nayakas as Viceroys of the Empire form the starting points of the new-fangled theory The older writers are silent upon it The authors of the Tinnevelly, Madura and Trichinopoly Manuals make no mention of Thirumala's conquest or any specific undertaking by the king of Travancore to pay tribute Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly and Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore are equally silent Thirumala's suzerainty over Travancore is a recent exhalation, conjured by a cadjan document which a Travancore officer discovered in a private house in Nanjanad [31] The document however does not speak of a battle between the two powers, much less of a defeat for Travancore It merely records the sufferings of the people consequent on the irruption of the Madura forces into Nanjanad Rangachary[32] and Sathyanatha Aiyar accept the factum of Thirumal's victory, but refer to no authority except Nagam Aiya's Travancore State Manual [33] Nagam Aiya's documents do not make even a remote suggestion of a defeat for Travancore On the other hand the *Iravikutti Pillai Pattu,* a popular ballad extant in South Travancore, distinctly states that Iravi Kutty Pillai the Maharaja's minister defeated Ramappayya, Thirumal Nayak's veteran general The non-payment of tribute by Travancore to Madura is again made a cause for the invasion

The first instance of collision between Travancore and Madura is said to have occurred only in the time of Thirumal Nayak That being the case the right to levy a tribute must

have been a delegated right, delegated by the sovereign authority of Vijayanagar We have seen that the obligation of Travancore to pay any tribute is an idle story So the very foundation of the delegation of right to Madura is shifty Agreement through the operation of superior force is out of the question, for as stated already there was no dispute between Travancore and Madura before the time of Thirumal Nayak Nelson observes that Travancore paid the tribute only when compelled, but does not refer to any instance of payment or record any success of Madura over Travancore But we find that on all occasions in which the Badaga forces whether from Vijayanagar or Madura entered Travancore they were signally defeated and driven away The preparedness of the king of Travancore by constantly keeping a garrison of ten thousand Nayars as testified to by Niehoff[34] to secure Kalkulam against the Nayak of Madura also negatives the theory of subordination and the liability to pay any tribute Instead of Travancore lying defeated we find Rama Varma triumphing over the Madura forces It is a proved fact that in 1700 A D (875 M E) an invading force from Madura was overpowered by the Travancore army and cut to pieces [35] The victory of Mangammal's general Narasappayya who proceeded to Travancore to avenge the injury seems to be nothing more than a repetition of the time-honoured mistake No doubt, Nelson states that Narasappayya entered Travancore, subdued it after much hard fighting and returned to Trichinopoly with a very considerable booty consisting of specie, jewels and guns The last were numbered in order, one, two, three and so forth and mounted part on the ramparts of Trichinopoly, part on those of Madura [36] But a careful investigation made by him disclosed that ' no one in Madura appeared to have even heard of them When the fort of Madura was dismantled no such guns were then upon the ramparts ' The fact that Father Martin who was ' doubtless prejudiced in Narasappayya's favour does not make mention of the invasion in his Letters written in 1700 while he records the earlier invasion proves beyond a doubt that the latter invasion which found its easy

way into the pages of Taylor's Oriental manuscripts was re-stated by Nelson and given currency. The actual facts of the relation between Vijayanagar and Madura on the one hand and Travancore on the other can be ascertained after a patient and laborious research

A faulty stand-point has prejudiced a correct apprecia-tion of historical events even in comparatively recent periods On the eve of the advent of the English the Dutch were occupying an important position in South India with a considerable navy and a large number of settlements in the coastal tracts throughout South India where the English had to contend against them first for possession and then for supremacy Ultimately the Dutch were obliged to abandon their projects. In the course of events which led to that consummation the victories of England in Europe have often been over-emphasised But their reverses in India were the result of a forward policy pursued by Travancore against them under the leadership of Maharaja Martanda Varma against which their resources in the Eastern Archi-pelago strengthened by the navies in Ceylon and Cochin were of no avail In 1741 A D, sixteen years before the battle of Plassey, Martanda Varma tore off their diplomacy to shreds and inflicted upon them defeat after defeat in well-fought fields "After four campaigns," says Galletti, "Travancore had become more powerful than he had ever been before, The Dutch were compelled to recognise all his claims and the schemes for large territorial acquisitions on the west coast of India were dropped by the Company"[37] By the treaty concluded in 1753 they bound themselves in future to follow a strict peace policy, to keep clear of all disputes and never again to resort to force except in self-defence The Dutch records show that they were always apprehending danger from Martanda Varma The Wor-shipful Seventeen wrote to their officers in the east warning them against the ambitious designs of Travancore and counselling them to follow carefully the enterprises of

Martanda Varma and be on guard at every turn of events in order to save themselves from the danger [38] "It was this strength," observes Galletti, "which enabled Travancore to resist the formidable armies of Mysore at a time when they were disputing the British supremacy in South India "[39] The third Mysore war was no doubt undertaken by the English to help Travancore against the aggression of Tippu Sultan. But self interest was as important a consideration as the desire to assist a faithful ally in maintaining his dominions intact The deep-laid policy of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan was to seize Travancore in order to enable his armies marching through the west coast to join the Mysore forces in the Coromandal Coast and forming a junction which they hoped would dispel all chances of the English in establishing their power The help tendered by Travancore in the struggle between the English and Tippu was not less than that she received The Travancore soldiers contributed a large share of bravery and military talent in several places beyond their frontiers, such as Dindigal, Coimbatore, Palghat, and Ponnani [40] The idea entertained by some writers that Travancore was helpless against Tippu is opposed to truth As a matter of fact the state availed itself fully of its resources of self-help. "The military forces of the present king of Travancore," says Fra Bartolomeo who knew the country intimately, "consist of 50,000 men disciplined according to the European manner and 100,000 Malabar Nayars and Chagos armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords and battle axes "[41] The Maharaja prepared for a stubborn defence by strengthening the Travancore lines and purchasing Cranganore and Ayacotta notwithstanding Holland, the Governor of Madras. He also deliberately gave his protection to the Sultan's rebellious subjects who sought asylum in Travancore territory, which was nothing short of a marvel of courage when the opponent was the powerful and vindictive Sultan [42] The governor warned him of the danger and told him in a peremptory manner that he should abstain from every act which could raise the jealousy of Tippu Travancore was however steadfast in its purpose "The bravery

of her soldiers was remarkable A handful of Travancoreans were able to throw Tippu's rank into irretrievable confusion The Sultan saved his life by providential escape He fell down twice in the attempt to clamber up, and the lameness which occasionally continued until his death was occasioned by the severe contusions he received in the engagement His palanquin remained in the ditch, the bearers having been trodden to death, his seals, ring and personal ornaments fell as trophies into the hands of the Travancoreans The fortunes of a day which was turned by twenty men cost Tippu's army upwards of two thousand men."

The facts stated above are sufficient to show that Travancore has had a larger share in the history of South India from the earliest times than is generally supposed The history of the Malabar coast, Travancore, Cochin, Calicut and Kolathunad has always been full of stirring incidents which has left their mark on the social and political life of the country A careful study of that history along with that of the country east of the Ghats will open out new vistas in research

NOTES

1 Vol XXII, Indian Antiquary, 1893, pp 73 and 74
2 *Ibid*, p 65
3 *Ibid*, p 60
4 The Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol I, pp 3-5
5 K A Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, pp 64-65
6 K A Nilakanta Sastry, The Pandyan Kingdom, p 69
7 K A Nilakanta Sastri, The Cholas, Vol I, p 203
8 A R 260 of 1094, 313 of 1906, 248 of 1911
9 263 of 1910
10 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol IV, pp 18-21 Vol IV, pp 19 and 20, p 25
11 Silpam VIII
12 New Indian Antiquary, Vol I, No III, p 180
13 K A Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, p 213
14 Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, Vol I, p 11
15 *Ibid*
16 Travels, p 184
17 Barbosa

18. Madras Epi Report, 1900, p 27
19 Nuniz, *vide* Sewell's Forgotten Empire, pp 367-368
20 Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, Vol I, p. 11
21 Madras Epigraphic Report, 1900, p. 28
22 *Ibid*
23 Indian Antiquary, 1914, p 218
24 *Ibid*, 217
25 Travancore and Vijayanagar, Christian College Magazine, 1904
26 History of Kerala, K P P Menon, Vol II, p 17
27 Aravidu Dynasty, Vol I, p 150
28 Tirupathi Devasthanam Inscription, Vol V No 158
29 First edition, Travancore State Manual, Vol I, p 299
30 Sources, p 16, 210
31 Travancore State Manual, Nagam Aiya, Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol I
32 Indian Antiquary, 1916, Vol XLV, p 163
33 History of the Nayaks of Madura, p 120
34 Churchill's collection of Voyages and Travels
35 Statements are found in several books that enraged by this incident Queen Mangammal sent her confidante and minister Narasappayya to punish the King of Travancore and that the former after a hard struggle came out victorious and dictated his own terms (Sathyanatha Aiyar's History of Nayaks of Madura, p 209) The authority cited is only Taylor who makes a reference to an obscure chronicle Nelson also refers to Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts as his authority for Narasappayya's success
36 Madura Manual, Part III, p 226
37 Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, p 24
38 Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, p 108
39. Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, p 24
40 Wilson's History of the Madras Army
41 Bartolomeo's Voyages to the East Indies, p 173
42 Wilks' India, Vol III, p 45

MUHAMMAD SHAH LASHKARY'S EXPEDITION AGAINST KANCHI

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One of the most interesting episodes in the history of the later Bahmani Sultanate is the expedition which Muhammad Shah, surnamed Lashkary, led against the city of Kāñchī. Though the main events of this expedition are clearly set down in the Muslim chronicles, a few points mentioned in them, which are obscure, demand further elucidation.

The causes of this expedition are quite clear, although the two Deccani historians, Sayyid 'Ali and Ferishtah do not agree with each other in explaining the circumstances in which Muhammad led his forces against Kāñchī. According to the former, Muhammad is stated to have organized the expedition for (1) 'the eradication of the worshippers of *Lāt* and *Manāt* and the destruction of the infidels', and (2) chastising 'the infidel (Sāluva) Narasimha', 'the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingānā and Vijayanagara,' who showed 'delay and remissness in proving his sincerity towards the royal court by sending presents and *n'albaha*'[1] It is extremely doubtful whether Muhammad Shah's expedition was actuated merely by a spirit of aggression. The latter, on the contrary, attributes it to Muhammad Shah's desire to punish Sāluva Narasimha for fomenting rebellion on the frontiers of the Bahmani kingdom. 'He had', says Ferishtah, 'frequently excited the zamindars on the Bahmany frontier to rebel, and the officers on the frontier, unable to control his power, had more than once

represented his conduct to court, which had at length induced the king to attack him '[2]

The activities of Sāluva Narasimha on the Bahmany frontier are alluded to in the *Tarīkh-ī-Ferishtah* as well as the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* He captured, about 1476 A D. the country along the east coast as far as Masulipatam, and having invaded the deltaic region between the mouths of the Godāvarī and the Krishnā, he penetrated as far as Rajahmundry in the neighbourhood of which he lay encamped at the time of Muhammad Shah's advance upon the city. Moreover, he took under his protection the rebellious people of Kondavīdu who rose against the Sultan in 1480 A D and withdrew from their allegiance to him [3] It would appear that the territory which was thus seized by him did not really belong to the Sultan For, on the fall of the Reddis of Kondavīdu about 1425 A D, it was conquered by the Rāya of Vijayanagara in whose possession it remained until 1450 A D at which date, taking advantage of the paralysis which seized the central government at Vijayanagara, subsequent to the death of Devarāya II, the Gajapati king Kapileśvara subjugated it and kept it under his control until the time of his death in 1470 A D After the death of Kapileśvara, the succession to his throne was disputed, and his two sons Hamvīra and Purusottama fought with each other to take possession of the kingdom The former who suffered defeat sought to better his fortunes by soliciting Muhammad Shah's help, and offered to him as its price all the territory extending perhaps as far as the Godāvarī

Sāluva Narasimha, who was determined to expel the Uriyas from the south-eastern Telugu country and resuscitate the Karnāta empire, naturally, took advantage of the civil war in the Gajapati dominions and took possession of the east coast as far as Masulipatam, and made an attempt, as noticed already, to seize also the Krishnā-Godāvarī region As Sāluva Narasimha wrested from the Uriyas the bulk of the territory which, by virtue of his agreement with Hamvira ought to have passed into his hands, Muhammad Shah

resolved to reconquer it. The rebellion at Kondavīdu inflamed the Sultan's anger further, and offered him a good occasion which served as pretext also to lead an expedition against Sāluva Narasimha's dominions

The events connected with the expedition are clearly described by Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad Shah who was sojourning in his capital proceeded, according to him, to Kondavīdu, as soon as the intelligence of the outbreak of the rebellion reached him,[4] but according to Ferishtah, the Sultan who was campaigning in the neighbourhood of Rajahmundry set out towards the territory of Narasimha with the object of reducing it to subjection[5] He reached Kondapalli where he was informed by the people that at a distance of ten days' journey from the fort there was in the famous city of Kāñchī a rich temple Muhammad Shah set out with an army of 6000 horse to plunder the temple Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad gives a slightly different account He declares that Muhammad Shah returned to his capital after the capture of Rajahmundry and the completion of his war against the Ray of Udīsa, and that while he was staying in the capital, information reached him that the king of Udīsa invaded the territory recently conquered by him in Telingānā and recaptured the fort of Rajahmundry Muhammad Shah set out immediately from the capital at the head of an army, and reached Telingānā by successive marches He invested the fort of Golkonda, and having reduced the commandant to sore straits captured the fort Then he proceeded towards the sea and seized some ports of Narasimha Rāya While he was preparing to return to the capital he was told that there was in the country of Tilang a wealthy city called Kāñchī with a big temple at a distance of ten days' journey from Nēlwāra (Nellore) Muhammad Shah on hearing this information, marched towards Kāñchī with the object of plundering its temple[6]

There is thus considerable uncertainty about the place from which the expedition had actually started for Kāñchī It may, however, be tentatively accepted that Muhammad

Shah set out on this expedition, as stated by Sayyid 'Ali, from Kondavīdu The route followed by the Muslim army is not definitely known as the identity of Malūr, a fort of *some importance which is said to have been situated on the* way is involved in doubt The Sultan, it is said, marched at the head of an army from Kondavīdu, "and advanced about forty *farsangs* into the country of Narasimha, and on arriving within sight of the fortress of Malūr—which was the greatest of the forts of the country—encamped there" "The Sultan was informed that at a distance of fifty *farsakhs* from his camp was a city called Ganji (Kāñchīpura or Kāñchī)"[7] Malūr where the Sultan encamped was at a distance of forty farsangs (120 miles) from Kondavīdu and about fifty farsakhs (150 miles) from Kāñchī It has been suggested by King, the translator of *Burhān-i-Ma'asīr*, that Malūr is identical with the town of that name, very probably that which is situated in the Kolar District of the Mysore State Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar who has accepted this identification draws from it the inference that it was the weakness of the central government at Vijayanagara which enabled the Muhammadan army, who found the route along the east coast barred by Sāluva Narasimha, to break in through the middle of the Vijayanagara frontier "The successful occupation of Mālūr," says he, "and the raid upon Kāñchī indicate clearly the incapacity that had taken hold of the headquarters administration at Vijayanagara on the one hand, and the success with which Narasimha held his ground in the east on the other"[8] It is doubtful whether the identification suggested by King can be accepted as accurate, for it does not satisfy the requirements of distance given in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asīr* Malūr is said to have been situated, as noticed already, at a distance of 40 farsangs or 136 miles from Kondavīdu, and 50 farsangs of 170 miles from Kāñchī. The actual distance which separates Mālūr in the Kolar District from these two places is however about 270 and 120 miles respectively Moreover, the *Burhān-i-Ma'asīr* makes it quite clear that Muhammad Shah passed through Sāluva Narasimha's dominions which

were confined to the east coast, and Mālūr in the Kolar district which, according to Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar, was included in the territory under the control of the central government, could not have been the fort referred to in this connection Therefore, Malūr where the Sultan halted on his way to Kāñchī must be looked for somewhere on the east coast itself A casual statement of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, embodied in his description of this campaign, offers a clue which may lead to the identification of this fort more exactly He mentions a place called Nēlwāra which stood, at a distance of ten days' journey from Kāñchī, upon Muhammad Shah's route[9] As Muhammad Shah was proceeding to Kāñchī from Kondavīdu, Nēlwāra must have been situated somewhere to the north of Kāñchī at a distance of ten days' journey from that city The only place which answers to this description is Nellore, an important town with an old fort included in the province of Udayagiri, which Sāluva Narasimha wrested from the Uriyas during the last years of the reign of Kapileśvara Gajapati It is interesting to note that Nellore which almost stands midway between Kondavīdu and Kāñchī satisfies the requirements of distance mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* much better than Mālūr of the Kolar District, for Nellore is situated at a distance, as the crow flies, of 120 miles from Kondavīdu and 110 miles from Kāñchī respectively Though it is tempting to identify Malūr with Nellore, the available evidence does not clearly establish the point. Nevertheless, it definitely indicates that Mahammad Shah marched to Kāñchī along the east coast by the shortest route Judging from expeditious manner in which, according to Ferishtah, he accomplished the march from Kondapalli to Kāñchī, it is not likely that Muhammad Shah would have wasted valuable time by following a circuitous road The success of his enterprise depended upon the rapidity of his movements, he planned to plunder a rich city in the heart of his enemy's territory; Sāluva Narasimha, notwithstanding Sayyid 'Ali's exaggerated accounts of the power and prowess of the Sultan, was no mean enemy, and he would not have easily allowed the

Mussalmans to reach their destination without stern opposition The object of the Sultan, therefore, was to strike a blow at Kāñchī before the enemy could be aware of his presence there, and return to his headquarters laden with booty as rapidly as he had advanced therefrom

A few details are recorded about the incidents of this expedition Sayyid ' Ali states that Sāluva Narasimha, who became uneasy at the approach of the Muslim army, submitted, on receiving a threatening letter from the Sultan and sent as a mark of his loyalty valuable presents to the court [10] This is highly improbable , for, in the first place, Sāluva *Narasimha's submission to the Sultan is not mentioned by* Ferishtah Secondly, the Sultan's advance upon Kāñchī, the spoilation of the city, and the desecration of the Hindu temples clearly show that Sāluva Narasimha to whom Kāñchī belonged did not submit to him and send presents to appease his anger Had Sāluva Narasimha offered submission, as stated by Sayyid ' Ali, the Sultan would not have proceeded from Malūr against Kāñchī and plundered it In the city itself, Muhammad Shah met with little resistance The people were completely taken by surprise and a few who attempted hurriedly to organize the defence of the temple were cut down without difficulty, by the Muslim cavaliers who thereupon plundered the temples and looted the city , and after a brief stay during which they accomplished their purpose, they returned homewards laden with booty

Muhammad Shah was not, however, destined to reach his territory without disaster He was surprised by Sāluva Narasimha as he was returning to Kondavīdu, and was compelled to relinquish the booty which he was carrying away from Kāñchī It is said in the Telugu *Varāhapurānam* which was probably composed before Sāluva Narasimha seized the throne of Vijayanagara that Īśvara Nāyaka, the commander-in-chief of his army, set out, at his command with a large force, and having fallen upon the Muslim cavalry of Bedadakota (Bidar) at Kandukūr cut them to pieces in a fierce battle and plundered their camp [11] This is corrobo-

rated by the evidence of the *Pārijātāpaharanam,* a poem dedicated to the emperor Krishnadevarāya about 1515 A D , which also alludes to this incident [12] Kandukūr where Īśvara slaughtered the Muslim cavalry is situated in the north of the Nellore district at a distance of fifteen miles from the sea It was included in the kingdom of Kalinga until 1470 A D when, on the death of the Gajapati Kapileśvara, it passed into the hands of Saluva Narasimha Īśvara, therefore, could not have come into conflict with the Musalmans of Beḍadakota at Kandukūr before that date The Bahmany kingdom fell into disorder on the death of Muhammad Shah in 1482 A D , and his son and successor Mahmūd Shah was a weak king, and could not maintain his authority over Telingānā and the east coast which his father had taken so much trouble to conquer Purusottama Gajapati, the successor of Kapileśvara, soon expelled the Mussalmans from the east coast and re-established the Hindu supremacy before 1488 A D [13] He also defeated Sāluva Narasimha at the same time and wrested from him Udayagiri and its dependent territory It would not have been possible for Īśvara Nāyaka to have engaged the Bedadakōta forces at Kandukūr subsequent to 1488 A D , as the town had been reconquered by Purushottama Gajapati by that time The only occasion when the Bedadakota forces penetrated to this part of the country between 1470 A D and 1488 A D was at the time of Muhammad Shah's expedition against Kāñchī in 1481 A D Therefore Īśvara Nāyaka must have accomplished the destruction of the Bedadakōṭa cavalry while Muhammad Shah was returning from Kāñchī laden with booty Though Muhammad Shah succeeded in sacking Kāñchī, he gained nothing therefrom He suffered defeat at the end and was compelled to surrender the booty Muhammad Shah's glorious expedition to Kāñchī thus ended in a great disaster

NOTES

1 *Burhān-i-Ma'asir, I A* , xxviii, p 289

2 Briggs, Ferishtah, ii, p 499

3. Briggs, Ferishtah, ii, p 499, *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* (I A, xxviii, pp 288, 289)

4 *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, I.A., xxviii, p 289

5 Briggs, Ferishtah, II, pp 499-50

6 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, p 50 (*Bib Ind* No 223)

7 *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* (I A, xxviii, pp 289, 290)

8 A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History, p 39

9 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, III, p 50

10 *Burhān-i-Ma'aṣir* (I A, xxviii, p 290)

11 Sources of Vijayanagara History, p 89

12 *Ibid*, p 106

13 The Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, p 597

SECTION III

LANGUAGE, LEARNING AND LITERATURE

MODERNISING THE TAMIL ALPHABET

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I. *The Phonetic Range of Tamil*

Whether the Tamil language has been fortunate in its alphabet is a question to which no answer has yet been given on a consideration of all relevant factors The point was recently examined by one whose flaire for scholarship has been obscured only by his genius for politics[*] and he came to the conclusion that ' the present Tamil alphabet is enough and just enough for its own purposes ' and that 'enough permutations and combinations are possible with the letters which Tamil started with to make up all thought and help all progress '

The line of reasoning relied on for this conclusion is easily stated The Tamil alphabet is not perfect in the sense that each letter in it represents only one sound and that every one of the sounds of the Tamil language has a corresponding letter But the phonetic scheme of the Tamil language is limited in range, and, so, a short alphabet serves its purpose very well The alphabet is, however, shorter even than is required to meet the needs of the language,—limited as those needs are None the less, it proves itself adequate to the language, for, many of the letters of the alphabet have a *penchant* for versatility and neatly play more than one role The phonetics and the graphics of the language agree through the unwillingness of the language,

* Mr C Rajagopalachariar erstwhile Prime Minister of the Government of the Province of Madras See his articles ' The Tamil Alphabhet ', in the *Hindu* (Madras) of July 19, 1936, and ' The Tamil Lexicon ' in the *Hindu*, of August 9, 1936

on the one hand, to tolerate more than a limited number of sounds, and through the readiness of the letters of the alphabet, on the other hand, to assume more than one character with ease and fill more than one post with competence. These variations abide by certain rules, and those rules, if borne in mind, ensure correct pronunciation,—especially as the rules are neither many nor complicated Combating the view that an appreciable percentage of foreign words having found a place in the language the alphabet has become inadequate to reproducing faithfully the sounds of the language, it is pointed out that foreign words have not been allowed entry without being subjected to phonetic changes which have made them conform to the phonetic pattern of the language, it being difficult for any language to tolerate sounds and sound-combinations that are not native It is contended that the foreign words which pass current in the language are not foreign except in the sense that they are such in origin and that they have become quite native in respect of phonetic structure The alphabet is not defective except that it does not fully cover loan words which ' float loosely ' in the language, ' not fully absorbed ' But to censure the alphabet on this ground would, it is aptly commented, be ' like finding *fault with a coat because it* does not suit the second hand purchaser '

If, however, it could be shown that the language has a more varied range of sounds than is usually admitted, it would follow that the assurance that the alphabet is adequate to the language is ill-founded The attempt is worth the making as it may have the effect of bringing the Tamil public to a realisation of the extent to which the phonetics of Tamil deviates from the standard that is popularly accepted and agrees with that of the other languages in the midst of which it functions

The Sanskrit name *Arjuna* has been suggested as an apt illustration of the mode in which Tamil assimilates foreign words. The form *Aruchchunan* is claimed to be 'the true Tamil form, which alone will be found in the speech of the

people.' It should follow that the unlettered Tamilian cannot pronounce a soft consonant like *j* when it is not preceded by a nasal, and that he does not manage combinations like *rj* and *rch* without interpolating an *u*. One must beg leave to differ. While it may readily be conceded that *Aruchchunan* is the form in which the word is current in literary works, it cannot be gainsaid that it is difficult to come across an average Tamilian who pronounces the word in accordance with that spelling: the common pronunciations are *Arjunan* and *Archunan*. For our present purpose it should be enough, however, if it is admitted that the latter pronunciations are not unknown: for, the admission amounts to a recognition of the fact that the genius of the language works in ways not cognized by the arbiters of grammatical forms. No better word could have been chosen by way of illustration: it is one of the Sanskrit names that have gone straight down to the unlettered Tamil masses without filtering through the classes that have come within the pale of Sanskrit influence, for among the latter the name is unknown. Other words too are not wanting to give support to the contentions advanced here.

Literary usage in Tamil gives the Sanskrit name Draupadi (of the Pancha-Pandava cult) the forms *Turaupadi* and *Tiraupadi*,—whereas the commonalty pronounce it sometimes as *Duropadi*, but often as *Dropadi* and *Drovadi*, making it clear that their tongues have no difficulty in managing an initial *d* nor even in tripping the conjunct-consonant *dr*.

The layman modifies *Lakshmi* variously into *Lachmi*, *Lacchumi*, *Echchu* and *Echchi*, its literary form *Ilakkumi* is totally unknown to him and sounds monstrous in his ears.

Even words native to Tamil exhibit features of pronunciation that are not recognized by the grammars. The words கிலி, கெட்டி, திகில், appear to be native to Tamil though, according to rule, they should be pronounced with the initial consonant hard, yet in many parts of the Tamil country the initial sounds in these words are pronounced soft. Of

the many words which, though assimilated into Tamil, are yet pronounced with a soft consonant initially all over the Tamil land a few examples alone need be given: ஜோடு, டபபி, டமாரம, போல

A hard consonant coming after a nasal is not believed to be on its best behaviour if it does not modestly grow soft அணைத, கொம்டி, சமடி, மமடி, show that in Tamil hard consonants are often unrepentant of their hardness, even under the blandishments of nasals Conjunct consonants such as are all too common in Sanskrit are believed to be unpronounceable by the Tamilian, but forms like க்யாழம, கபதி, படணம, பொடலம, கமபளி, எாகனவே, ஓாதகி, வணாடுகக, சமஞைசசம், show that he does not strain to achieve such phonetic victories The strain occurs only when he has to adopt the corresponding literary forms

Indeed, the 'true' Tamilian exults so much in the mastery he has over his vocal organs and the ease with which he could interpolate consonants that he speaks of *deham* (body) as *dreham*

Attention may be drawn to a group of words the pronunciation of which is very interesting கதை, பதகிரம், பலம, தானம. Each of these has two meanings The graphic form does not vary, though the pronunciation does The first is pronounced *kadai* when it means a 'story' and *gadai* when it means a 'club', the second is *pattiram* when it signifies a 'document,' but turns into *baddiram* when it signifies 'safety' the third, which is *palam* when it means a weight becomes *balam* when it signifies strength the fourth is *dānam*, when a 'gift,' and *tānam,* when a 'place' The meanings of such words are easily determined when the words are spoken, but cannot be discovered when they are written down except in the light of the context

The words that the Tamilian does not seem to be at home with are those which incorporate the aspirated consonants, whether hard or soft, that are common in the Sanskritic languages.

II. The Domestication of Foreign Sounds

Tamil has been in contact with strange languages and has adopted many words from them: it is now in living touch with a language from which it is taking over an increasingly large number of words.

But once the foreign words find entry into the language they are forced by the practical man to adapt themselves to the new habitat He refuses to adopt new modes of pronunciation, he compels the in-coming words to fit themselves into the phonetic framework of his mother-tongue

To a resolute exclusion of foreign words is due in some measure at least, the remarkable literary excellence of the *Kural,* in which the language achieved severity, strength and grace But even that work contains many stanzas in which the foreign element is prominent For instance, in

வஞ்சமனத்தான் படிற்றொழுக்கம் பூதங்கள்
ஐந்தும் அகத்தே நகும்

the foreign words are four out of a total of eight Where the author of the *Kural* has failed, other writers, however great, are scarcely likely to succeed

The language has started expanding Within the past two decades, various new classes of foreign words have found easy entry into it The extensive use of automobiles, the unexpectedly wide distribution of electrical power, the popularising of a system of medical education synthesizing the accidental and the oriental schools, the rise of an industry producing and utilising talking pictures, the craze for news of happenings on the turf, the track and the sward, the growth of intensive political activity reaching down to the masses and knitting together all regions of the land, the introduction of political and administrative changes which deeply affect all classes of society and the phenomenal growth of a news-paper press which reports daily the doings of all the world and discusses their repercussions on the Tamilian's immediate concerns,—all these and numerous

other circumstances have caused avalanche on avalanche of foreign words to descend on the language.

If it is difficult to prevent the language from running into debt, it is even more difficult to raise the indebtedness Languages resemble states not only in that they are both unable to run without debts, but also in that the liabilities of languages, like the debts that are styled public, are rarely dischargeable Re-payment in both cases is impossible The load of debt can only be lightened by schemes of 'conversion,'—by the frequent writing down of the face-value in the case of public bonds, and in the case of foreign words, by interlineating them in the lexicons of the language

III The Divergence between Phonetics and Graphics

The history of the Tamil alphabet is itself an illuminating commentary on the need that Tamil has of a satisfactory alphabetic system The alphabet now in use, which we may call 'Tamil-eluttu,' is derivable from an ancient, alphabet the Brahmi, used for Indian languages in the centuries just before and after the beginning of the Christian era Another alphabet, the 'Vatt-eluttu,' was also in use in the southern and the south-western regions of the Tamil land till about the 17th century A D, it seems even to have survived in a few localities till a few decades back Vatt-eluttu and Tamil-eluttu resemble each other in that their phonetic schemes are identical and both are derived from Brahmi, but the two differ in that while Tamil-eluttu was a system of monumental writing, Vatt-eluttu was cursive in character A third alphabet, the Grantha, is found associated with these two alphabets Sanskrit words occurring in records in the Tamil language from about the 7th century A D are found written in Grantha characters, whether the main body of the record be in Vatt-eluttu or in Tamil-eluttu Grantha too is derived from Brahmi and it is closer to Tamil-eluttu than to Vatt-eluttu, being also monumental in its shapes. But, in Tamil, no unit of Sanskrit shorter than a word or a word-compound or a phrase was written in Grantha. Se-

condly, Grantha was not used in writing a Tamil word, whether in full or in part, even though it contained sounds that could only be represented accurately by a Grantha letter In effect, Grantha was restricted, in Tamil records, to the representation of the Sanskrit words that occurred in them

The failure of the three alphabets, which, descending from a common parent, grew up in close contact, to influence one another is a puzzle incapable of explanation on grounds other than historical

A few inscriptions in the Tinnevelly and Madura areas and the Pudukkotta state are in the Brahmi alphabet,—the parent of most Indian scripts,—the phonetic scheme of which is identical with that of Nagari The inscriptions are attributable to about the 3rd century before Christ, and they appear to represent the earliest attempts to invest the Tamil language with an alphabet Their alphabetic scheme is interesting its back bone is the group of the hard consonants of Brahmi the group of soft consonant is excluded in its entirety characters for the sounds ழ, ற, and ன, peculiar to Tamil have been formed by adaptation of Brahmi letters characters for s and for the 'aspirates' of at least two consonants, one hard and one soft, are found, but only in words of Sanskritic origin

Tamil spelling must have become standardized shortly after the borrowing of the letters of the Brahmi alphabet, and when the standardization was effected the conservatism innate in man must have told in favour of the retention of that spelling But conservatism cannot prevent the decay of pronunciation The language should have changed in pronunciation since the spelling was fixed about the 3rd century B C , an important change being the softening of hard consonants when they occupied certain positions Thus, pronunciation changed gradually, but orthography remained almost steady Indeed the orthography could not be altered as and when phonetic changes occured unless new letters

for the softs were either ınvented or were borrowed from allied alphabets The language had got caught ın the rıgıd meshes of an alphabet to whıch no one attempted to ımpart elastıcıty

Thıs hypothesıs seems to have the element of probabılıty ın ıt as ıt has the merıt of explaınıng two sets of facts the delıberate exclusion cf the Brahmı characters for the softs when the alphabet was beıng constıtuted and the patent dıvergence between orthography and pronuncıatıon at the present day The probabılıtıes are even greater than appear at first sıght the *Tolkappıyam,* probably the oldest survıvıng Tamıl grammar, does not recognıse the exıstence of the softs

Some sıx centurıés pass by and we come across the first known record ın whıch a passage ın the Tamıl language ıs wrıtten ın the Tamıl alphabet, ıs an ınscııptıon found at Tıru-Nadar-Kunru near Gıngee and datable as probably belongıng to the 3rd or the 4th century A D (Fıg 1) Four features are worth notıng The letters த and ந remaın close ın form to theır Brahmı progenıtors Consonantal combınatıons lıke த்தே and ந்தே are not telescoped as ın Nagarı or Grantha the letters remaın dıstınct The vowel marks ın characters lıke தே and நோ are ıntegrally affixed to the maın characters the anımatıon by *o* ıs effected by one symbol, and not, as now by two symbols. The vowel mark of ணை precedes thė consonantal characteı, ın stead of followıng ıt Judged by modern consıderatıons, the second of these features ıs an ımprovement and the fouıth ıs a retrogressıon.

Practıcally the next record ın Tamıl that we know of ıs an ınscrıptıon at Vallam, near Chıngleput, from whıch a portıon mentıonıng the great Mahendravarman I (600-625 A D) to whose reıgn the record belongs, ıs gıven below (Fıg 2). Characters lıke வெ, பொ and யா show that vowel marks are rapıdly separatıng themselves from the consonants and takıng ındependent shapes But ın வெ and ணா the

vowel mark precedes the consonant, and in பொ the vowel-mark becomes split up into two fragments, one of which precedes and the other follows the consonant Further the position of the vowel-marks is not constant in யெ the mark precedes ; in ரு and யா it follows , in பொ it precedes and succeeds, and in தி, ணா and ழு it continues annexed to the consonant. Here is apparently a deterioration from the alphabet of the Tiru-Nadar-Kunru inscription

Among the few records in Tamil that belong to the next half a century is an inscription at Tiruk-Kalu-Kunram belonging to the reign of Narasimhavarman I (625-649) A D The portion of the record mentioning the king is given below (Fig 3) This record exhibits a few special features The line at the top is neither straight nor unbroken, as would have been the case if it had been used merely to separate the lines of writing At many points the top line breaks just where in Nagari writing the top-stroke of a letter ends and that of the next begins , this suggests that the top-stroke was drawn as each letter was written The *i* sign is invariably above the line Some characters, like ட, த and க which need not meet the line in any case do meet it The letter ண is connected with the top line by a stroke which seems to have been deliberately incised and with the succeeding letter ர by a curve which suggests that the two make a compound letter It is possible that this record is an imitation of some north Indian script in which the top line is an important feature, but it is equally possible that it is the solitary survival of a Tamil script that had to some extent conformed to the evolution of those northern alphabets This latter possibility would explain certain phenomena in the growth of systems of writing in south India which now remain puzzles Otherwise, the inscription shows practically the same characteristics as we found in the previous one

A few inscriptions at Sendalai near Tanjore belong to about the eighth century The sketches that follow illustrate the characteristics of those records (Figs 4, 5) The

vowel marks in பெ, ரை, கொ and மொ have drifted away completely from the consonants. If the marks in பா, ணெ, and லை just touch the consonants, it is because the scribe wrote them so out of a sense of the artistic, just as he separated the vowel marks in டு, ரி and யி from the respective consonants The modes in which vowel marks are used in 'animating' consonants vary in respect of even the same vowel instances can be found in the Table under long *a* and under *u*, both short and long These variations have added to the complexity of the alphabet This record exhibits almost all the evil features of the modern Tamil alphabet and we need not therefore trace the evolution of the alphabet further

We have seen how the alphabet started with a short alphabet and how its opportunities for enlarging itself were plenty and how conservatism alone has been responsible for its failure to grow to the full needs of the language We have further seen how the vowel marks have evolved uncontrolled by system and landed us in the present plight. The lessons are too patent to need enlarging on

Are we wise enough,—at least now,—to profit by the lessons?

IV A Scheme of Alphabetic Reform

The inadequacy of the Tamil alphabet for the purposes of the Tamil language was recognised centuries back, and attempts were made in the course of the centuries to cure them, though none of the attempts was thorough enough and none was persisted in A dot (*pulli*), or a stroke, was introduced to mark a consonant unanimated by a vowel, as also was a stroke to distinguish between the long and the short forms of e (எ), as in the Sendalai inscriptions, but they were abandoned shortly after. Beschi is believed to have introduced one or two alterations A few Grantha characters have been adopted silently, though only for use in writing foreign words. But a systematic revision has never been carried out.

The insufficiency of the alphabet for the needs of pure Tamil words should first be rectified for instance, letters for soft consonants should be introduced, and also letters for sounds such as ச in ஈசல் and க in பகல். Letters for the special sounds of foreign words taken over by the language have also to be provided,—such as *ri* in 'Krishna', and *f* in 'coffee,' and the 'aspirated' forms of hard and soft consonants

The representation of vowels and of consonants 'animated' by vowels, requires, to be regularised For instance, while ய and ப are similar in shape, இ and ர differ considerably Each vowel has at least two shapes,—one when occurring independently as a vowel, and another or others when animating consonants The long vowel *a* ஆ is added in different forms to consonants instances are கா, ணா The vowel *u*, உ takes various shapes when animating consonants டு, ரு, கு So too, long *u*, and *ai* Even where the shapes are uniform they are cumbrous and confusing, as in கோ, in which a simple vowel has to be represented by two symbols, one of them (otherwise representing *e*) placed before the consonant and the other (representing long *a* otherwise) placed after The same is the case with கௌ in which the confusion is much worse, as the ள has an independent pronunciation by itself

The attempt to add new characters or modify existing ones should proceed on lines which would make the additions and the modifications harmonise with the original alphabet The additions may appropriately be fashioned on symbols already present in the alphabet, and the borrowings may be made most aptly from alphabets which are allied to the Tamil alphabet or which have been in contact with it Vatteluttu is one of two such alphabets, but it has no stock of characters which it can lend The Grantha alphabet is the other, and it has been for centuries in close touch with the Tamil alphabet For the soft consonants of Tamil we may therefore borrow the corresponding letters from the Grantha alphabet The characters have the merit

of beıng sımılar to those of Tamıl ın the dısposıtıon of the lınear features, and most of them are yet dıstınct enough to preclude confusıon We obtaın thus a set of characters for the hard and the soft Tamıl consonants,—for the hards from the Tamıl alphabet ıtself, and for the softs from Grantha The 'aspıratıon' of these sounds ıs a sımple phonetıc process A character lıke S wıll fit ın well and yet be dıstınctıve Thıs devıce ensures for us an economy of characters and at the same tıme raıses the efficıency of the alphabet to the standard of Grantha and Nagarı (see Fıg 8. for the applıcatıon of the symbol

These suggestıons could be adopted straıghtaway Only a few characters are added to the accepted alphabet the letters now ın vogue are not altered ın the least, no mannerısm of the alphabet has to be unlearnt, even the anomalous and cumbrous modes ın whıch the 'anımatıon' of consonants by vowels ıs effected beıng left untouched Whıle the addıtıons are no more than half-a-dozen characters, the extensıon of the graphıc range of the alphabet ıs consıderable, the alphabet becomes as comprehensıve as almost any other Indıan system of wrıtıng, and perhaps much more sımple,—dıspensıng as ıt does wıth the separate characters for the aspırated consonants and avoıdıng as ıt does the process of ıntegratıng two or three or four symbols for consonants ınto one conjunct character

None the less, the alphabet thus evolved falls short of the standard of a good alphabet The weakness lıes maınly ın the representatıon of the vowels

The dot, or the curve, or the loop that serves to mark the ' consonantatıon ' or the ' anımatıon ' of the natıve Tamıl characters may be detached and shaped ınto a dıstınct cha racter to be added on to the new consonant-characters For ınstance, the flourısh that converts க ınto கி may be separated from க and the flourısh by ıtself may be turned ınto a separate character to functıon as the symbol for anımatıng the newly ıntroduced consonant characters Thıs separatıon may wıth consıderable profit be applıed to the natıve characters as well (Fıgs 6 and 7 for ınstance)

1

2

3

4

5

6

தி தீ து தூ தை தொ தோ தௌ த்

7

அ ஆ இ ஈ உ ஊ எ ஏ ஐ ஒ ஓ ஔ

8

புது முறை

தமிழ் உயிர்கள்

பிற உயிர்கள்

CAT BALL

தமிழ் மெய்கள்

பிற மெய்கள்

KH GH

CHH JH

TH DH

TH DH

PH BH

9

RA DI O

TE LE PHO NE

W I RE LE SS

An attempt to remove the distinction between the primary and secondary forms of vowels is not only desirable but even necessary It is not difficult to use the present symbols themselves for the purpose, modifying a few where necessary Suggestions for such modifications are not difficult to advance exemplifying different gradations of radicalism (see Figures 6 and 7) These symbols serve both as primary and subsidiary characters

The animation of consonants by the vowel *a* has been an exception to the rule that a symbol has to be *added* to a consonant-character to animate it the vowel is implied in the character it is inherent in it A consonant is got out of the character by placing a dot over it We may effect a reduction in the number of printing types by making a separate character of the dot (see Fig 6, line 2, end), but this is objectionable, at least because it adds one more to the anomalies, in that a symbol is added to the consonant character, not to evoke a consonant animated by a vowel as in the case of animation by other vowels, but to produce a consonant, pure and simple The anomaly could be cured by devising a distinct symbol for *a* to serve as both a primary and secondary character (see for instance Fig 7, lines 2 and 3) and treating the present characters such as க, ங, ர as characters for consonants pure and simple,—that is, as equivalent to க், ங், ர் The modifications suggested above in respect of the vowels save space in all cases except in that of animation by the vowel *a*

A conspectus of the alphabet as proposed here is appended (Fig 8) It is hoped that it will prove self-explanatory.

The phonetic efficiency of the alphabet as thus modified raises a problem of another character In a word such as அன்பு the character பு which was essentially ambiguous in its function,—taken to be *p* but pronounced *b*—is forced to declare itself, in consequence of the clarification of function which the enlargement of the alphabet has effected :

it has to drop the dual role, and to choose to be Jekyll or Hyde. Thus, the spelling of familiar words,—even though they are Tamil in origin,—gets altered, and for some time we shall have difficulty in recognising old friends when they appear in the new orthographic garb The difficulty is, however, no valid ground on which to base a disapproval of the suggestions offered here it is a ground of attack against all reform, for every reform effects a change and makes the familiar look more or less unfamiliar

Sketches are appended (Fig 9) to help readers to realise how Tamil writing would look like when these modifications are effected The dot for consonants and symbol for *i* இ are shown separated from the respective consonants for ease in printing, even though in practice they may be conjoined with the respective consonant characters in facile writing

The first two lines give two verses of a hymn with only the suggested alphabetic changes the third gives another verse incorporating also the orthographical changes which current pronunciation demands, as where *d* is pronounced for *t*, and *h* for *k* The last line shows that English words brought into Tamil could also be written correctly in the modified Tamil alphabet *

The number of characters needed for the alphabet as modified by these proposals is fifty, whereas the alphabet in its present form comprises about one hundred and fifty Of the fifty characters, twenty three are already known to the alphabet , nine are borrowed from Grantha but four are already used widely , the remainder, mainly vowels are slight modifications of the characters now in use The modes

* The tiny vertical strokes drawn below the writing, (Fig 9 above) are not part of the scheme they are inserted for the nonce to mark off the sound units so that the reader yet unversed in this system of writing may know which symbol has to go with which

in which the 'animation' of consonants is effected are reduced from thirteen to one

The suggestions put forward above are tentative there need be no illusion that all needs have been foreseen or that the most appropriate suggestions have been made A careful consideration of all relevant factors is desirable before a scheme is definitely adopted None the less, it is hoped that these suggestions will be of some use to those who may ultimately have the privilege of persuading the people to adapt their alphabet to the growing needs of a noble language.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

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Introductory

When we speak of the beginnings of the Press in this country we mean the beginnings of newspapers in their modern sense and as such all those forerunners of the first Indian newspaper that were known from Asoka downwards to disseminate news and views are not here dealt with From the days of Asoka's edicts and the departments of intelligence set up by ancient Indian rulers down to the Moghuls at whose courts the spy blossomed into the reporter and the ' wackanegaur ' became a regular department of the state, interesting attempts were made at the collection of intelligence but none in distributing the same Newsbooks were kept at all Government centres and the earliest mention of a Ms newspaper is found in the pages of the Muslim historian Kafi Khan who mentions that the news of the death of Raja Ram of the House of Sivaji was brought to the Imperial camp by newspapers. The soldiers of Aurangazib read Ms journal and Aurangazib himself is said to have maintained everyday a palace journal but it was not a news paper in the modern sense since there were no copies of it sold at Chadni Chowk at a democratic price within the reach of all And hence the Press as we understand today is a product of the British period of Indian History

The need for a Newspaper.

Five years before the passing of the Regulating Act that was to create a Governor General and set up a Supreme

Court at Calcutta the city felt the need for a newspaper, for the following announcement was affixed to the door of the Council House and other public places used for advertisements in Calcutta November 1768

"Mr Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in the city being of great disadvantage in business and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing to manage a Press the types and utensils of which he can produce In the meanwhile he begs leave to inform the public that having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudable motive will be permitted at Mr Bolts house to read or take copies of the same A person will give due attendance at the hours of from ten to twelve any morning"

This William Bolts was a servant of the company of Dutch extraction who being censured by the Court of Directors for his private trading under the Company's authority resigned the service in 1766 and was two years later forcibly deported as an interloper In 1772 he published his "Considerations of Indian Affairs' in which he vigorously criticised the Bengal Government and followed this up with another book in 1775 He subsequently entered the Austrian service and founded stations in India for an Austrian Co but these came to nothing His claim to be remembered as one of the precursors of the Indian Press is in the primitive attempt he made in public advertisement and launching his manuscript journal But he was before his time and his manuscripts were evidently inconveniently full of official secrets The publication of the notice was rapidly followed by his deportation and he eventually ended his days in Paris in 1808

In a growing city like Calcutta which was to become six years later the headquarters of the British administration in this country, the need for a newspaper which was so pub-

licly demonstrated by Bolts remained unfulfilled till January 1780 when an Englishman, James Augustus Hicky, after a chequered commercial career brought out the first issue of his Bengal Gazette, eight years before the birth of the Times in London. The Editor Mr Hicky, probably a professional printer had come out from England under engagement from the India House since he describes himself on two occasions as "first and late printer of the Honourable Company" and as " free of the printers and stationers Company London " He was one who did not believe in the editorial " we " for the probable simple reason that the head and tail of the whole organisation was himself and none else He very frequently indulged in what he termed " Addresses to the Public " a form of communication to the readers, which let in light here and there into his private life From what little one could gather about him from his own writings it is difficult to trace him to his European antecedents

As a news paper its readers were mainly drawn from the presidency of Calcutta (not bigger than the modern city of Calcutta) and the mofussil It generally catered to the tastes of the free merchants and traders and the general non-official European class whose commercial and domestic requirements the advertising columns satisfied It is doubtful whether it had any Indian readers and even if there were, they could not have been more than a handful, for many then had not acquired a working knowledge of the English language The Editor never advocated Indian interests and when he actually wrote on such matters he was for subordinating their interests to those of the ruling English class The following extract from one of his articles reveals his view on the matter and it is certain that this editorial justification must have been very encouraging to Hastings who had few scruples as to where money was to come from when it was needed for state exigencies as was evidenced later in his treatment of the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh Hicky writes editorially

"Governor Whittall (Madras) has acted with great judgment and spirit at this critical juncture (Hyder Ali) by compelling the Armenian and rich native dubashes to pay into the treasury at Madras a crore of pagodas at interest, a measure truly politic and justifiable, that those who derive their wealth under the liberality of the English should contribute during exigencies in return for the protection they receive The Bhanias here who are amassing incredible fortunes by imposition, usury and extortion, might be made more useful instruments to the Government than they are at present, they now in some degree resemble the drones the rich abbots in England before the time of Henry VIII that pucca monarch"

But it will be a sad mistake if it is concluded that he wrote in the manner he did to please the authorities Hicky always gave out his opinion on many issues irrespective of what the Government's view of the matter was This will be clear when it is remembered that it was Hastings who later forged fetters on Hicky's hands.

A Contemporary

The entry of another newspaper 'The India Gazette' into the field just when Hicky's was a year old made his already offensive pen more vituperative This neatly printed contemporary of four pages edited by Peter Redd and B Messinick roused Hicky's jealous indignation since it was able to procure certain concessions with the post office from the Government While he commented on this the following order was issued

"Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the Bengal Gazettee printed by J A Hickey has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to villify private characters and disturb the peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of General Post Office"

This unexpected blow which deprived his paper of its mofussil subscribers was enough to stifle a struggling newspaper But Hicky was not the man to be cowed down by such actions of the Government.

"Shall I" later he asks "tamely submit to the yoke of slavery and wanton oppression? No, my case and complaints in my own newspaper shall be conveyed to the foot of the throne of Great Britain and the breach of my privileges as freemen of the first city of the British empire shall also be in my own newspaper to the father of the city, the Chamberlain of the city of Great Britain and the breach of my privilege as freemen of London He will soon feel for my case bearing so strong an affinity to his own and without doubt he will sympathise more strongly when he considers where I am and whom I have got to deal with"

Soon Hicky was arrested and the next morning before the Supreme Court two indictments were read out to him Bail for Rs. 40,000 was demanded but all that Hicky could collect amounted to only Rs 5,000 Bail was refused and he was interned in November

But the paper still went on Though the proprietor-printer-editor was languishing in jail the Gazette continued to come out with its old punctuality and vituperative personal comments The imprisoned editor seemed to be directing the revolt from the prison and the paper did not mend its manners in the least

In March 1782 Hicky wrote as follows "A scene of continued tyranny and oppression for nearly two years reduced Mr Hicky very much in his circumstances, involved him more in debt and injured his business very considerably through he is still immured in this prison jail where he has been these nine long months separated from his family and friends at the suit of Warren Hastings Esq, and where he still expects to remain as the said Warren Hastings has brought no less than six fresh actions against him this term "

This was the last occasion that Hicky wrote anything in his paper for the types were seized and the Gazette died a premature death

The Indian Gazette after a strong and chequered career of half a century's relentless fight was amalgamated with the Harkaru which in turn was absorbed into the Daily News as late as 1907 and which after many viscissitudes finally

emerged as Forward, the organ of the late Mr. C. R Das The Bengal Harkaru itself became a daily from a weekly in 1819 'to spread English education among Indians'.

Then there was the Calcutta Gazette under the avowed patronage of the Bengal Government and as such exempted from postage This made its appearance in February 1784 and continues to this day The present day Calcutta Gazette which is purely an official publication recording the proceedings of the Bengal Government is the direct descendant of the Calcutta Gazette of 1784 We had also the Bengal Journal of February 1785 It disappeared after some time and not many details about it are available In the month of April of the same year was born the Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusements, a monthly—probably the first periodical—in the first number of which is given "an elegant engraving of the late governor with some account of his life and transactions" The last journal of this period was the Calcutta Chronicle which appeared in January 1786 Besides these there were the Asiatic Mirror and the Bengal Harkaru both of which after some years merged into the Indian Daily News in 1907 Thus there is a record of eight papers started in Bengal within a period of six years from 1780-1786

In the beginnings the Press had to labour under the stern eye and rigorous control of the Government Marquiss of Wellesley went so far as to set up an official censor to whom everything had to be submitted before publication But Marquiss of Hastings abolished these rules and admitted journalism to respectability But during the acting governorship of Adams, James Silk Buckingham, editor of the Calcutta Journal (started in 1818) was deported and his journal was suppressed But Adams chose a wrong victim. Buckingham was such a tenacious, able and enterprising man, that he made the welkin ring with his complaints He became first member of Parliament for Sheffield and he got from a select committee a proposal that a wrong done to him should be redressed But it was not until some

years after that he secured from the East India Company a life pension of £ 200 by way of compensation And it was to countenance this radicalism of Buckingham that the 'John Bull in the East' was started in 1821 by a syndicate of conservative and Tory English merchants "Its columns" writes Sir Alfred Watson "were as dull as those of Buckingham's were lively ' but when Stocqueler changed this into the Englishman, it became a powerful and a staunch ally of the Government till the days of Macaulay After Metcalfe, this "Englishman" (Which absorbed the older and moribund 'John Bull in 1883) first appeared in that year under the name of Englishman and Military Chronicle, and this bore on one side the well-known lines of Milton . "This is true liberty when free-born men having to advise the public, may speak out"

The missionary Marshman besides his venture in the Bengali languages started The Friend of India' in English This was at first a monthly and later became a weekly Robert Knight, after a distinguished career in Bombay in connection with the Times of India, came over to Calcutta, acquired 'The Friend of India' in the early seventies and founded the 'Indian Statesman' after the earlier venture with the 'Indian Economist' Robert Knight was an economist and financier He championed the cause of Indians and became the mouthpiece of the rising sentiment of nationalism in India The modern Indian press owes a debt of gratitude to him and to the missionaries from whom he bought the good will for his paper

All press regulations were swept away by Lord Amherst and more particularly by Bentinck in 1865 They were revived by Canning in 1858 as the Gagging Act as a result of the Indian Mutiny This restriction was dropped after a year and nothing very serious was done to restrict the freedom of the press till vernacular journalism became a power in the country And then came the Vernacular Press Act of 1878.

In 1857 we had the Bengali Journal 'Samachara Sudhabarshham' and in 1861 Surendranath Banerji launched his 'Bengali' which has strangely become to-day the 'Star of India' voicing the interests of the Muslims in Bengal. The Amrita Bazar Patrika, a Bengali weekly in 1878 changed overnight into a full fledged English daily to evade Lytton's Vernacular Press Act and its remarkable growth since, along with the Statesman of Calcutta, under a succession of eminent editors belongs to what may be called the modern period of the history of the press in India The Vernacular Press Act was repealed in 1882 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon and from that Date down to 1907 there was no direct press legislation

Vernacular Journalism

The first newspaper published in any Indian language was the Samachara Darpan or the Mirror of News in Bengali The first issue appeared on 23rd May 1818—nearly forty years after the appearance of the first English Newspaper The famous missionaries, Ward, Carey and Marshman founded it in the Dutch Settlement of Serampore under the encouraging good wishes of Lord Hastings who allowed it to be carried through the post office for a quarter of the usual fare Vernacular journalism to-day owes not a little to these pioneering missionary enterprises

In 1822 the Bombay Samachar, a Gujerati daily appeared, the first vernacular newspaper on the Western presidency, and after more than a century it is still happily with us.

Regarding early Bengali newspapers the Friend of India for July 1826 says "The first in point of age is the Samachar Darpan published at the Serampore Press of which the first number appeared on 23rd May 1818 The next two papers are the Samband Kaumudi and Samband Chandrika .. The youngest of these papers is the Teemer Nausuck or the Destroyer of Darkness" And in the Asiatic Journal for April 1826 we read that the number of newspapers

published in the languages of India and designed solely for native readers has increased in the course of seven years from one to six Four of these are in Bengali and two are in Persian."

The great Raja Rammoham Roy founded a Bengali periodical called the Brahmanical Magazine, whose career was 'rapid, fiery and meteoric and both for want of solid substance and through excess of inflammation it soon exploded and disappeared' While the Chandrika was started as a staunch advocate of Hindu Orthodoxy, the Kaumudi was founded and edited by Rammohan Roy to counteract its influence The Raja eminent linguist that he was, also founded and edited a Persian newspaper named Mirat-ul-Akbar, or Mirror of Intelligence The Bangadut was another paper worked by Rammohan Roy, Dwarakanath Tagore and Prosanna Kumar Tagore

Madras had to wait till the eighties of the last century when the late G Subramania Iyer of the "Madras Standard" and "the Hindu" founded the Swadesamitran as a Tamil Weekly As for Telugu even the precursors of the present "Andhra Patrika" came late in the day

Bombay

Journalistic enterprise in Bombay commenced with the "Bombay Herald", founded in 1789 and the next year witnessed the birth of the Bombay Courier In 1792 the "Bombay Gazette, another early paper was amalgamated with the "Herald" These papers dragged on a dull, drab existence with no remarkable achievement until 1838 when some leading merchants in Bombay started the "Bombay Times" In 1861 it changed its name as the Times of India and with it the Bombay Courier was incorporated. Another newspaper that came into existence in 1791 was the "Bombay Gazette" which after a long career ceased publication only in 1914

Madras.

Newspapers in Madras came late and the earliest among them when they appeared were the " Government Gazette," the " Madras Gazette " and the " Madras Courier ". The first Madras newspaper was the " Madras Courier " and was published during the governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell. Official notices of the Government which were then used to be posted at the gates of Fort St George for public information were now published in the Courier to broadcast them In return the Government allowed the paper to circulate free of charge throughout the presidency It consisted of four pages, the first two of which were devoted to extracts from English papers, the third was occupied by letters to the Editor and Indian news and the last was full of advertisements and poetry

Yet another officially patronised paper was the " Madras Gazette " which had the distinction of printing for the first time advertisements in the Tamil language In the middle of the last century Madras witnessed the growth of English newspapers to voice definite interests The spectator (1836) was the earliest of these The " Madras Times ", founded in 1866 represented the smaller English merchants and traders of Madras and later it reflected the average English Commercial mind of the day The " Madras Mail " on the other hand was aristocratic and represented the Englishmen in the higher services of the Company And this under Henry Beauchamp attained the level of the British press of the day

The Indians entered the field late but credit goes to Laxminarasu Chettiar who first launched the Crescent, the organ of the Native Association When this ceased publication for want of support the Native Public Opinion was ushered in by the joint effort of Madhava Rao, Ranganatha Mudaliar and Raghunatha Rao And when two others the Madrasee and the People's Friend appeared, most of them after a brief spell collapsed for there was no room for all these

papers, when literacy was low and readers were few The failure of these papers prompted two school masters G. Subramania Iyer and Viraraghavachariar to start the Hindu in 1878 a little time before Surendranath Banerjee began to work the Bengalee The Hindu started as a weekly, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and six years later was converted into a full fledged daily And the phenomenal growth of the Hindu to power and prestige as a foremost organ of highest distinction in responsible journalism in this country is outside the scope of this paper And with the dawn of this century Indian journalism has definitely become the handmaiden of nationalism and a byproduct of politics

Much has not been said of the depressing and sometimes very necessary press laws, regulations and ordinances through which the Indian Press has laboured for a century and a quarter The history of Indian journalism can be surveyed in terms of these various laws, levelled against the freedom of the press, from the days of Hasting's suspicions of the press, the deportations of the editors for trivial offences, the Gagging Act through Metcalfe, Hastings, Wellesley, Amherst, and Bentinck, down to the present time, of paying fines and forfeiting securities—can be an interesting survey And a running account of this adjunct of democracy in the country can well be written round those stout hearts —both British and Indian—that graced the editorial chair through a century and a half and fought for that liberty which is yet to come

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IDENTIFICATION OF KUTULAKHĀNA MENTIONED BY JINAPRABHA SŪRI IN HIS VIVIDHA-TĪRTHA-KALPA

BY

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Dr B C Law in his *"Studies in the Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa"* recently published in the *Jain Antiquary*[1] states that this Jain work[2] is important and helpful in the study of ancient Indian Geography as some of the materials recorded in it are new and interesting I find on a perusal of this work that this work contains some historical data also, which needs to be properly exploited and corroborated from all sources possible, contemporary or otherwise For this purpose, we must know the life-history[3] of its author Jinaprabha Sūri and hence we are giving below a chronological survey of the events connected with the life of Jinaprabha and his contemporaries —

Date A D	Event	Place
1271	J composed *Apāpābrhatkalpa*	देवगिरिनगर
1275	Laghu Kharatara gaccha founded by J 's guru Jinasimha Sūri	
1293	J helps Mallisena to complete his commentary on the *Syādvādamañjari*	
1308	J composed his *Vaibhāragiri Kalpa* (*Kalpa*, No 11- p 23)	
1309	J composed comm on *Bhayahara Stotra* as also a comm on *Ajitaśāntistāva*	साकेतपुर (= अयोध्या)
1310	The probable time when Isamy[4] was born at Delhi	
1293 to *1313*	Known dates for J according to Peterson	

Date A D	Event	Place
1327	Muhammad Taghlakh transfers his capital from Delhi to Devagiri and calls it दौलताबाद	
1332	Muhammad Taghlakh honours J by providing him with a good house to live in, which he called Bhattāraka Sarāi (*vide* p 96 of *V T Kalpa*) "त्रयोदश नवाशीत वैष आषाढ कृष्ण सप्तम्यां" Corresponds to Wednesday, *15th July 1332 A D*	दौलताबाद
1333	(*12th September*) Ibn Bātūta reached Indus	
1334	(*22 March*) Settlement of a dispute (Pudukottah inscription)	
1334-1339	Rebellions of Ma'bar and Lakhnauti	
1342 (*22nd July*)	Bātūta set out for China as ambassador	
1344 (*8th December*)	Recall of Qutlugh Khan from the Deccan	
1349-50	Isamy composed his history which is the earliest account of Muhammad Tughlaq's reign	
1355	Ibn Bātūta dictated his *Travels* from memory	

In the above chronology we get the dates of Jinaprabha Sūri *viz*, *A D 1271*, *1275, 1293, 1308, 1309, 1332*, the difference between the first date and the last date being 41 years Evidently Jinaprabha Sūri must have been a man of advanced age when he was honoured by Sultan Muhammad Taghlaq Presuming that he was twenty years old when he composed his *Apāpābrhatkalpa* at Devagiri in A D 1271 he must have been born towards the middle of the 13th Century and as his above work is associated with Devagiri it may be reasonable to conclude that his contact with that place lasted upto at least A D 1332 when he was honoured by Muhammad Taghlaq as stated by him in his *Vividhatīrtha Kalpa* (No 51) in which he mentions one *Kutulakhān* (कुतुलखान) as the officer in charge of

Daulatābād (दउलताबाद) as will be seen from the following lines[5] : —

" कमेण पत्तं सिरिदउलताबाद दीवाणे। भणिय च सविणयं नगरनायगेणं सिरिकुतुलखानेन भट्टारयाणं सिरिपातसाहि फुरमाणागमणं ढिल्लीपुरं पइ पत्थाणं चाइट्टं।"

This appears to be the only reference to कुतुलखान by Jinaprabha Sūri in the whole of the *Vividhātīrtha Kalpa*[6] and as the editor has not identified him it is necessary to investigate and prove the identity of this historical personage on the strength of contemporary evidence

I propose to identify कुतुलखान who is styled as नगरनायक with reference to the capital of Daulatabad in Jinaprabhasūri's work with QUTLUGH KHĀN about whom the following information is given by Prof N V Ramanayya[7] —

(1) He was recalled from his post on *8th December, 1344*[8]
(2) He was governor of the Maratha country and his departure from Devagir must have taken place about March 1345 A D[9]
(3) His brother's name was " 'Ālim-ul-Mulk[10]
(4) According to Isamy he led a successful expedition against the army of Nusrat Khān in Bidar and that he defeated Ali Shah at Dhārur[11]
(5) His son Alap Khān led an expedition against Chandgadh[12]
(6) The Sultan sent his order to Qutlugh Khān for sending the people from Devagīr to Delhi[13]

The above information clearly shows that Qutluq Khan was an important personage and played a prominent part at the Sultan's Court at Daulatabad though he was recalled from the place in A D 1344 In the details about this governor of Devagiri recorded by Prof Ramanayya I have not been able to trace the date of his appointment to the gover-

norship of the Devagiri but as Jinaprabha Sūri mentions him as नगरनायक in A D 1332 it would be reasonable to suppose that he must have been appointed to that office some years earlier It is, however, certain that he acted in that important capacity at least from A D 1332 to 1344, a period of 12 years Ibn Battūta[14] who was born on *24th February 1304* and who reached Indus on *12th September 1333* and later reached the Sultan's capital Daulatabad refers to our कुतुलखान in the following lines —" At Daulat Ābād resides the great Khān *Qutlu Khān,* the Sultan's tutor, who is governor of the town and the Sultan's representative there and in the lands of Sāghar, Tiling (Telingāna) and their dependent territories This province extends for three months' march, is well populated and wholly under his authority and that of his lieutenants "[15]

It appears to me that *Kutula Khān* mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri, *Qutlū Khān* mentioned by Battuta and *Qutlagh Khān* mentioned by Isāmy and others are identical If this identity is accepted it would be possible to suggest that Jinaprabha may have heard about Battūta who reached India about a year after Muhammad Taghlakh's meeting with Jinaprabha in July 1332 Though it is easy to imagine a personal contact of Qutlagh Khān with Jinaprabha in A D 1332 and with Battūta after A D 1333 it is difficult to prove any direct contact between Jinaprabha and Battūta unless any documentary evidence on this point is discovered by scholars like Prof Ramanayya and others who have made a close study of the history of Muhammad Taghlakh's reign I shall also be happy to learn from Jain scholars any historical facts about the biography of Jinaprabha Sūri especially after A D. 1332

NOTES

1. Vol IV, No IV (March 1939), pp 109-123

2. *Vividhatīrthakalpa* by Jinaprabha sūri, Ed by Muni Jinavijayaji, *Singhi Jain Granthamāla,* No 10, Shantiniketan (Bengal), 1934 The Editor informs us in the Introduction that this

work is important for History as well as for Geography It is a sort of Guide Book to different *tīrthas* as existing in the 14th Century Jinaprabha Sūri was greatly honoured by Tughlak Sultan Mahammad Shah in the same manner in which Hīravijaya Sūri was later honoured by emperor Akbar in the 16th Century Dealing with the date of composition of this work the Editor states that it must have required about 30 years for its composition, because the earliest date recorded in it is *Śamvat 1364*=A D *1308* while the latest date is *Śamvat 1389*=A D *1333* —The dated Mss of this work used by the Editor are as follows —A —*Śamvat 1466* =A D *1410* B —about 400 years old , C —about 400 years old , D.—17th Century , Pa —*Śamvat 1527*=A D *1471* , Pb —an incorrect copy , P —*Śamvat 1505* = A D *1449* , E —appears to be old

3 Vide p xxxvii of *Index to Authors* in Peterson's *Fourth Report on Mss* (1894 Bombay) J (= Jinaprabhasūri) wrote his Commentary on *Bhayahara Stotra* in Sākitapura in Samvat 1365 (=A D *1309*) He was a pupil of Jinasimhasūri J composed his Commentary on the *Ajitasāntistava* of Nandisēna in the city of Dāśarathī (=Sākitapura=Ayodhyā) in *Śamvat 1365* (=A D *1309*) Ratnaśekhara Sūri, author of the *Nyāyakandalipañjikā* studied under J J composed *Sūrividyākalpa* or *Sūrimantrapradeśavivarana* and helped Mallisena Sūri in his Commentary on the *Syādvādamañjarī* of Hemacandra completed in *Śaka* 1214 or *Samvat 1349*=*1293* A D J is the author of *Tīrthakalpa* The *Apāpāvrhatkalpa* (No 235 of A 1882-83) is a part of *Tīrthakalpa* which was written in *Devagirinagara* in Samvat 1327 (=A D *1271*)—Vide No 1256 of 1886-92 J composed another work called the *Pancaparamesthīstava* (No 349 of A 1882-83) See Klatt's *Onomasticon* for a list of the known works of this writer His known dates range from *Śamvat* 1349 (=A D *1293*) to Śamvat 1369 (=A D *1313*) His guru Jinasimha Sūri founded the Laghukhrataragaccha in *Śamvat 1331* (=A D *1275*)

4 Isamy wrote *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, a history of Musalman Kings of India in persian verse He migrated from Delhi to Daulatābad by the royal command in A D 1327 and lived at that capital for the next quarter of the century He composed his history in 1349-50 A D after the establishment of Bahmani throne at Gulburga Vide p 261 of *Indian Culture* (Jan 1939), Vol V, No 3) —article by N Venkata Ramanayya

5 My friend Prof R D Laddu renders the above passage into Sanskrit as follows —

"क्रमेण प्राप्तं श्री दौलताबाद्दीवाने । भणितं च सविनयं नगरनायकेन श्री

कुतुलखानेन भट्टारकाणां श्री पातसाहि फुरमानागमनं दिल्लीपुरं प्रति प्रस्थानं च आदिष्टम् "

6 Prof H D Velankar records the following information about this work in the press-copy of his *Jinaratnakośa* (p 238) —
"तीर्थकल्प also called कल्पप्रदीप containing legendary and historical account of the different Jain holy places of pilgrimage, composed between Śamvat 1365-1390 (*i e* A D 1309—1334) by Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasimha Sūri of *Kharatara Gaccha* It is a very useful book and is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit The different parts were written separately and then put together by the author It is being published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*"

7 *Indian Culture*, Vol V (1938-39), pp 135-146 and 261-269

8 *Ibid*, p 136

9 *Ibid*, p 144

10 *Ibid*, p 145

11 *Ibid*, p 263

12 *Ibid*, p 263

13 *Ibid*, p 263

14 Vide p 2 of Ibn Battu'ta *Travels in Asia and Africa* (A D 1325—1354), ed by H A R Gibb, London, 1929 (Broadway Travellers)

15 *Ibid*, p 227

THE PURANIC GENEALOGIES IN THE AVANTI-SUNDARIKATHA

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The avantisundarikatha is a prose work of Dandin like the Kadambari of Bana The introductory portion of this work[1] and a considerable portion of its metrical summary called Avantisundari Kathasara, by a later hand, were published by Mr S K Ramanatha Sastri with an introduction by Mr M R Kavi from two fragmentary manuscripts available in Government Manuscripts Library, Madras Dr S K De[2] finding disparity between the extant Dasakumaracharita and the fragmentary prose work called in question Dandin's authorship of the latter, and Dr A B Keith[3] following Dr De, said that the fragment of questionable authorship should not have been brought to light A fairly large fragment of the Katha was however acquired by me on behalf of the Department for the publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum, in the year 1925 This manuscript was worn out and appeared to be three or four centuries old It contained a colophon attesting the work to be the Avantisundari Katha of Acarya Dandin The Style and language of the fragment also reveals the author, and the subject matter is the same as in the Dasakumaracarita and coming up to the story of Mandakini, as related by her to the hero Rajavahana, in the nether world The metrical adaptation gives the bare thread of Dandin's narrative almost in his own words, and as such, it is of considerable help to make a proper estimate of Dandin's prose work A perusal of the Trivandrum fragment makes it evident that it is the preliminary piece of the long-lost portion of Dandin's Avanti-

sundarikatha and that the Purvapithika added to the extant Dasakumaracarita is a patch work, by a later writer, of the lost portion. This view is strengthened by a reference to the old Malayalam manuscripts of Dasakumaracarita They contain no Purva or Uttara Pithikas, nor the division of the text into Ucchvasas, and their colophons show that Dasakumaracarita originally formed part of the Avantisundari.

It is well known that the Avantisundari holds a wealth of information to students of history and Sanskrit, and it is much to be regretted that complete manuscripts of the work should have been lost long ago. Dandin himself tells us that his work contained interesting stories of ancient dynasties In the present fragment are found an episode of Chandragupta and stories of Upavarsa, Vararuci, Vyadi Sudraka and other semi-historical persons In describing the ancestry of Padmodbhava, the author gives the chronology of the Kaliyuga dynasties beginning with the Pradyotas , and in view of its historical interest, I make no apology to give below a tentative rendering based on the fragmentary manuscript

Ripunaya, the last king of the Brhadratha dynasty ruled over the Magadha kingdom with his three ministers, viz , Matisarma, Dharmapala and Padmodbhava The first two ministers were Brahmins and the third a vaisya who has a long story behind him Vaivasvata manu had two sons, Iksvaku and Nabhanedistha, and Halandana was the Vaisya son of the latter In the direct line of Halandana was born a famous merchant named Potapa When, after the extinction of the Nandas, Chandragupta Maurya was on the throne of Magada, the merchant Potapa brought him some precious minerals for sale Among the articles, there was an ekavali which flooded the apartment with its effulgence, and which, the merchant said, cost a hundred thousand gold Chandragupta desirous of purchasing the necklace consulted his preceptor Canakya and asked the merchant to bring it the following day. Returning from the palace, with the royal present of fragrant betel, the merchant

chewed it and fell down fainting. When the servants were at a loss to know what to do with the fallen man, a kind courtezan going to the palace carried him to her house near by. She laid him in a soft bed, applied spray of sandal water and other cool palliatives and restored him to life Potapa wished to make a suitable present to the woman who saved his life, but seeing nothing at hand better than his ekavali, and feeling shy of making an open gift, placed it near his bed and went home The Courtezan thought that he had forgotten the ornament and sent it to him through her servant The merchant, however, returned it to her with other similar ornaments with the assurance that he had made a gift of them to her The courtezan adorned herself with the ornament and went to the palace The king recollecting the ornament, learning from her how she came by it, ordered the merchant being brought before him and said, "O, Yavana traveller, show me your Ekavali now" The merchant informed the king, "O, Lord, I have it given away as a present I have other valuable gems and you may take any of them as you like" The king felt insulted and got angry, he threatened the merchant, "You have presented the ornament to my servant, from pride of wealth, after having agreed to sell it to me You deserve capital punishment for breach of agreement" Potapa was not perturbed and replied smilingly, that he had made too small a gift of the ornament to the woman, who saved his life and that good men consider it a sin to make mention of the gifts they give The king insisting on knowing more about the charities of the merchant, the latter related the following

"Years ago, I landed with my luggage of gold and precious minerals at Andhakaccha after a long voyage over the Mahodadhi I saw a man dressed in rags, afflicted with mental agony and hanging himself by a noose Running to the man, I cut the noose with my sword, and allowing him repose, asked him what made him to precipitate into the violence The poor man replied that death is festival for those that are affected with poverty. I was moved with pity

and gave him all my wealth of precious minerals valuing many hundred thousand gold With a brimming heart, he learned from me my name and that of my family and wended his way Then I went to Dramilapattana, made large wealth in my seafaring trade and have now approached you I have committed the sin of mentioning the gift of mine not from boast, but in fear of your wrath "

Chandragupta was delighted to hear this and felt ashamed of his behaviour He hugged the merchant to his bosom and said, " I am that man." He treated him with respect due to a king, and on his behalf granted 18 boons[4] to the merchant community all over the land, by which they enjoyed various honours and privileges and freedom from punishment The merchant had no son, and giving up his possessions in favour of the needy, began to practice austerities

At this moment, a Guhyaka a servant of Kubera approached Potapa under the guise of a Brahmin and delivered the message of his master, which follows —

Ripunjaya, the last of the Barhadratas, who was deprived of his kingdom, has been practising penance on the bank of the river Krisna, for averting his bad luck Meanwhile, the king of Visala, greedy of wealth, killed Vitihotra, the ruler, and anointed his son Pradyota Pradyota was a dissolute king, and people called him Canda owing to the severity of his rule He ruled 23 years, his son (Palaka) 28 years, Visakhayupa 50, Malyaka 21, and Avantivardhana 30

Then Sisunaga, set aside the Punika line, established his son at Varanasi and himself ruled at Girivraja 40 years, his son Kakavarna 36, Ajatasatru 37, Darsaka 25, Udayi 33, Nandivardhana 43, and Mahanandi 43

When Mahanandi was ruling, there took place, in this great town a grand performance of Mahanataka nrtta, replete with *rasa* and *bhava* The two Treasures of Kubera viz, Sankha and Padma, who happened to visit the

city, assumed human forms and witnessed the performance A great sorcerer, who detected their identity, entrapped the Treasure Padma, by the power of his *mantra* We forced him to rain all his wealth for a distance of *yojana,* through the length and breadth of the city, and then set him free Padma, who suffered from exhaustion, was born as Mahapadma, son of Mahanandi, by his low caste wife, for recouping his wealth He exterminated the entire Ksatriya race and collected all the gold from the land

During this time, there lived a Brahman named Kalapi, in the Utkala country He was childless, and a daughter was born to him by the grace of the goddess Katya ani He called her Katyayani after the name of the goddess and when she grew up a beautiful girl, engaged her in the worship of sacrificial fire The fire of god (asitavartman) enamoured of her beauty, had illicit connection with her The innocent Brahman thought that her pregnant daughter was immoral, and abandoned her in the Vindhya forest When the desperate woman was about to cast herself in a wild fire, the fire god came to her rescue At the instance of the god, she lived in a village on the bank of the Godavari where her son Vararuci was born When the boy was five years old, two Brahman travellers Vyadi and Indradatta happened to halt in his house Having been illiterate for a long time they propitiated the god Subrahmanya by their penance The god asked them to study under Upavarsa Bodhayana with Srutadhara (one who could grasp everything on hearing once) as their fellow student Accordingly they had been wandering from place to place in search of Srutadhara On that day Vararuci went to see a performance , and returned home late in the night When the mother got angry at the boy he pleased her by reproducing the performance as he saw Vyadi and Indradatta recognized Srutadhara in the boy, and with the permission of his mother carried him on their shoulders to the city of Kundina in the Vidarbha country, where Upadhyaya Upavarsa was residing The Upadhyaya returning from his field with plough received the trio and

began to teach them with pleasure. They learned all the Vidyas that speech could express, Katyayana, on hearing once , Vyadi twice and Indradatta thrice When their education was over, they asked their teacher what remuneration he would accept from them Upavarsa desired for a bit of gold for giving his daughter in marriage As Mahapadma had made the land devoid of any gold, they approached the king with a request for the precious metal The king received them with due respect, he placed his daughter in his assembly announced that he would give her in marriage to anyone who could bring him a bit of gold Hearing this, a chap suddenly went out, and coming back with a small piece of gold and asked the king for his daughter in marriage The young man informed Mahapadma that his father, a treasure-finder having been imprisoned by him died in prison and that the piece of gold was obtained from his funeral pyre When Mahapadma heard this, he could not contain himself with the joy that there was no rival left all over the land, he left his life Then Indradatta having learned the Yogic powers from Vyadi transfused his life into the body of Mahapadma The dead king coming to life granted a crore of gold to Vararuci as gurudaksina The minister Aryaka came to know the reason for the sudden change in the king , and was glad that a generous man had come to rule He caused the body of Indradatta being burnt so that he might not revert to it But soon after, Indradatta entrusted the kingdom to the care of his ministers and lost himself in the pleasures of harem Vararuci and Vyadi presented the crore of gold to Upavarsa as Gurudaksina The teacher however, having need only for a bit of gold declined to accept the crore , and consequently he came to be known as Krtakoti. When Padmanidhi returned to Kubera, the master chided his servant thus . "You have not fulfilled the desire of the Brahmarsi vararuci and have accumulated gold by unfair means You should therefore be born as Padmodbhava, son of the merchant king Potapa After the low born Ksatriya have ceased to rule, the Rajarsi Ripunjaya will return from the forest and

rule the Magadha country again You should perform the office of Dharmasaciva to the king, distributing your accumulated wealth all over the land You should not think of the world of the gods, until it will be time for you to quit the earth with your master

After the death of Mahapadma in his 88th year, the minister Aryaka will set up and pull down eight of his sons one after another, and himself will begin to rule The high minded Canakya will get angry at this and place Chandragupta on the throne Chandragupta will rule 24 years, his son Bindusara 25 years, Asoka 36 years, Adasona 7 years, (Nava) Dasaratha 8, Sahsuka 13, Devasarma 2, Dasadharma 6, Brhadratha 7

Then the Sunga Pusyamitra, the commander-in-chief, will depose Brhadratha, kill Muladeva, the fire of the Maurya line, in battle, and himself rule 30 years Agnimitra 8, Visakha 7, Vasumitra 10, Prthuka 2, Pulinda 3, Yasovasu 3, Vajramitra 1, Mahabhoga 32, Devabhuti 10

Then the minister Vasudeva of the Kanva family will destroy the dissolute Devabhuti and rule 9 years, Bhumimitra 14, Narayana 10, Suvarma 10

Then the powerful Sumukha will destroy the Kanva family and the remnants of the Sungas and rule 13 years, Krsnarsatakarni, his younger brother 8, Lambodara 18, Apitaka 12, Maghasvati 18, Svati 18, Skandasvati 7, Mrgendrasatakarni 3, Kuntala Satakarni 8, Svatisena 1, Pulomavi 36, Arikrishna 25, Hala 5, Mantellaka 5, Pulindasena 21, Sundarasatakarni 28, Sivasvati 31, Gautameya (?) Pulomavi 38, Sivasri 4, Sivaskanda Satakarni 1, Yajnasrisatakarni 29, Vijaya 10, Candasrisatakarni 3, Pulomavi 7

After these 6 Punikas, 10 Sisunagas, 9 Nandas, 10 Mauryas, 10 Sungas, 4 Kanvayanas, 29 Andhras known as Satavahanas, there will arise and fall 7 other Andhras, 10 Abhiras, 7 Gabhis, 18 Sakas, 8 Yavanas, 14 Taharas, 13 Mukundas,

and 11 Potas Then, to cleanse the earth of the evils of Kali, Ripunjaya will return from his penance grove in the forest and recover the kingdom of Magadha, by the grace of the god Narayana The Padmanidhi will be born as your son Padmodbhava, and be the minister of the king "

Having delivered the message, the attendant of Kubera vanished

NOTES

1 Daksinābhārati Series No 3, Mangalodayam Press, Trichur, 1924

2 I H Q Vol III

3 History of Sanskrit Literature

4 The text dealing with the details of the boon, is full of errors, and is not reproduced

5 The stories of Upavarsa, Vyādi and Indradatta are omitted for want of space

SOME PAPER MANUSCRIPTS IN VATTELUTHU 1624-1658 A D

BY

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Four months ago ten manuscripts of the seventeenth century written in ink on thick, rough paper of about the size of modern foolscap, but with a different watermark, came into my hands They form part of a collection of similar paper manuscripts of the same period written in Portuguese, Syriac and Malayalam, the characters being Roman, Syriac and Vatteluthu respectively

Of the ten documents in hand nine bear on the history of the Malabar Christians while the remaining one gives a recipe for chicken soup and another for medicating oil As will be seen from the details given later on regarding each of the nine historical documents, eight of them belong to a troublous, critical period in the history of the Malabar Syrian church during the days of the European Archbishops Stephen de Brito (1624-1641 A D) and Francis Garcia (1641-1659), both of the Society of Jesus (S J), of the local members of which the famous indigenous Archdeacon George of Travancore (died 1637) in a letter of his dated 1st January 1628 and sent to the Papal Envoy at Lisbon, complained "that the two hundred thousand Christians in his jurisdiction had for forty years been under the Jesuits, an Order which could show no martyrs and no success in converting the heathen" (*pace* St Xavier) "and jealously kept at a distance all other Religious Orders " The indigenous and very often troublesome or rival ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Malabar Syrian church of same period were—

1 Archdeacon Geevargees (=George) died 1637

2. Archdeacon Thommi (=Thomas de Campo, successor).

For a clear understanding of the documents a resume of the church history of the period as found in Paulinus's *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, pages 72-76 is given below in translation

"The formula of the oath which all these" (indigenous Syrian Christian) "priests and their Christians had sworn before Dom Menezes" (at the Synod of Diamper, 1599) "ran thus 'I promise, I vow, and I swear to God, to the Cross, and to the Holy Gospels, that now and in future I shall never accept in this church and bishopric of the Serra' (=Malabar) 'any Bishop, Archbishop, Prelate, Pastor or Governor other than those immediately appointed by the Holy Apostolic See through the Pope and Pontiff of Rome, and that to him thus appointed I shall show obedience as to my own and true Pastor, quite independently of and without awaiting the approval or appointment of the Patriarch of Babylon, whom I reject, condemn and anathematize, etc'

"No sooner was their first Latin Bishop, Dom Roz, dead than they wished for a Syro-Chaldean Bishop (whom but a Nestorian or Jacobite from Babylon?) and became guilty of perjury Next they complain most bitterly in their letter of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus —

1 because the places in Malabar where they teach the Syro-Chaldean language are left to their choice ,

2 because they do not give to the native priests the pecuniary subsidies sent by the king of Portugal ,

3 because Dom Stephen de Brito (page 73) creates parish priests without consulting their Archdeacon George.

* * * *

"These mostly are the heads of accusation, and for this they insisted on separating themselves from the Church and making a schism With these pretexts, and without await-

ing the decision of the King of Portugal, they called secretly in 1652, most probably from Bagdad or Babylon, a certain Nestorian Bishop called in Arabic Ahatallah, in Greek Theodore, but known to the Malabarese as Ignatius Seized by the Portuguese and taken" (from Mylapore) "to Goa, he died about 1654" (On page 97 of the same book Fr Paulinus says, "On the 3rd of August 1652 he landed at Mylapore and was burnt (*flammis datus interut*) at Goa in 1654 He never visited the diocese of Angamali, as the Portuguese got hold of him and took him by ship to Goa") "Thereupon, the priests of the country were mad with indignation" (And they assembled in Mattancheri in Cochin before the Coonen (or hunch-backed) cross and took a solemn oath, renouncing all obedience to their European Archbishop Garcia) "Twelve of them, instigated by one Itti Thoma, the chief leader, met in the church of the town of Alangad or Mangad on the 22nd of May 1653, the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, and laid sacrilegious hands on a certain priest, a compatriot called Parambil Tumi" (Thommi) "or Thomas Campo, a native of the parish of Coravalangad They placed on his head a Bishop's mitre and agreed that they and their people would hold and regard him as their Bishop"

* * *

"When a sacrilegious intruder and impostor Bishop had thus been created by those twelve priests, the whole diocese of Angamali" (i e, all the Malabar Syrian Christians), "which then counted about 200,000 souls, went over into schism, about 400 Christians excepted, who would not consent to such an enormity and refused to obey the intruder These knew the Discalsed Carmelites and were on friendly terms with them" (Europeans), as two of the Fathers, about 20 years before the schism, had come from the Mission Convent of Goa to establish a mission-house at Cochin" (among the new Christians) "or in the Diocese of Angamali" (among the ancient Syrian Christians). (Page 75) "The Fathers having returned to Goa without success, these Malabar Christians wrote to them about the schism, and finally let-

ters regarding the melancholy event were carried to Pope Alexander VII, who in 1656 sent to Malabar the Rev. Fr. Joseph of St. Mary, Vincent of St Catherine, Hyacinth of St Vincent and Fr Marcellus and Fr. Mathew of St Joseph The first two arrived at Cochin on the 22nd of February of the following year, and beginning their mission work that very month, they gradually snatched forty churches from the intruder and won them back to communion with the Church" (Roman Catholic)

"Leaving in Malabar Fr Mathew of St Joseph and Fr Marcellus, Fr. Joseph and Fr Vincent returned to Rome In the interval, Fr Hyacinth came to Malabar by way of Lisbon and Goa, and, thanks to the help he received from the Chapter of the Church of Cochin, he and his companions laboured for the reduction of the Christians" (Syrian)

"Meanwhile the Rev Fr Joseph of St Mary was created at Rome, on the 16th of December 1659, Bishop of Hierapolis and Vicar Apostolic " (page 76) "That very day provided with ample powers by Alexander VII, he set out for Malabar . to give a new Bishop to the St Thomas Christians He arrived in Malabar in 1661 .... When the town of Cochin was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch on the 6th of January 1663, Dom Joseph of St Mary was forced to quit Malabar" (as the Dutch were Protestants).

Some details regarding the eight documents relating to the period described in the above quotation from Fr Paulinus, a Carmelite, are given below

1. *Archbishop Stephen's agreement* No date Perhaps of 1624 or 1625 A.D

Begins thus· The affair which We, Dom Stephen, Archbishop of Malabar, arranged with the unanimous consent of all people, for the benefit and good of the St Thomas Nazrani Christians of Our diocese —

Once in three years We shall call together a meeting of the priests and laymen of our diocese and confer for the

good of this diocese, and so arrange that there may arise no confusion in this diocese

(Nine other resolutions followed).

2 *Archbishop Stephen's letter* from Ankamali dated 21st October 1627, granting permission for bishops and priests to reside in the Cathedral Church of Ankamali (in Travancore) near Cochin, and arranging for other matters At the end there are fragments of the Archbishop's seal on brown sealing wax, as well as his signature (in Portuguese) "O Aru do Endu" (=Archbishop of India)

3 *Archbishop Stephen's letter* (undated, but probably of 1637) to the King of Cochin informing him of the appointment of a successor to the Archdeacon who has died. It ends with the signature "O Aru do Endu."

There is or was no seal below the body of the letter, but the sheet of paper is folded in the old fashion and addressed on the back (with no envelope), and the seal affixed at the free end of the flap outside, on the reverse Only fragments of the seal are left The address runs thus 'Affair to be made known to His Highness's mind Affair to be seen by Itti Unichatha Nampiyar' This must have been the king's private secretary or scribe Size of the letter as folded is 6 2 in, × 3 6 in This appears to be an exact office copy of the letter sent to the king

The Archdeacon mentioned in the latter is Archdeacon George who died in 1637 and was succeeded by Thomas a Campo A tracing of the first three and last three lines of the letter is given on page 366

4 *Archbishop's letter to his Archdeacon,* sanctioning the posting of a priest as vicar, and arranging for certain other affairs The letter ends thus 'Moreover, my disease has not been properly cured I am not yet fit to rise from my cot You should cause your priest to pray for me and to say mass for me O Aru do Endu' Perhaps this letter was signed by Archbishop Stephen in 1641, just before his death.

5 *Six resolutions of a meeting* of the Syrian Christians held soon after learning that their new non-European Bishop Ahatalla (1652) was seized by the Portuguese and taken to Goa without being allowed to land in Cochin in spite of the Christians' request

The sixth resolution is to the effect that during the next lenten season all should assemble in Idapalli and appoint one to rule over the Malabar diocese It was thus that Archdeacon Thomas a Campo was made Bishop (1653), while Archbishop Garcia was still in power over the same diocese

6 Portuguese Captain's reply from the Cochin Fort to an " Armenian come from Mecca " He seems to have been a bishop, perhaps Ahatalla himself This is a very insulting reply, warning him ' not to spoil the St Thomas Christians of Malabar and send them to hell ' This reply is perhaps of 1652

7 *Three resolutions of a meeting* of the Syrian Christians held under the leadership of the above Bishop Mar Thomas on Saturday 20th December, 1653, i e seven months after his appointment as Bishop All the three resolutions provide for money to be given by priests for the Bishop's expenses in view of the fact that no grant from the King of Portugal could legitimately be sanctioned for the rival bishop This sheet bears the signature of Bp Thomas in Syriac, and also his seal in Syriac almost intact

8 *Patriarch's letter* dated 25th December of ' the year of Alexander 1916 ' This corresponds to 1658 A D It says that the writer of the letter knew of the fate of Bp. Ignatius (Ahatalla) sent by him, and approves of the consecration of Bp Thomas (1653) This seems to be a Malayalam translation of the Syriac original

The ninth historical document is a summary of the well-known Christian copper plates of Thomas of Cana (traditionally of 345 A D), entrusted to the Portuguese by Bishop Mar Abraham in 1544 A.D , but since lost or missing.

These documents are important in other respects also, (1) because paper manuscripts in Vatteluthu characters are extremely rare although Vatteluthu records on palm-leaf, bamboo, copper, and stone are extant in large numbers in South India, and (2) because they help us in finding out whether the first types cut by Gonsalvez in Cochin 1577 in " Malabar-Tamil " characters were in Vatteluthu or Arya-Grantha the old form of modern Malayalam letters

This is what Fr Paulinus says in his *India Orientalis,* the book already quoted

|Page 181| " Anno 1577 Coccini primus characteres Malabarico-Tamulieos sculpsit Joannes Gonsalvez Hispanus laicus, S J , quibus primo catholicae fidei rudimenta typis edita, Indiae innotuere Anno 1578 |Page 182| in *Punni-cal* characters Tamulicos orae Piscariae et Coromandelicae peculiares conflavit, et elaboravit P Joannes de Fari S J , quibus edidit opus inscriptum *Flos sanetorum* "

Here the author makes distinction between Malabar-Tamil characters and Tamil characters But since the earliest extant book printed in Cochin is a Tamil book in Tamil characters preserved in the Sorbonne library (a photo of the first page of which I have examined and copied), several writers have supposed that Gonsalvez's types of 1577 were Tamil types, without ascertaining whether that Tamil book was actually printed with Gonsalvez's types of 1577 As evidenced by the documents dealt with above, Vatteluthu was freely used in the seventeenth century in writing Malayalam, and was also known as ' Malayam-Tamil (Malabar-Tamil) In the sixteenth century too it was used for that purpose Arya-Grantha characters also were employed in both those centuries for writing Malayalam It is therefore reasonable to infer that what Fr Paulinus calls Malabar-Tamil types were Vatteluthu types, and not Tamil or Arya-Grantha, and that no copy of the book printed with Gonsalvez's Vatteluthu types has yet been brought to light, or survives to this day

[illegible]

x x x x x x x

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE APASTAMBA SMRITI

BY

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In Apararka, Haradatta *Smrithicandrika* and other works there are numerous quotations in verse ascribed to Apastamba

These quotations are concerned with the topic of ahnika, sraddha and prayascitta Three of these are found in the Apastamba smriti in verse (Jivananda's Collection, Vol I, pp 567-584, chap I, verses 16, 19 and 31) But the quotations from Smrithicandrika and Apararka show that the verse Apastamba was a much longer work and since they regarded the versified work as equally authoritative with the sutra work, the versified smriti must have been comparatively an ancient work "[1]

This view of Mr P V Kane holds good and the examination of a manuscript of an *Apastamba Smriti* in six patalas in the Adyar Library (XXXIII F 10), induced a further investigation into the question On closer examination it was found that this work had not attracted the attention which it merited The Director of the Adyar Library—to whom our thanks are due—on being informed of the value and importance of the work readily consented to include it in the series of publications projected by the Adyar Library

The verse *Smriti* of Apastamba, now under consideration is different from the work printed by Jivananda and M N Dutt, but the two printed versions are identical and treat about the prayascitta part The former consists of six patalas and runs to about 800 granthas. I give below the contents of the various sections

Patala —1 Nivasadesapatala , 2 Ahnika , 3 Snanani , 4 Japam, 5 Brahmayajna and other daily routine, and 6. Sraddha

A close examination of the text shows that this *Smriti* is a portion of a larger whole and forms a part of general comprehensive scheme as has been pointed out in the case of the school of Apastamba The verse Smriti in six patalas treats about matters of daily routine and Sraddha while the printed version of Jivananda and M N Dutt, deal with prayascitta (penances)

One distinct feature to be noted about this work of Apastamba is that it has a distinct leaning towards vaishnavism It cites the rule that certain *Smritikaras* like Gautama hold that the *arghya* in the evening *sandhya* may be given sitting Apastamba holds the definitely opposite view that the *arghya must be given only standing,* whether in the morning or in the evening Secondly, he also definitely states that a *Sraddha* must be performed only after the food has been offered to Vishnu These two are in complete agreement with the rules laid down by Sri Ramanuja, Sri Vedanta Desika in his work *Rahasya trayasara* cites with force that even in his last days Sri Ramanuja stood up and offered the arghya in spite of his being on his death bed This is just to show the effective way in which an injunction is to be laid down and carried out

Apastamba mentions eighteen Rishis as the writers of Dharmasastra (Patala I, vv 23-24) They are Manu, Brihaspati Daksa, Santama, Sama, Angiras, Yogisvara, Pracetas, Satatatapa Parasara, Samvarta, Usanas, Sankhalikhitā, Atri, Vishnu, Apastamba, and Harita Eighteen authors of Grihyasutras are also mentioned (Patala I, vv 25-29) They comprise Bodhayana, Apastamba, Satyasadha, Drahyayana, Agastya, Sakalya, Asvalayana, Sambhaviya, Katyayanā, Vaikhanasa, Saunaka, Agnivesa, Jaimini, Vadhula, Madhyandina, Kaundinya, and Kausitaki The list has to be carefully examined

Several writers of digests have quoted Apastamba Mr. Kane has remarked that all quotations of Apastamba are not traceable in the printed texts of sutra and verse smritis of Apastamba I have been able to identify several of these verses in the present smriti of Apastamba The earliest writer of digests, Lakshmidhara, has quoted from this work of Apastamba The Parasara Smriti of Madhava profusely quotes from this work, the Kaladarsa of Aditya Bhatta contains a few verses from Apastamba found in this work While thus it is possible to state that this Smriti of Apastamba is earlier than Lakshmidhara, no definite date can be fixed at present The reference to Katyayana in the first patala and to Narada later may influence the view that the work belongs to the 8th century A D The matter awaits investigation and will be taken when the printed text of the work is issued by the Adyar Library

VEDAS AND SOUND RECORDS ·

BY

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Vedas are the genesis of the Hindu religion Literally, Veda signifies knowledge , and Sayana defines Veda thus

इष्टप्राप्त्यनिष्टपरिहारयोरलौकिकमुपायं यो ग्रन्थः वेदयति स वेदः। अत एवोक्तम्

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते ।
एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्माद्वेदस्य वेदता ॥

The import of the Vedas is omniscience and their merit is omnipotence Bhartrihari refers to the eternity of the Vedas

अनादिमध्यरहितां श्रुतिमाहुरकर्तृकाम् । (V P I—146)

Vedas are Eternal Speech revealed by Brahma In commenting on Brahmasutra (1-3-28)

शब्द इति चेन्नातः प्रभवात् प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्याम् ।

Sayana quotes Smriti

अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयम्भुवा ।
आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतस्सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः ॥

and to this authority, he adds in his preface to the Rig Veda

"वाचा विरूपनित्यया" इति श्रुति ॥

Vedas are thus Nitya-sabda, eternal words or eternal sounds The worship of Vak as Brahman is inculcated even in the Upanisads नयो वाचं ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते—(Chandogya, VIII—2)

The divine qualities of the Vedas lead to the visualisation of the Eternal Spirit in the combination of letters (Aksara) and of words (Vak), in Varnamala (wreath of letters) Patanjali says in Mahabhashya (I-2-3) ·

सोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितःफलितः चन्द्रः तारकवत् ।

Letters are called *aksara,* the same term as is applied to Brahman Aksara—Aksara literally means Imperishable. Patanjali says .

अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यादश्नातेर्वासरोक्षरम् । नक्षीयते नक्षरतीति वा अक्षरं ।
वर्णज्ञान वाग्विषयो यत्र यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।

and elsewhere

महता देवेन नस्साम्यं यथा स्यात् , इत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥

" One should study grammar for attaining equality or sameness with the Great God "

To the linguistic philosopher, Sabda is not an artificial human device, it is the effulgence manifested by the Sub-conscious (Caitanya) for the communication of desires So said Punyaraja

प्रत्यक् चैतन्यस्यान्वस्सन्निविष्टस्य परबोधनाय शक्तिरभिव्यन्दति ॥

In dealing with the two kinds of Sabdas, colloquial and divine Bhartirihari writes .

अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥
तस्माद्यतश्शब्दसंस्कारः सा सिद्धिः परमात्मन. ।
तस्य प्रवृत्तितत्त्वज्ञस्तद्ब्रह्मामृतमश्नुते ॥ (V P. I—133).

Vak which is primarily vocal expression creates Sabda Sabda which is primarily 'sound' is figuratively used as meaning 'word' So is Vak which is speech In its particular application of the significance of sounds, the eternal sounds, *nitya-sabda* of the Vedas, Vedas are known as *sruti,* literally, 'what is heard', and from what is heard, follows what is understood or appreciated, that is, from Sabda follows ' Bodha ' or ' Understanding ' Between Sabda and Bodha, there is Sphota (or Dhvani) which is the characteristic capacity of a word to signify its import

Writers of the Sphota school elaborately discussed the origin, progress, and effect of sounds They call the first contact of sound 'tremour' and the later effects as sub-sounds which last after the tremour ceases.

Bhartrihari says, thus

द्रव्याभिघातात् प्रचितौ भिन्नौ दीर्घप्लुतावपि ।
कम्पे तूपरते जाता नादा वृत्तेर्विशेषका. ॥
अनवस्थितकम्पेऽपि करणे ध्वनयोऽपरे ।
वादेवोपजायन्ते ज्वालाज्वालान्तरादिव ॥ (V P I —106-7)

The source of sound is in the atoms of the air and the quality of the sound follows the exit of the air propelled by the attempt of the speaker through particular anatomical parts of the mouth and its precincts (Sthanas) Thus emanate particular sounds, Guttural, Labial, Dental, Cerebral, and Palatal :

लब्धक्रियः प्रयत्नेन वक्तुरिच्छानुवर्तिना ।
स्थानेष्वभिहतो वायुः शब्दत्वं प्रतिपद्यते ॥
तस्य कारणसामर्थ्यात् वेगप्रचयधर्मिण. ।
सन्निपातात् विभज्यन्ते सारवत्योऽपि मूर्तय· ॥
आमवः सर्वशक्तित्वात् भेदसंसर्गवृत्तय ।
छायातपतमश्शब्दभावेन परिमाणिन ॥
स्वशक्तौ व्यज्यमानायां प्रयत्नेन समीरिता ।
अभ्राणीव प्रचीयन्ते शब्दाख्याः परमाणव· ॥
अथेदयान्तरं ज्ञानं सूक्ष्मवागात्मना स्थिताः ।
व्यक्तये स्वस्य रूपस्य शब्दत्वेन निवर्तते ॥
स मनोभावमापद्य तेजसा पाकमागत ।
वायुमाविचति प्राण यथासौ समुदीर्यते ॥
अन्त करणतत्त्वस्यवायुराशयता गत ।
तद्धर्मेण समाविष्टस्तेजसैव विवर्तते ॥
विभज्य स्वात्मनो ग्रन्थीन् श्रुतिरूपैः पृथग्विधैः ।
प्राणो वर्णानभिव्यज्य वर्णेष्वेवोपलीयते ॥

and it is added that the progress of Sabda had its origin in the Vedas only

शब्दस्य परिणायोऽय मित्याम्नायविदो विदुः ।
छन्दोभ्य एव प्रथममेतद्विश्व व्यवर्तत ॥ (V P 109-16, 121)

An exposition of Vak and sound in the language of the Yoga is equally interesting In Ahirbudhnyasamhita this exposition is elaborate

Speech begins with *nada* resembling the sound of a deep bell and perceptible to perfect Yogins only, the nada develops into Bindu (Anusvara) which is two-fold, Sabda-Brah-

man or sound-Brahman, and the Bhuti (related to each other as the name and the bearer of the name), and then from the Bindu, proceed two kinds of sound, Vowels (Svara) and consonants (Vyanjana) In accordance with the theory of four states of sound, Para, Pasyanti, Madhyama, and Vaikhari, the fourteen vowels or rather the *a* their common root, gradually emerge from their latent condition by proceeding, with the Kundalini Sakti, from the Mooladhara (Perinium) to the navel, the heart, and finally the throat, where the first uttered sound is the aspirate, for which reason, Visarga is interpreted literally as 'creation' (Sristi), and its counterpart, the anusvara or bindu being in an analagous way declared to represent the 'withdrawal' of speech The Anusvara is called Sun (Surya), and the Visarga 'Moon' (Soma), and the sounds 'a' to 'o' and 'k' to 'h' are respectively Sunbeam and Moonbeam, and, as such, connected with day and night and with the Nadis called 'Pingala' and 'Ida'"

(F Otto Schrader's Intr to Edn pp 118-9)

The merit of Sruti is not in its topical contents, but, in the dynamic and spiritual merit of its expression, that is *Sabda* or sound emerging from the *Vak* emanating from the recitation of the Hymns The sequence and the cadence of the sounds produce a continuous series of vibration that cause phenomena on and about the objects contacted by the vibrations That is the same as in the wireless telegraphy It is the vibrations that are caught and received and interpreted as they pass in the open atmosphere In the Vedic Mantra (Hymns), it is the sound that emanates from the voice that is primary The topics are secondary, and the verbal expression was only vehicular, that is, the letters of the words are only meant to be the vehicle of the sound intended to be delivered in particular sequence and cadence for transmission in order to produce a desired result To state shortly, the Mantra is only an easy means of expressing a series of sounds capable of discharging a course of vibrations which will exhibit a particular physical consequence To give an illustration, it is easier and more alluring to repeat a *song* composed in a particular Raga than to learn by

rote the *lakshana* formed by the seven letters 'sa' 'ri' 'ga' 'ma' etc. are mere *akaras*.

On this same principle is founded the efficacy of the divine missiles, 'Astras,' such as 'Brahmastra' These missiles are generated and controlled by Mantras which are couched in particular combinations of sound-producing letters Visvamitra initiated Rama into these 'Mantras' on pronouncing which the divine missiles presented themselves in their prescribed form Astras are enumerated and described in various works such as the Ahirbudhnyasamhita, Chapters 30-40.

The object of the Vedas is the imparting of knowledge for attaining happiness and eternal bliss and that is done by chanting the Vedas without fault or error in the utterance of the letters (Varna) or the intonation (Svara) It is essential that the vibrations which the expression of the Hymns' words produce should not miscarry That has been strictly enjoined by the Veda itself, there it is said that a wrong recital produces results often the reverse of the intended There is an illustration in the Veda itself (Tait Samh) .

दुष्टःशब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
सवाग्वज्र यजमान हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रं शत्रु स्स्वरतोपराधात् ॥

तत्रेन्द्रमित्रस्वेसिद्धे सति इन्द्रस्य शत्रुर्भवेत्यत्रार्थे प्रतिपाद्ये अन्तोदात्ते प्रयोक्तव्ये आद्युदात्तः ऋत्विजा प्रयुक्त इति अर्थान्तराभिधानादिन्द्रएव वृत्रस्य शातयिता संपन्न

(Mah Bhashya Bom Edn pp 28-29)

Where the object of a sacrifice was 'to generate such a person as is capable of killing Indra,' and for that purpose, the invocation should be *Svahendrasatrurvaahasva* the chanting of this invocation with a wrong intonation on the first syllable of 'Indra' produced the contrary result, for a person was generated, but he was killed by Indra The compound 'Indra-satru' means either the 'destroyer of Indra' or 'one that can be destroyed by Indra' according to the intonation used on the syllables

The hymns of the Vedas are used for various purposes. There are hymns that can cure diseases, that can relieve

pain of poison, that can hasten easy delivery, that can cause water to sprout, that can produce rain, and the like. Veda-prayoga mentions the purpose of particular hymns and the use to which their recitals can be put to in need For attaining these purposes it is the correct expression of the Varna and Svara that is requisite, and an error makes it vicious or ineffective

The study of the Vedas according to the strict rules of orthodox prescription is fast disappearing and the circle of persons that can repeat faultlessly the whole of the Samhitas is fast diminishing It is the vedas that are the foundation of the Hindu Religion and no devout Hindu can neglect the preservation of such a noble heritage There are a few savants of Krishna Yajus, but in the case of Sukla-Yajus or Sama or Atharva, scholars have become so rare that they have now to be sought for, and with them, if there are a few anywhere, such learning will soon become extinct These chants are not easy to learn by reading from printed books with intonations marked there as in musical albums They are conveyed from generation to generation by teachers to pupils and it is that tradition that has kept up the continuity of faultless expression In order to conserve the lore of Vedic chants in its purity of expression, it is proposed to copy the recital of the hymns in sound recording apparatus for the benefit of India's progeny and for the propagation of the teachings of the Vedas and their real import to all humanity, and to begin with Sama Veda In the recital of Sama Veda, there have been already differences in the mode of chanting between north India and south India, between the Andhra country and the Tamil country, between two schools in the Tamil country itself of which one is almost a score of years old, that Sama chants must be such as can be sung on instruments

I have ventured to offer the preface to this Project as my humble contribution to the volume meant for commemorating the Scholarship of my beloved master, Sriman K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, in the hope that it will thus have an auspicious inauguration

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT COCHIN

BY

T. K. KRISHNA MENON, B A , B L ,
Cochin.

I have very great admiration for the noble character and high attainments of my friend, Rao Bahadur K V. Rangaswami Aiyangar This article is a humble tribute of mine to him on the auspicious occasion of his *Shashtyabdapoorthi*, the completion of his sixtieth year Though he owns a complete equipment to be a model teacher of the modern type, yet those who have closely moved with him know that he resembles a *Guru* of the old *Aryan* monastic school That is why I have selected this subject for my contribution to the Commemoration Volume For the *Guru-śishya-sampradāya* was a prominent feature in the educational institutions in ancient Cochin

This paper may fittingly be started with a few sentences on the subject which I wrote as Editor of the Blue-book on the *Progress of Cochin* "Education is more widely diffused in British Provinces than in Native States But the three Native States of Cochin, Travancore and Baroda, however, take rank above all British Provinces except Burma , while, in respect of female Education, Cochin divides with Burma the honour of the first place In Burma, however, there are comparatively few who have received a University education or studied in a High or Middle school ," while, in Cochin, their number is legion The above statement of the *Census Report* of 1911 is repeated by the *London Times* in 1930 in its leader on the *Simon Commission Report* "In education, for instance, which lies at the root of political understanding, a number of the Indian States can show a percentage of literates which is far ahead of the average for British India.

Travancore and Cochin head the list with figures which more than double the average The great State of Baroda comes a good third"

To those who are conversant with the past history of Cochin there will be no cause for surprise in the above commendable condition of education in the State. Even in the earliest period of which there is any record, education was encouraged by the rich and the poor alike Formerly, education was given through each *Kara,* which would correspond to a part of a modern village Each *Kara* had its own *pāthaśāla,* elementary school, presided over by an *āsān,* the village schoolmaster These schools were of the mixed type, in which both boys and girls were taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and a set of selected hymns, besides *Kāvyas* and the elements of astronomy and astrology These schools were held in the houses of rich men or in sheds put up by the people of the *Kara*

In aristocratic families there used to be erudite scholars learned in different departments of knowledge, or they would entertain such scholars as family teachers They took in aspirants for higher studies Besides these avenues of learning, there were *Sabhā-Mutts* and *Gurukulams* maintained in *grāmams* in different parts of the State, in which students were taught vedas and Sastras by saintly scholars Institutions like these are answerable for the great number of poets and scholars and for the many classic works of which Cochin may well feel proud

Before we lightly touch on these institutions, it will be profitable if we go back a little further into the past when Jains and Buddhists came into the land in large numbers Buddhism had a long innings in Kerala The Buddhist *Sanyāsis* went about preaching their religion, built *viharas,* and spent a good portion of their time in spreading education among the people Dr K S Menon, in his introduction to the *Rasa Vaiśēshika Sūṭra,* says, "under the kind care

and tutelage of the Buddha *Sanyāsis*, the Nayars attained a marvellous degree of scholarship and acuteness in all branches of Indian *Sastras* They became religious teachers and preachers and some attained fame as authors of works"

They were able to convert one or two Perumals who ruled all Kerala from Vanci (Tiruvanchikulam in the Cochin State) There is a place called Matilakam, about four miles north of Cranganoor (Kotungallūr, the ancient Muziris) and five miles away from Vanci Matilakam originally belonged to Cochin Vanci was also known as Mahōdyapuram (Mahādēvarpattanam) It was here that the saint Sundaramūrtti lived At Matilakam (also known as Trggunavāyil Kōtu, Trguna-Matikkam), there was a University of which the Rector was Ilangō-Adigal, son of Imayavaramban Neduncēralāṭan Ilan-gō-adigal was made the Rector and the President of the *Vidvatsabha* by his brother Senkuttavan who succeeded his father Ilam-go-adigal became a Buddhist Monk and lived in the *caitya* near Matilakam *Śilappadhikāram* by him, and *Manimēkhalai* by his friend, Śittala Śāttaṉar, two of the *pancamahākāvyas* of the Tamil literature, were published from Matilakam The University was adorned by the presence of renowned Sanskrit and Tamil Poets, Buddhist and Jaina scholars and erudite pandits in every department of knowledge, temporal and spiritual It was to this place that Kannaki came for her higher studies

Maṭilakam was a great city in those days From *Tenkailānāṭhōdayam Campu* and *Śivavilāsa-Kāvya* we find that the Cochin (Perumpadappu) Rulers were holding their court there Even in Mēppattur Bhattatiri's day it was so, for he saw his patron from there

गुणपुरसीम्नि वसन्त शृणुमो माटेश्वर पुरैव वयम् ।
अद्य तु विलोकयामस्तमिम गुणपूरसीम्नि विलसन्तम् ॥

In *Śukasandēśam* there is a description of this place which is the residence of the heroine of that work In it there is also a reference, which is more pertinent to the

subject, to a *Sabhā-Mutt* near Tripoonithura, the present seat of the Ruling family of Cochin.

प्रज्ञोत्कर्ष प्रकटन कृते प्राश्निके प्राज्ञलोके
कल्लोलाभैर्मतिजलनिधेरुत्थितैस्तर्कजालैः ।
स्पर्धाबन्धादवहितधिय. स्पष्टमत्रार्थं रत्नं
श्रौते लीनं सदसि रहसि श्रावकाः श्रावयेयुः ॥

This *ślōka* gives a distant echo of the lively debate of the intelligent students who were working in *Mutts* to earn scholarship in *Vedas* and *Śāstras* Uddanda Sastri gives in his *Kōkilasandēśa* a distinct hint of the evidence of erudition that prevailed in another part of Cochin of his time After crossing the Bhārata River, the messenger is asked to go to Vanńēri Nātu, the original home of the Cochin Perumpatappu rulers

तामुत्तीर्णस्सरितममृतस्यन्दिमाकन्द वृन्दान्
देशान् पूतान् पत गुणगणैर्नैत्रनारायणीयै. ।

And then come these two verses about Payyūr Bhattatiris which will not fail to raise even now a thrill of delight in the hearts of all true lovers of Sanskrit learning

किञ्चित्पूर्वं रणखळभुवि श्रीमदद्धयक्षयेथा-
स्तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोस्सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः ।
विद्वद्वृन्दे विवदितुमनस्यागते यत्र शश्वद्
व्याख्याशालावळभिनिलयस्तिष्ठते कीरसघाः ॥

शास्त्रव्याख्या हरिहरकथा सत्क्रियाभ्यागताना-
मालापो वा यदि सह बुधैराक्षिपेदस्य चेत ।
तद्विसब्धिद्विजपरिवृते निष्कुटाद्रौ निषण्ण
कोकूयेथास्स खलु मधुरां सूक्तिमाकर्ण्य तुष्येत् ॥

Mēppattur Narayana Bhattatiri was a nephew of the great Payyūr Bhattatiris To free himself from a fell disease he composed *Nārāyaniyam* from the (Mukhamantapam) platform in front of the inner sanctuary of Śrī Krishna in

the famous Guruvāyūr temple It is a marvellous devotional poem where he has beautifully compressed the *Srimat Bhāgavaṭam* in 1000 *ślōgams* of various metres. Strange to say, by divine grace, he was wholly cured of his disease To illustrate the gifted poet's scholarship, two verses from his *Nārāyaniyam* shall be given here.

केशपाशघृतपिञ्छिकावितति सञ्चलन्मकरकुण्डल
हारजालवनमालिकाललितमङ्गरागघनसौरभम् ।
पीतचेलधृतकाञ्चिकाञ्चितमुदञ्चदशुमणिनूपुर
रासकेळिपरिभूषित तव हि रूपमीश कलयामहे ॥

योगीन्द्राणां त्वदङ्गेष्वधिकसुमधुरं मुक्तिभाजां निवासो
भक्ताना कामवर्षद्युतरुकिसलयं नाथ ते पादमूलम् ।
नित्य चित्तस्थित मे पवनपुरपते कृष्ण कारुण्यसिन्धो
हृत्वा निश्शेषतापान् प्रदिशतु परमानन्दसन्दोहलक्ष्मीम् ॥

Bhattōji Dikshiṭar was so much charmed by the brilliance of Bhattatiri's *Prakriyāsarvasvam,* a treatise on grammar, that he wanted to pay his respects to the learned author in person But the death of the latter prevented their meeting It is not possible to resist the temptation to quote the opening invocatory verse of that work which must have caught the eye and touched the heart of Dīkshiṭar

रासविलासविलोलं स्मरत मुरारेर्मनोहरं रूपम् ।
प्रकृतिषु यत् प्रत्ययवत् प्रत्येकं गोपिकासु संमिळितम् ॥

He, Tunjaṭṭ Ezuthaśśan and Vidvān Elaya Thampuran, intellectual giants of their times, were the products of the traditional mode of Sanskrit study , and they had a number of *sishyas* under them

The education of children began very early After the (initiation into learning) *Vidyārambha* ceremony, they were either taught at home or sent to a village school. It was only after they completed their studies in these schools that they proceeded to the Mutts, or to institutions, or to

great houses like those of Kotungallūr or Payyūr that specialised in varied courses of higher studies

In Cochin, there were in early days Sabha-Mutts at Trikana-Maṭilakam, Trichur, Kumbalam, Irinjālakuda, Peruvanam and Chovannūr These stood mainly for vedic studies, although in some *Sastras* also were taught To these students came only after their preliminary education in *pāṭhaśālas* Those who had not to or could not study vedas resorted to other places like the Kotungallūr Kōvilakam or to Payyūr Mana where instruction in Sastras was imparted by the specialists in each branch of learning, such as *Nyāya*, *Vyākarana*, *Alamkāra* or *Jyōtisha* and so on , or they would go to the residence of an *Ashtavaidyan* to study medicine

Even in *Mutts* and also in certain temples, occasions were designed specially to promote vedic studies These were the *Ōttūttu*, *Trsandha*, *Panchasandha* and *Vāram* at which vedas are even now repeated by experts for a number of days Once a year a competitive examination is still held in Katavallūr in the Talapilly Tāluk of the Cochin State, and the *Katannmikkal* there is regarded as the blue ribbon of vedic studies

In Kotungallūr (Cranganur) the members of the Rajas' family used to generally devote a good part of their time to instruct students who went to them to specialise in different branches of knowledge Their erudition was far famed and the poetical skill of some equally so On one occasion, a starving scholar from the other side of the ghats was on his way to see a liberal patron of learning in Kerala He represented to a distinguished scion of this family that he had nothing to offer as a present to the Ruler to whose court he was going Without any doubt, the Kotungallūr Thampuran scribbled this verse on a piece of *ola* and gave it to him.

दारिद्र्यस्य दयालुत्वं किं ब्रवीमि महीपते ।
आत्मनाशमनादृत्य भवन्त मामदर्शयत् ॥

When it was presented to the Ruler, he at once asked the scholar whether he had been to Kotungallūr, as he knew that precious poetical gem could be had from nowhere else.

Many of the rulers of Cochin, besides themselves being scholars and poets, were liberal patrons of learning, and encouraged scholarship and talents in an uncommon measure They also regularly made large contributions to the up-keep of *Mutts* and *Pāthaśālas* provided they were maintained in an efficient manner

There were rules and regulations for the proper management of these educational institutions, for admission and for the daily conduct of the pupils, for hours of study, rest and recreation, which had to be strictly followed

नस्त्रिया सह सल्लापमपि कुर्यान्न नर्तनम् ।
नच गीत न वा वाद्य नच वक्त्रनरवादिभि· ॥

आलस्यमनृत हिसा यच्च वा नाभिनन्दति ।
स्वोपाध्यायस्तदप्येष यत्नेन परिवर्जयेत् ॥

These precepts were scrupulously observed by the disciples during the period of their studentship Any violation of the rules of conduct meant expulsion from the *Mutt* and condign punishment in the *pāthaśāla*

The students had to be fed free, and carefully looked after by the *Mutts* and, even in the *pāthaśālas,* the teachers received only nominal remuneration or present during the Onam, Vishu and Tiruvātira festivals. The *Sishyas* looked on their *Gurus* with the utmost veneration, whose lightest wish was a law into them, and the relationship that existed between them was of the most cordial kind

THE AUTHORS OF THE RIGVEDA

BY

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The Rigveda contains nearly 10500 verses in different metres, grouped into 1017 hymns and these hymns are again grouped into ten Books called Mandalas The whole of this text is attributed to the authorship of about 700 Risis In most of the cases the authorship is genuine But in a few cases it is purely arbitrary Thus there are a few hymns in the form of dialogues in which the person who speaks is spoken of as the author of that verse On the face of it, the author must be some one else and the persons who speak in the dialogue are only characters in the work of the author and not themselves the authors

These authors, numbering about seven hundred, belong mostly to a few families There are seven chief families, and out of the ten Books, seven Books, namely II to VIII comprise of hymns composed by the members of these seven families These seven families are Grtsamada Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Atri, Bharadvāja Vasistha and Kanva Apart from these seven families for which a whole Book is assigned each, there is the great family of the Angiras, in which also there are a large number of authors, whose hymns are found scattered throughout the Rigveda

According to Indian tradition, the principle of arranging the ten Books is that the biggest of the two Books are put, one at the beginning and the other at the end The first Book has 191 hymns and the tenth too has the same number In the first Book, most of the hymns are associated with sacrifices, while in the last, there are many secular and philosophical hymns. The ninth Book is completely dedi-

cated to Soma, and that has the next highest number of hymns, namely 114 Books II to IX are arranged, as a general rule, in the ascending order of the number of hymns in them Thus the second Book with only 43 hymns comes in the beginning of this group and the ninth comes at the end For the remainder of the Books, namely III to VIII, the number of hymns is as follows , 62, 58, 87, 75, 104 and 92 (This enumeration excludes the 11 Vālakhilya hymns of the eighth Book) This is not strictly in the ascending order The fourth Book with its 58 hymns should have preceded the third Book with its 62 hymns The sixth Book with its 75 hymns should have preceded the fifth Book with its 87 hymns. And the eighth Book with its 92 hymns should have preceded the seventh Book with its 104 hymns According to tradition there is an explanation of this precedence, that overlooks the general order Thus Viśvāmitra (Book III) should have followed Vāmadeva (Book IV), but precedes him since he is the author of the great Gāyatri verse But he did not precede Grtsamada because Grtsamada was born a Ksatriya and through the grace of Indra became a Brahmin, and was the author of some of the most beautiful hymns of the Rigveda Thus Viśvāmitra, in spite of his Gāyatri, had to come after him In this way tradition assignes some reason for other cases also

Even within the Books, there is some order for the arrangement of the hymns The longest hymns come first and the succeeding hymns come in the descending order If there is the father and the son, the father's hymn comes first and then comes the hymn of the son The hymns of the chief Risi in the family have precedence over the hymns of the other Risis of the family

Madhucchandas is the father and Jetr is his son The first ten hymns of the first Book belong to Madhucchandas and the eleventh belongs to the son. In the first Book Kanva's hymns (36 to 43) are followed by the hymns of his son Praskanva (44 to 50) Viśvāmitra is the father and Risabha is the son In the third Book, the first

twelve hymns are by Viśvāmitra and then the two hymns of his son follow.

This too is only a general principle This is not strictly adhered to, but is abandoned on weightier considerations In the third Book, Viśvāmitra is the son of Gāthin , but the hymns of Viśvāmitra come at the very beginning of the Book and the father's hymns come later (19 to 22) In the same Book, Kata is the father and Utkīla is the son Both of them have two hymns each, namely, 17 and 18 for the father and 15 and 16 for the son Still the son precedes the father for reason that in the two hymns of the son there are thirteen verses together, while in the two hymns of the father there are altogether only ten verses In the fifth Book, Arcanānas is the father and Śyāvāśva is the son But the hymns of Arcanānas (63 and 64) follow the hymns of Śyāvāśva (52 to 60) Tradition explains this reverse order as due to the fact of Śyāvāśva having been the author of a larger number of hymns than his father Arcanānas When there are brothers, the eldest come first and then the younger and so on Thus in the sixth Book there are the three brothers, namely Suhotra (hymns 31 and 32), Śuna-hotra (33 and 34) and Nara (35 and 36) Usually if there are brothers appearing, another Risi does not come between them But in the eighth Book, Nābhāka has com posed the hymns 39 to 42 and his brother Triśoka has composed the hymn 45 Between the two brothers, hymns 43 and 44 belong to Virūpa Here the explanation is that with the hymn of Nābhāka the Anuvāka ends The next two hymns by Virūpa belong to Agni and then the hymn of Triśoka, the brother of Nābhāka comes in as this is addressed to Indra Usually in the beginning of a Book hymns addressed to Agni come and then follow the hymns to Indra This order is taken up here also in the beginning of the new Anuvāka , and in two different Anuvākas the order based on brothers is not followed

In the seven Books mentioned above, namely Books II to VIII, there is one chief Risi and the rest are the lesser Risis

of the families It will be found on an examination of the list of Risis (which I am not giving here since the list is available in the Editions of the Rigveda by Max Muller and by Th Aufrecht), that in the fifth Book, there is no chief Risi as such The family is called the family of Atri. Atri himself comes in only as the author of a few hymns in the whole Book, and that only in the later portions of the Book Thus only hymns 27, 37 to 43, 76, 77 and 83 to 86, i e, only 14 hymns belong to him His name does not appear till the 27th hymn In all the other Books, it is the hymns of the chief Risi of the family that appear first Thus in the second Book, Grtsamada is the author of the first three hymns and also of hymns 8 to 43, i e, of all the hymns in the Books except four Viśvāmitra is the author of the first twelve hymns in the third Book, and then of hymns 24 to 62 Vāmadeva is the author of the first 41 hymns in the fourth Book Bharadvāja is the author of hymns 1 to 30, 37 to 43 and 53 to 74 of the sixth Book In the seventh Book there are only the hymns of Vasistha, no subordinate Risi comes in here When we come to the eighth Book, here also we find a large number of lesser Risis Kanva does not come in at all The whole book belongs to the Family of Kanva, with a few Risis belonging to other families

In early Anukramanī Literature, the chief Risi is called Amita and the lesser Risis are called Mita It will be noticed that the chief Risi does not always come in the beginning alone His hymns end, the hymns of lesser Risis come in and then sometimes the hymn of the chief Risi appear again Because the arrangement of the hymns in the Books is not always governed by consideration of the author Devatā and Chandas also are taken into consideration when the hymns are arranged That is the reason why the hymns of the same author are not kept together at the same place

In the second Book, the first three hymns are by Grtsamada Then there are four hymns by Somāhuti Grtsamada's hymns continue after that The reason for this interception is given in tradition in the following way The

first two hymns of Grtsamada are in Jagatī metrea and the third is in Tristup. The next hymn by Grtsamada is the eighth and the metre there is Gāyatrī The first hymn of Somāhuti is in Tristup Then there is one Anustup and two Gāyatrī hymns This Tristup of Somāhuti comes in well at that place and his Gāyatrī leads on to the Gāyatrī of Grtsamada Further the eighth hymn, which is by Grtsamada, begins a new Adhyāya and Grtsamada starts a new metre

In the third Book, Viśvāmitra is the author of the first twelve hymns Here an Anuvāka ends So other Risis come in at this stage When Viśvāmitra appears again in the twenty fourth hymn, he continues till the thirtieth hymn in which the devatā is Indra, the metre is Tristup and the number of verses is 22 The next hymn too has the same devatā, the same metre and the same number of verses So, in spite of the change of author, that hymn comes in, the author is Kuśika

I have given the above information to show that even in ancient India, scholars were interesting themselves in the historical aspects of literary studies and that they took pains to decide the historical basis for the arrangement of the vedic text

The genealogical interrelation of these Risis give some clue towards settling the internal chronology of the various portions of the Rigveda The father's compositions must be earlier than the compositions of the son The time between two hymns cannot be greater than the interval between the author of the two hymns Judged from his standard, the whole of the Rigvedic literature must be put to a rather small period of time On an average we find only about three generation of authors In a few cases there are more generations.

Thus there is Kuśika Aisīrathi, Gāthi Kauśika, Viśvāmitra Gāthina, Madhucchandas Vaiśvāmitra and Jetr Mādhucchandasa This works up to five generations Then there is Vasistha Maitrāvaruni, Sakti Vasistha, and Parāśara

Śāktya. According to the Purānas, Vedavyāsa is the son of Parāśara ; but this name does not occur in the Vedas.

There is again further interesting inter-relation among the families Grtsamada, the chief Risi of the second Book is a son of Śunahotra and belongs to Āngirasa Gotra Later he became Gitsamada Bhārgava Śaunaka There is one Śunahotra Bhāradvāja and Bharadvāja is the Chief Risi in the sixth Book Bhrgu is not a Chief Risi in any book, but he is the son of Varuna , and Vasistha is the son of Mitrā-varuna.

It looks as though all these Risis belonged to a compact ethnic group related to each other But here again some difficulty arises If they were all Aryans, belonging to the same ethnic stock and speaking the same language, how is it that there is some discordance in their names ? Most of the names are purely Aryan names, with a definite meaning, like most of the Greek names of the Classical period Vasistha and Bharadvāja are typical Aryan names But what can Kanva mean ? Is the name Aryan ? When we come to the Kanva group in the eighth Book we come across some strange names One of the names is Irimbithi Kanva has his son as Praskanva There is a Vatsa and a Punarvatsa The two names so familiar in the Puranas, Parvata and Nārada come in this family There is Śaśakarna There is a Gosūkti and an Aśvasūkti We find various artificial names, not the significant names of the other Families, like Medhātithi, Medhyātithi, Devātithi, Nīpātithi and Brahmātithi Sobhari is another name here, which is well known in the Purānas There is a Pustigu and Śrustigu On going through the names of the Risis in the Kanva group, one has the impression that the group is somewhat different from the other groups Still the Āngirasas and the Bhārgavas come here also, and the relation of Āngirasas and Bhārgavas to the other groups is quite plain

Many, though not all, of the women authors in the Rigveda also come in this group The metres in this Book

are peculiar. There are a large number of the rarer metres and the double verses called Pragāthas appear profusely in this Book The content of the hymns is also peculiar Nearly all the Dānastutis are in this Book The impression one gets is that from the point of subject matter, this Book is not in the general current of Vedic thought

The presence of the eighth Book leads one to a hypothesis that even at the time of the Rigveda, the Aryan culture has ceased to be purely an Aryan one There is a good deal of non-Aryan element in the Rigveda, mostly in the eighth Book

A consideration of the names of Risis in the Rigveda leads one to the other point of the relation of the Vedic poets to the so-called Iranian stock of the Aryans from whom the Vedic Aryans are supposed to have branched off only shortly prior to the vedic period If this be so, how is it that not a single name of the vedic poets has been retained beyond the Iranian border? Between the Avesta and the Vedas, there may be the common element of the gods and the religion But no personal name appearing in the Rigveda is found in the Avesta This total severence between the two branches of the so-called common Aryan stock must also be explained Neither religion nor language is a test for common race Proper names are a more enduring factor in the history of a nation than religion and language. The complete break between the Avesta and the Veda in so far as personal names are concerned lends support to a view that the Iranians and the Indians on the two sides of a common border did not belong to a common ethnic group and that the Indians did not come to India from a more western land The non-Aryan element in the Rigveda leads one to think that the history of the Aryans in India prior to the Vedic period must be far longer than what modern scholars, who write on the chronology of the Vedas, are willing to accept A fuller study of the proper names in the Vedic literature is sure to reveal more information about the Vedic period than what is available now

LITERATURE AND LIFE.

BY

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The magic of the poetic art can confer on each period of life its appropriate blessing youth, mature life and old age The few poems selected here under will stand in goodstead for one in his various moods where each one of them may be called in to assist his spirits

Generally Tamil poetry is judged by scholars by its age, thoughtfulness, historical information, diction etc But the best way of understanding some poems is to make them part and parcel of one's life When it is so experienced it has a different and mystic meaning—almost becomes a good friend.

The following stanza of Ahananuru deleinates the feeling and serious thoughts of a lover who suffers most in privation and who understands that such sufferings are normal in the man's way of performing his duties He gladdens his heart bringing before it the vision of enjoyment in store after the successful completion of his duty A man may well be comforted and even be made happy when he goes through this stanza several times when he feels separation or worries of other sorts as obstacles in his way of fulfilment of duty The stanza is as follows

'கேள்கே டூன்றவுங் கிளைஞ ராரவும்
கேளல் கேளிர் கெழீஇயின ரொழுகவும்
ஆள்வினைக் கெதிரிய வூக்கமொடு புகல்சிறந்து
ஆரங் கண்ணி யடுபோர்ச் சோழர்
அறங்கெழு நல்லவை யுறந்தை யன்ன
பெறலரு நன்கல னெய்தி நாடுஞ்
செயலருஞ் செய்வினை முற்றின மாயின்

அரண்பல கடந்த முரண்கொள் தானை
வாடா வேம்பின் வழுதி கூடல்
நாளங் காடி நாறு நறுந்தல
நீளிரும் கூந்தன மாஅ யோளொடு
வரைகுயின் றன்ன வான்றோய் நெடுநகர்
நுரைமுகந் தன்ன மென்பூஞ் சேக்கை
நிவந்த பள்ளி நெடுஞ்சுடர் விளக்கத்து
நலங்கே ழாகம் பூண்வடுப் பொறிப்ப
முயங்குகஞ் சென்மோ நெஞ்சே ...

... ...

(*சேரன் பொருநை முன்றுறை மணலினும் பலவே*)

Some poems are to be understood by their pervading spirit and not by translating into other words which are equivalent to the words of the poems Here are a few poems the spirit of which is a fit prescription for the good-part of our mind There are two parts in our minds which fight each other to gain upper-hand. They are good and bad When we are about to lose the balance in favour of mundane and unhealthy thoughts and aspirations, the poems here will tone up the good-part of our mind and enable our thoughts to flow in healthier channels The first here is by Nammalvar and the second by Appar. We feel as if they are our own utterances

' *ஆவி திகைக்க ஐவர் குமைக்குஞ் சிற்றின்பம்*
பாவி யேனைப் பலநீ காட்டிப் படுப்பாயோ
தாவி வையங் கொண்ட தடந்தா மரைகட்கே
கூவிக் கொள்ளுங் கால மின்னங் குறுகாதோ '

' *மனத்திறை திகைத்து நாளும் மாண்பலா நெறிகண் மேலே*
கனைப்பரா லெனசெய்கேனோ கறையணி கண்டத்தானே
தினைத்துணை வேதங்குன்றுந் திலலைச்சிற் றம்பலத்தே
அனைத்துநின் னிலயங்காண்பா னடியனேன் வந்தவாறே '

Humanity is oppressed with the apprehensions of impending perils It is so pessimistic and probes into everything that surrounds it and sees only danger If it goes on like this there will be no peace Appar stimulates us to be optimists and assures that we are always guarded by the Almighty Lord Siva with his frightful fiery weapon-Sula-goes round restlessly humming in our heart and so no untoward thing will dare to approach us only if we see him

wherever we may go. The stanza makes one feel sure of God's protection from evil and raises one to a higher level

> ' எத்திசைச செயிலிம எமககொரு தீதிலை
> தெதகே யெனமுரன றெமமுள உழிதாவா
> முத்தீ யனையதோா மூவிலை வேலபிடி,த
> ததநீ நிறதத ராநெறி யாரே '

The same is given in a most beautiful way by late Prof P Sundaram Pillai (in his மனோனமணீயம) in the following three stanzas The powerlessness of man against unforeseen dangers and unavoidable death is expressed and divine help is looked upon as unfailing even if unasked The author alludes to mythical stories and a Bharatam incident which are of an appealing character and makes us feel the force of the spirit by subtle contrasts like ஆாதுயர அலகா to நீா நிலை The stanzas are here

> ' நீாநிலையின முதலையினவாய நிலைகுலைநத வொருகரிமுன
> ஓாமுறையுன போவிளிகக வுதவினைவந தெனவுரைபபா
> ஆா துயர வளககாவிழும அறிவிலியே னழைபபதறகுன
> போதெரியே னுயிடினும பிறகிடலநின பெருநதகையே '

> ' பாராசா துகிலுரியப பரிதவிககு மொருதெரிவை
> சீா துவரை நகாகருதிச சிதைவொழிநதா ளெனவுரைபபா
> ஆா துணையு மறவிருககு மறிவிலியேன அழைபபதறகுன
> ஊாதெரியே னுயிடினும உறாதிதர லுனககுரித்தே '

> ' மறலிவர மனமபதறும மாாககணடன உனதுலிஙகக
> குறிதழுவி யழிவிலவாங கொணடானமுன் னெனவுரைபபா
> வெறிகழுமிப பொறியழியும வெமபாவி விரவுதறகுன
> நெறியறியே னுயிடினும நோநிறற லுனககுரிததே'

We expect help from those who can help us But they degrade us We are powerless to do anything to mend matters What can we do except to console ourselves and convey our appeal secretly through sentiments such as found in the following stanza from திருசசெநதூா முருகன பிள்ளைத் தமிழ

> ' பொயயா வளமை தருமபெருமைப பொருநைத துறையில நீராடிப
> பூட்டுங கலஙகள வகைவகையே பூட்டி யெடுததுப பாலூட்டி
> மெயயா லணைதது மறுகுதனில விட்டா ரவரை வெறுமலுனை
> வெறுகக வேறு கட்டுணடோ விருமபிப பாலைக கொழிதெடுததுக

கையா லிழைத்த சிற்றிலினை காலா லழிக்கை கடனலகாண்
காப்பா னழிககத் தொடஙகிலெஙகள் கவலை யெவரோ டினியுரைபபோம்
ஐயா வுனது வழியடிமை யடியேஞ சிற்றி லழியேலே
அலைமுத தெறியுந திருசசெநதூ ரரசே சிறறி லழியேலே.'

The partriotic Poet Bharati asks us to give room for the thoughts of bright future and not repent much over the past actions and their results (unless it is for our future guidance). Eternal repentance will not make good the loss already incurred This may soothe us when we are extremely remorseful and helpless ·

'சென றதினி மீளாது மூட ரேநீா எபபோதுஞ சென றதையே
சிந்தைசெயது

கொன றழிககுங கவலையெனுங குழியில வீழநது குமையாதீா
சென றதனைக குறிததல வேணடா

இன றுபுதி தாயபபிறநதோ மென று நீவி ரெணணமதைத
திணணமுற இசைததுக கொணடு

தின றுவிளை யாடியினபுற றிருநது வாழவீா தீமையெலாம
ஒழிநதுபோம திருமபி வாரா.'

These and many other poems appeal themselves variously to us if we go through them often and often and seek guidance and counsel from them If the spirit of such poems becomes one with our spirit then we are really benefited by poetry from all points of view including the Utilitarian The other ways of enjoying poetry are decidedly inferior to this though they are nonetheless useful and enjoyable

JÑĀNAŚRĪ AND HIS WORKS

BY

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In the chapter on Buddhistic philosophy in his *Sarvadarśanasangraha,* Mādhava refers to one Buddhist philosopher, Jñānaśrī by name and quotes a stanza attributed to him The verse is worthy of note as it gives the essence of Buddhistic thought

तदुक्तं ज्ञानश्रिया—

यत्सत् तत् क्षणिक यथा जलधर सन्तश्च भावा अमी
सत्ता शक्तिरिहार्थकर्मणि मितेः सिद्धेषु सिद्धा न सा ।
नाप्येकैकविधा, अन्यथा परकृतेनापि क्रियादिर्भवेत्
द्वेधापि क्षणभङ्गसङ्गतिरतः साध्ये च विश्राम्यति ॥

Ānand Edn p 10

What is (exists), is momentary, even as a cloud The objects that we experience around us do exist and hence are momentary That is to say, existence, *sattā* is the nature and proof of momentariness Herein a possible objection can be anticipated How is it possible to maintain that existence establishes the doctrine of momentariness ? Both are conflicting ideas, for existence or being implies some amount of permanence in time as well as in space, whereas momentariness is just the reverse of it This objection is answered by the Buddhists by giving a new significance to the word *sattā* With them *sattā* means not existence as conceived by others Sattā, existence or being of things means only the efficiency or power of performing some action and serving some purpose This is technically known as '*artha-*

kriyākāritva' That is to say, existence with Buddhists, means that an effect has been produced in some way. This naturally leads to the conclusion that any change in the effect has been produced in some way This naturally leads to the conclusion that any change in the effect means a corresponding change of existence (*sattā*), and with time, an effect undergoes a series of momentary fluxes, each flux giving the effect some change which results in a change of existence For an object exists as qualified by the *present instant* only for that instant and at the next immediately succeeding instant, the nature of the effect as qualified by the temporal factor is changed and hence according to the Buddhists, existence, *sattā,* at the second instant is different from what it was in the previous one That is to say, there would be different units of power (efficiency) at different moments and there should be as many new existences i e, existents must be regarded as momentary, existing at each moment that exerts a new power[1] Now it is very easy to see that this definition of *sattā* leads to the doctrine of momentariness

Further it is not possible to hold that one thing is identical with another What best can be said is that one object is similar to another, but not identical with it Otherwise one thing could do the work of another, which is contrary to experience Thus, for the two reasons (succession, krama and simultaneity, yaugapadya) momentariness is reasonably established The fact that an object cannot simultaneously exist in two moments and as such sequence should be posited, proves the doctrine of momentariness This is the significance of the verse referred to above

Without seeking to maintain or refute the grounds on which Jñānaśrī establishes the doctrine of momentariness, I shall proceed to fix his date and give an account of his works The very fact that Mādhava mentions him as an authority in support of the Buddhistic doctrine of momentariness shows that Jñānaśrī was a logician of established repute, not only among the Buddhists, but among the

Hindus too, as early as the 14th century. Except this solitary reference by Mādhava no other reference to Jñānaśrī or his works is to be met with in Hindu philosophical works

But from the researches of the Rev Rāhula Sānkrtyāyana, we get some further details about Jñānaśrī :—

1 He wrote a Commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramānaviniścaya* (See J B O R S XXII, i App E p 8, also Catalogue Du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale, by P. Cordier, Paris 1915, p 447)

2 He was the author of *Kārya-kāranabhāvasiddhi* (See J B O R S XXII, i App E p 13 and Cordier pp 445-6) [2]

3 He apparently wrote *Ksanabhangādhyāya* (See J B O R S XXII, i, p 34 and XXIV iv, p 143, where Rāhula Sānkrtyāyana mentions the existence of this Ms in the Shālu monastery in Tibet) This work, according to the description of Rāhula, consists of about 3000 granthas and a photographed copy was taken by Rāhula Is this work likely to be only a chapter of the *Kāryakārana-bhāvasiddhi*, by Jñānaśri?

4 *Vyāpticarcā*, an inquiry into the concept of *vyāpti* or invariable concomitance, according to the Buddhist logic A Ms is said to exist in the Shālu monastery The Colophon runs :

कृतिरियं महापण्डित-ज्ञानश्रीमिश्रपादानाम् ,

From which it is possible to make out the author as Jñānaśrī

5 *Bhedābhedapariksā* A Ms in the Shālu monastery The opening lines run as follows

प्रत्येकपक्षोपनिपातिदृषणपरिजिहीर्षया कैश्चित् आश्रीयमाणो भेदाभेदपक्ष परीक्ष्यते ।

6. *Anupalabdhirahasya.* Ms. in the Shālu monastery The work begins

सिद्धान्ते विप्रकीर्णस्यानुपलंभस्य यादृशी ।
रूपनिष्ठा इह तादृश्या. संग्रहः क्रियते स्फुरः ॥

7 *Sarva Śabdābhāvacarcā.* Ms. found in the Shālu monastery.

8 *Apohaprakarana.* Ms in the Shālu monastery. The work begins.

अपोह शब्दलिङ्गाभ्यां प्रकाश्यत इति स्थितिः ।
साध्यते सर्वधर्माणां अवाच्यत्वप्रसिद्धये ॥

9 *Īśvaradūsana* Ms in the Shālu monastery It begins :

कर्मनिर्मितवैचित्र्यं अनीशं यो जगत् जगौ ।
प्रणमामि प्रमाणेन त अव्याहतशासनम् ॥

This work purports to establish the fact, that the world does not require a creator, but is brought about by the law of Karma *Hence no necessity to postulate the existence of* Īśvara

10 *Īśvaravādādhikāravyākhyā* A Ms is found in the Shālu monastery The work ends with

ईश्वरवादाधिकारे वार्तिकसप्तश्लोकीव्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

These words help one to infer that it is a commentary on the *Pramānavārtika*

11 *Yoganirnaya,* Ms in Shālu monastery

12. *Advaitabinduprakarana ,* Ms in Shālu monastery

13 *Sākārasiddhi* Ms of the Shālu monastery

The beginning indicates that this is a commentary on the Pramānavārtika

14 *Sākārasangrahasūtra.* Ms in Shālu monastery

The work begins with the verse·

प्रज्ञा येन खलीकृताबरदशामाकृष्य न· प्रेयसी
सासूद्यं (यं ?) सदसि स्थिनेषु कृतिषु प्रख्यातकीर्तिष्वपि ।
क्रूरन्यायमयो निराकृतिनयो दु.शासन. सांप्रतं
सोऽयं मद्भुजपञ्जरे निपतित. संरक्षतां कौरवाः ॥

This reminds me of the verse in Venīsamhāra of Bhatta Nārāyana, (Act III verse 47) the last line of which has been figuratively utilised by Jñānaśri in challenging the orthodox thinkers of the Hindu philosophical system.

15 Jñānaśrī is also known as the Tibetan translator of the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti. (J B O R S. XXII, i App E p. 10)

About the exact name of the author, in the *Pramānaviniścayatīkā* he is mentioned as Jñānaśribhadra and in the *Kāryakāranabhāvasiddhi* as Jñānaśrimitra Mādhava refers to him simply as Jñānaśrī Coming to the date of Jñānaśrī, we are fairly aware of the two limits He flourished after the author of the Venīsamhāra and considerably earlier to Mādhavācārya Rev Rāhula Sānkrtyāyana ascribes 1076 A C to the *Pramānaviniścayatīkā* and 1075 A C to the *Kāryakāranabhāvasiddhi* and 1050 A C as the date of Composition of the Tibetan translation of Dharmakīti's *Vādanyāya* by Jñānaśri All these show that Jñānaśrī might have flourished about the close of the 10th century A D

It may also be interesting to know that probably Jñānaśrī was a Kashmirian[3] Also it does not sound altogether improbable to infer from the words *dvedhāpi ksanabhangasangatih* occurring in the verse quoted by Mādhavācārya, that the stanza might have been taken from the *Ksanabhangādhyāya* of Jñānaśrī, referred to above

NOTES

1 *History of Indian Philosophy*, Das Gupta, Vol I, p 164

2 A Ms is found in the Shālu Monastery See J B O R S, XXIV, iv, p 144

3 See J B O R S, XXII, i, App J, p 31

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE AUTHOR OF THE KURAL

BY

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Who does not know of Thiruvalluvar the author of the 'Veda of the Tamils' the Thirukural His name shows that he was of the community called *Valluvars* Let me examine what this community was Tradition assigns him a low birth Some however contend that the traditional account of the low birth of the author of the kural is exaggerated and not true.

Though the ancient communities of the *Panar*, the *Valluvar* and others have been relegated to the position of untouchables at the present day there is no evidence that at the age of the sangam these communties were considered low by the ancient Tamils Possibly tradition reflects the later day view of the poet's birth which the subsequent degradation of these communities has tended to maintain to the present day

During the age of the sangam however the ancient Tamil tribes of the Panar and the Valluvar seem to have enjoyed to the full the privileges accorded to the other four castes in the ancient South Indian kingdoms Of them the Panars are already well known They were the ancient bards who were specially skilled in music, poetry, and dancing Their proficiency in the musical instrument *yal,* a sort of *vina*, was remarkable The Saints Tiruppan Alvar and Tirunilakanta Yalppanar who flourished in the later days belong to this community These bards by a judicious and fearless distribution of their praises evoked the enthusiasm of the Tamil kings who vied with one another in deeds of bravery that they might win a note of praise from them

They were honoured in Royal courts with golden lotuses and in the fields of battle with the trophies of war captured from the enemy And they were likewise honoured even by the Brahmans who treated them with special favour when they reached their villages [1]

If it is mentioned that like the Panars, the Valluvars also played a distinguished part in South India it might appear to some, strange. The ordinary duties of the Valluvar are mentioned in the Ancient Sangam works to be to proclaim by drum mounted on elephants the auspicious events in the kingdom. But those occasions are specified only to be three which are mentioned as comprising the king's Birth day The king's marriage and the Declaration of war by the sovereign But these Valluvars seem also to have been *karmattalavars* the Secretaries who controlled the principal departments of the State A Sutra of *Divākaram* when enumerating the various synonyms of the *karmattalavar* of the state says their names are *Valluvan*[2] and *Sakains*[3] In this connection it ought to be remembered that the Sutra occurs in enumerating the prominent limbs of the State just between the Sutra relating to the ministers and that relating to the commanders of the Army, so that it could not be said that the inferior duties of the Valluvar have been karmattalavar or *karmadhyaksa* referred to by the term Thus it is made evident that the Valluvar had been professionally privileged to fill the highest offices of the State in ancient South India

The etymology of the term 'Valluva' in the light of the above Sutra of the *Divakaram* becomes now fully clear 'Valluva' is none other than the equivalent of the Sanskrit term *Vallabha* which translated means, a lover, husband, a favourite, an overseer, superintendent This might appear exceedingly novel but that the word *Vallabha* in its Tamil form might appear as *Valluva* shall be evident from a perusal of ancient records which I shall hereinafter set out —

[4]In the village called Sitanavasal in Pudukottah state there is an Inscription of the times of Pandyan Avanipa Sekharan inscribed at the instance of a poet Madurai Asiriyan Ilan Gotaman [5] This Pandya is called 'Sri Valluvan' This is only an equivalent for 'Sri Vallabha' and the epigraphists to whom it is well-known have interpreted it accordingly as 'Sri Vallabha'

Similarly in the Inscription of the Siva temple at Tiruvisalur in the Tanjore District that is dated the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman—Rajendra chola (1011-43) there is mention of the gift of ornaments by the Queen of a Pandya called '*Sri Valluvar*'[6] It would be evident from the inscriptions that the name of the contemporary Pandya was 'Sri Vallabha' This is evident from the laudatory verse (மெய்க்கீர்த்தி) of his son Vira Rajendra which mentions his conquest of the Pandya who was the son of '*Sri Vallava.*[7]

Thus it would be patent that the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Vallabha is 'Valluvan' The word Vallabha might have changed to Vallavan (வல்லவன்) and again to Vallavan and lastly to Valluvan The first change of the letter ப to வ is quite ordinary Equally so the second change of ல to ள as in வல்லி (meaning a creeper) the consort of Subramania changing to வள்ளி Similarly Vallura in Sanskrit meaning muscle, flesh, meat changes to Valluram in Tamil The third change is the transformation of the middle அ to உ such as [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] which are changed to [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] respectively This transformation of the word Vallabha to its Tamilian form 'Valluva' is therefore nothing extraordinary In this respect it might be mentioned that in *Purananuru* a chieftain of the place called Nanjil who was the commander of the Chera army is styled 'Valluva'[8] which goes to prove that this term was applied to the highest officers of the State This etymology of the term explains why a community has been called Valluvar who might perhaps have cultivated professionally the Arts of state craft in South India

In this connection another hypothesis suggests itself. The name of the Author is only another form of the term 'Sri Vallabha' which might signify that the author was a great minister of the State There is nothing improbable in this suggestion For the deep knowledge of Political Science displayed by the Author of the kural is otherwise inexplicable Unless one had knowledge ripened by experience could it be possible to write a chapter on polity as Tiruvalluvar has done In this connection a consideration of the observation of one poet who says "Kural is like the garland that adorns the crown of kings" shows that Kural was considered not as a theoretical treatise but as a practical guide to kings If so is it too much to suppose that Thiruvalluvar has been as great a statesman as he has been a great Seer

The name of the author of the Kural is now from the aforesaid materials made amply clear Whatever might have been the stories and theories advanced by later writers, one thing is clear that much political wisdom as is evidenced by the Author of the Kural could neither be obtained by an unlearned genius nor by a votary of book learning It is in the workhouse of practical politics that such experience of running a government as is laid down by the Author—which is applicable not only to ancient polity but also to modern systems of Government—could be obtained If Tiruvalluvar proves from his unhugs to be a practical statesman it is nothing unnatural for us to expect that he might have been at the helm of affairs as his name itself suggests —What is most surprising is that, the very name suggesting a high office of state borne by our Author has been lost sight of by future generations for centuries after him though his name is remembered, while on the other hand the full unravelling of the name itself is sufficient to dispel the mystery surrounding the origin of the political wisdom of Tiruvalluvar Is it then far from the truth when we state that the Author of the Kural bore the name of Sri Vallabha which in its Tamil equivalent as Tiruvalluvar is however widely known to future generations When the connection

between these two names and their significance were long forgotten, various theories sprang into existence as to the low birth of the Author from the degradation of the caste bearing the name of the Valluvars Instances of such havoc caused by names are common What is to us of great significance is, be the stories ever so varied and fanciful the truth about the Author of the Kural is that neither he was a man of low birth nor an unlearned artisan but that he was as great a statesman in his time as he has been a guide to statesmen ever since for ever Sri Vallabha or Tiruvalluvar was perhaps the honorific title by which he was known in his day for his great sagacity, and if this position is accepted we would have recovered a great name who is one of the greatest of our country from the oblivion and of time and restored it to its original pristine pedestal

NOTES

1 Vide my Article entitled "Ancient Tamil Tribes" in Sen Tamil, Vol IV, pp 246 to 249

2 "*கோறசெருழில வேநதன கொறறமுரசம*
திருநாள படைநாள கடிநா ளெனறிப
பெருநாட கலலது பிறநாட கறையாச
செலவச சேனை வளளுவ முதுமகன
(*பெருஙகதை*, 2, 2, 29-34)

3 "*வளளுவன சாககை யெனுமபெயா மனனாககு*
உளபடு கருமததலைவாக கொனறும (*திவா*)

4 E P Rep 368 of 1904 (I M P Pd No 267)

5 '*ஆரகழு மைவவ லவனிய சேகரன, சீாகெழு செஙகோற சீா* வல்லுவன்' (Ep Rep 368 of 1894, I M P Pd 267)

6 'Ep Rep 46 of 1907 (I M P Tj 216) "*பாணடியன ஸ்ரீ வலலுவா தேவியாா குநதபபாவையாா*"

7 *தெனனனைச சீா*வல்லுவன் *மகன சிறுவன மினனவில மணிமுடி வீரகேசரியை மதவரை யொனறு லுதைபபிததது*'
is the laudatory poem of the Chola Virarajendra praising his victory over the son of *Sri Vallava* who is styled *Sri Valluvar* in the Thiruvisalur inscriptions above referred to the aforesaid names are only variations of the name Sri Vallabha

8. Puranānūru, 137–40

VĀLMĪKI AND KĀLIDĀSA[1]

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वाल्मीकिरस्तु विजयी प्रथम कवीनाम्
तस्यानुसारसरल· स च कालिदास· ।
अन्ये भवन्तु कवयो जयिनोऽथ मा वा
येषा कृत. कृतिषु नैव मयावगाहः ॥

—Utpreksāvallabha's Bhiksātana Kāvya, I 5

Beginning his poem, *Bhiksātana,*[2] the fancy-fond southern poet Utpreksāvallabha thought it sufficient to salute just two poets, Vālmīki and Kālidāsa Indeed, he says that even for his own poetic culture, he found it enough to study these two, the first of the poets, *Prathamah Kavīnām,* and his most successful follower, Kālidāsa When Utprekṣāvallabha enjoyed Kālidāsa, what struck him most was the ease with which Kālidāsa could tread the path blazed by the *Ādi Kavi (Tasyānusārasalah sa ca Kālidāsah)*

According to Rājaśekhara, even Vyāsa was a student of Vālmīki[3] Poet after poet went about the same mine for gems, and it was the pride of poems to wear some jewels from the Rāmāyana Aśvaghosa may be a Buddhist, but again and again, it is of Rāma and situations in the Rāmāyana that he is reminded when he portrays prince Siddhārtha in his Buddhacarita[4] It is Vālmīki's Rāvana who said about the beauty of Sīta ·

यद्यत्पश्यामि ते गात्रं शीतांशुसदृशानने ।
तत्र तत्र पृथुश्रोणि चक्षुर्मम निबद्धयते ॥

Sundara, 20 15.

Aśvaghosa is one of those who laid their covetous eyes on the ruby of this idea He gave it his setting in Buddha Carita X. 8

भ्रुवौ ललाट मुखमीक्षणं वा वपु· करौ वा चरणौ गति वा ।
यदेव यस्तस्य ददर्श तत्र तदेव तस्यानुबबन्ध चक्षु ॥

The verse had possessed the imagination of the Prākrt poet Addharāja (Ādhyarāja ?) also who, anxious to make us realise the beauty of Vālmīki's verse fully, says in a Gāthā · "Whatever limb of that damsel one saw, in that single limb did his gaze forget itself , *indeed few realised her entire beauty.*"

यस्य यत्रैव प्रथमं तस्या अङ्गे निपतिता दृष्टिः ।
तस्य तत्रैव स्थिता सर्वाङ्ग केनापि न दृष्टम् ॥ Addharāja
Gāthāsaptaśatī, III 34

Kamba, the author of the *Tamil Rāmāyana,* was also drawn by this verse but, like Aśvaghosa, he thought that the idea deserved a better context than the improper infatuation of Rāvana for Sitā Kamba accordingly offered it at the feet of Rāma Though like Addharāja, he had to lay bare the suggested idea in Valmiki's verse, Kamba showed his original flash when he finished " Of that beauty, as of Truth, those about realised but parts and none in full "

தோள்கண்டார் தோளே கண்டார் தொடுகழற் கமலமன்ன
தாள்கண்டார் தாளே கண்டார் தடக்கை கண்டாருமஃதே
வாள்கொண்ட கண்ணார் யாரே வடிவினை முடியக் கண்டார்
ஊழ்கொண்ட சமயத்தன்னா னுருவுகண்டாரை யொத்தார்
Bāla, Ulāviyarpatalam, 19

One of the fine verses in the *Kirātārjunīya* is

तदा रम्याण्यरम्याणि प्रियाः शल्यं तदासवः ।
तदैकाकी सबन्धुस्सन् इष्टेन रहितो यदा ॥ XI 28

and it is to Vālmīki that Bhāravi owes the inspiration for this verse. It is Rāma who laments on the banks of the Pampā :

यानि स्म रमणीयानि तया सह भवन्ति मे ।
तान्येवारमणीयानि जायन्ते मे तया विना ॥ Kiskindhā, 1, 69.

When Vyāsa strives in the cause of the welfare of the Pāndava brothers, Bhāravi is reminded of Hanumān striving for Sugrīva's weal. मनस्समाधाय जयोपपत्तौ in Kirātārjunīya III. 10 is from Rāmāyana, Kiskindhā III, 38

Bhavabhūti pays his tribute to Vālmīki with two dramas on the theme of the Rāmāyana In his Uttararāmāyana, he actually quotes from the Bālakānda and the Āranyakānda of the Rāmāyana Bāna might omit to mention Vālmīki when he salutes poets in the beginning of his Harsacarita, but we can see that a passage like—

अभिनवपटुपाटलामोदपरिमलं न केवलं जलं पवनमपि पातु अभूद् अभिलाषः...... ।

in the Harsacarita II, takes the fancy of "drinkable breeze" from Vālmiki— शक्यमञ्जलिभिः पातु वाताः केतकिगन्धिन । Kiskindhā, 28 8 When the 17th century devotee of Rāma, poet Rāmabhadra dīksita, describes in his Rāmāstaprāsa śataka,[5]

" —रावणशिरस्तालीफल भ्रंशनाकेली—"

he was certainly having in mind passages in the Rāmāyana where the shattering of the head of the foe is compared for its ease with the shattering of the fruits of the Palmyra

अद्य ते पातयिष्यामि शिरस्तालफलं यथा । Aranya, 29 14
—See also Yuddha, 76, 61

It is just possible that the *Gangāvatarana*[6] Kāvya of Nīlakantha dīksita owes its name to Rāmāyana, Bāla, 48 22

But in no other poet are we able to trace the influence of Vālmīki so much as in the greatest poet The very names of Kālidāsa's poem Raghuvamśa and Kumārasambhava are taken from the Rāmāyana, Bāla III, 9 and 37, 31 The Meghasandeśa was not only inspired by the Hanumat sandeśa in the epic, but actually compares also the cloud to Hanumān Śakuntala, repudiated by the king and seeking mother Earth to be taken into her bosom, and living in sage Mārīca's Āśrama first as a pregnant woman and then as a mother, is

an image cast in the mould of Sīta sent to the forest in pregnancy and living in Vālmīki's hermitage with her two children. Love-mad Purūravas in Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīya is Rāma of the closing cantos of the Aranya and the opening cantos of the Kiskindhā Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyana In the first canto of the Raghuvamśa, Kālidāsa refers to his path having been blazed previously by Pūrvasūris, *i e*, by Vālmīki I 4 In Raghu XV 33 Kālidāsa describes the Rāmāyana as "*Kavi prathama paddhati*" and in XV 41, calls Vālmīki "*Adya Kavi.*" In Raghu XIV 70 Kālidāsa simply calls Vālmīki 'Kavi', poet par excellence It is in the Ādi Kavi's kāvya that Kālidāsa soaked himself and again and again, it is with the thoughts and words of Vālmīki that Kālidāsa enriches his fancy and expression

Among the many charms of Rāma described by Vālmīki is the natural smile which always accompanied Rama's speech Ayodhyā 2 40 स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी How can Kālidāsa fail to mark this quality ? He bestows it, as a hereditary charm, on Rāma's grandson Atithi, Raghu XVII 31
प्रसन्नमुखरागं तं स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषिणम् ।

Ayodhyā 16 10 Rāma together with Sitā is compared to Candra with Citrā उपेतं सीतया सार्धं चित्रया शशिनं यथा । In Raghu, 1.46, Dilīpa, with Sudaksinā, is described with the same simile चित्राचन्द्रमसोरिव ।

Ayodhyā 44 19 says that when Rāma went to the forest, the Royal Fortune, Laksmī, also followed him, even as Sitā.

कुशचीरधरं देवं गच्छन्तमपराजितम् ।
सीतेवानुगता लक्ष्मीः तस्य किं नाम दुर्लभम् ॥

Kālidāsa puts it in a slightly varied form in Raghu XII 26. Sītā who followed Rāma to the forest looked like Laksmī who, though prevented by Kaikeyī, was still after merit

बभौ तमनुगच्छन्ती विदेहाधिपतेस्सुता ।
प्रतिषिद्धापि कैकेय्या लक्ष्मीरिव गुणोन्मुखी ॥

Ayodhyā 45, 32 The river Tamasā lying on the way appears to Vālmīki as trying to prevent Rāma from going to the forest.

ददृशे तमसा तत्र वारयन्तीव राघवम् ।

In Raghu XIV 51, the Ganges raises its waves like hands and standing in front, prevents Laksmana from taking Sītā into the forest

गुरोर्नियोगाद्वनिता वनान्ते साध्वीं सुमित्रातनयो विहास्यन् ।
अवार्यतेवोत्थितवीचिहस्तै: जह्नोर्दुहित्रा स्थितया पुरस्तात् ॥

Ayodhyā 48, 13 Vālmīki says that when Rāma enters the forest, trees would put forth their best flowers and fruits, even though it is not the season for them

अकाले चापि मुख्यानि पुष्पाणि च फलानि च ।
दर्शयिष्यन्त्यनुक्रोशाद्गिरयो राममागतम् ॥

Kālidāsa mentions that a similar welcome awaited Dilīpa, the protector, as he entered the forest

* * आसीद्विशेषात्फलपुष्पवृद्धि: * * * ।
तस्मिन् वनं गोप्तरि गाहमाने ॥

Raghu, I.14

Ayodhyā 49 16-17 Rama describes hunting as a favourite and accepted sport of the kings Kālidāsa praises the virtues of hunting as a pastime for the kings in both the Raghuvamśa and the Śākuntala.

परिचयं चल etc , Raghu IX 49

मेदश्च्छेदकृशोदरम् etc., Śākuntala, II 5

Ayodhyā 91 9 Bharadvāja asks Bharata why he entered the Āśrama singly leaving back the army and the retinue Bharata says

ते वृक्षानुदकं भूमिमाश्रमेषूटजांस्तथा ।
न हिंस्युरिति तेनाहमेक एव समागत: ॥

Dilipa, with the same intention, went to Vasistha's Āśrama, with only a few followers .

मा भूदाश्रमपीडेति परिमेयपुरस्सरौ ।

Raghu, I 37.

In Act I of the Śākuntala, Dusyanta says before entering Kanva's Āśrama

तपोवननिवासिनामुपरोधो मा भूत् । एतावत्येव रथं स्थापय ।

It is Vālmīki who caught the sound of a chariot as "Snigdha gambhīra" Ayodhyā 114 1

स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषेण स्यन्दनेनोपयान्प्रभु: ।

Dilīpa's chariot also moves like Bharata's

स्निग्धगम्भीरनिर्घोषमेकं स्यन्दनमास्थितौ ।

Raghu I 36

In Raghu XII 18 Kālidāsa says that Bharata protected Rāma's kingdom as one would a trust, Nyāsa

नन्दिग्रामगतस्तस्य राज्यं न्यासमिवाभुनक् ।

Bharata says in the Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā 115, 14

एतद्राज्य मम भ्रात्रा दत्तं सन्न्यासवत्स्वयम् ।

Again, Vālmīki uses the word 'San-nyāsa' in sls 15. 17 and 20

Closing her exhortation to Rāma for non-violence, Sītā says, Āranya 9 25 ·

क्षत्रियाणां तु वीराणां वनेषु निरतात्मनाम् ।
धनुषा कार्यमेतावदार्तानामभिरक्षणम् ॥

The hermits tell Dusyanta in I 10, Śākuntala

आर्तत्राणाय व: शस्त्रं न प्रहर्तुमनागसि ।

Āranya, 40.24· Rāvana tells Mārīca ·

प्राप्य सीतामयुद्धेन वञ्चयित्वा तु राघवम् ।

In the same connection, Kālidāsa uses the same words :

रक्षसा मृगरूपेण वञ्चयित्वा स राघवौ ।
जहार सीताम् — — ॥ Raghu, XII 53

Āranya, 52 29 As Rāvana was carrying Sīta away, Vālmīki is not able to help pausing a while to admire how fair Sītā shone like a streak of lightning amidst a dark cloud-like mass which Rāvana resembled

सा पद्मगौरी हेमाभा रावण जनकात्मजा ।
विद्युद्घनमिवाविश्य शुशुभे तप्तभूषणा ॥

If Indumatī marries the Pāndya king, Kālidāsa says, that the union of the fair lady and the swarthy lord will be like the union of the lightning and the cloud

इन्दीवरश्यामतनुर्नृपोऽसौ त्वं रोचनागौरशरीरयष्टि: ।
अन्योन्यशोभापरिवृद्धये वा योगस्तडित्तोयदयोरिवास्तु ॥
Raghu, VI 65

Āranya 64, 14-20 When Rāma and Laksmana were wandering after the loss of Sitā, not knowing even the direction in which she might have gone, the deer that were witness to Rāvana's act, mutely pointed out to Rāma, the southern direction by turning thither again and again

एते मृगा महावीर्या मामीक्षन्ते मुहुर्मुहु: ।
वक्तुकामा इव हि मे इङ्गितान्युपलक्षये ॥
* * * *
एवमुक्ता नरेन्द्रेण ते मृगास्सहसोत्थिता: ।
दक्षिणाभिमुखास्सर्वे दर्शयन्तो नभस्स्थलम् ॥
मैथिली ह्रियमाणा सा दिशं यामन्वपद्यत ।
तेन मार्गेण धावन्तो निरीक्षन्ते नराधिपम् ॥

In the Raghuvamśa Rāma points out to Sītā, as they fly home in the Puspaka, the place where the compassionate deer in-

formed Rāma of the whereabouts of Sītā by turning their eyes towards the south.

मृग्यश्च दर्भाङ्कुरनिर्व्यपेक्षास्तवागतिज्ञं समबोधयन्माम् ।
व्यापारयन्त्यो दिशि दक्षिणस्यामुत्पक्ष्मराजीनि विलोचनानि ॥
Raghu, XIII.25.

The immediately following verses in Āranya 64, (27-32) form the inspiration for Kālidāsa's portrayal of the love-mad Purūravas in Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīya. Kālidāsa is not able to help taking an entire verse from this situation in the Rāmāyana and putting it into the mouth of Purūravas.

कच्चित्क्षितिभृतां नाथ दृष्टा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ।
रामा रम्ये वनोद्देशे मया विरहिता त्वया ॥ 28

See Vikramorvaśīya IV.

Kiskindhā 1,36-42 The sight of peacock couples dancing on the banks of the Pampā reduces Rāma to a pitiable condition Rāma laments

पश्य लक्ष्मण नृत्यन्तं मयूरमुपनृत्यति ।
शिखिनी मन्मथार्तैषा भर्तारं गिरिसानुषु ॥
*   *   *
मयूरस्य वने नूनं रक्षसा न हृता प्रिया ।
तस्मान्नृत्यति रम्येषु वनेषु सह कान्तया ॥

Purūravas in his love-mad state asks a peacock about the whereabouts of his beloved Ūrvaśī Vikramorvaśīya Act IV.

नीलकण्ठ ममोत्कण्ठा वनेऽस्मिन् वनिता त्वया ।
दीर्घापाङ्गा सितापाङ्ग दृष्टा दृष्टिक्षमा भवेत् ॥

कथमदत्त्वैव प्रतिवचन नर्तितुं प्रवृत्तः । * * * परव्यसन-सुखिनं न पुनरेवं पृच्छामि ।

Kiskindhā 1 85 केचित्पर्यासकुसुमा पादपाः supplies the expressions in Kālidāsa's Kumāra sambhava, III, 39 and III 54.

पर्याप्तपुष्पस्तवकस्तनाभ्य * * लतावधूभ्यः and पर्याप्तपुष्पस्तब कावनम्रा * * लतेव ॥
Kiskindhā 14.10

मेघाभिकामा परिसंपतन्ती संमोदिता भाति बलाकपङ्क्तिः ।
वातावधूता वरपौण्डरीकी लम्बेव माला रचिताम्बरस्य ॥

The cranes flying at the cloud in the form of a garland can be seen in Kālidāsa, Megha I, 9

गर्भाधानक्षमपरिचयान्नूनमाबद्धमाला:
सेविष्यन्ते नयनसुभग खे भवन्त बलाकाः ।

The sight of birds flying in a row appearing like a garland pendant in the sky is met with more definitely in Raghu I 42

श्रेणीबन्धाद्वितन्वद्भिरस्तंभां तोरणस्रजम् ।
सारसैः कलनिर्ह्रादैः क्वचिदुन्नमिताननौ ॥

Vālmiki describes in the next verse, Kiskindhā 28, 24, the green lawns during the rains, green like the body of parrots and spotted red with Indragopa insects

बालेन्द्रगोपान्तरचित्रितेन विभाति भूमिर्नवशाद्वलेन ।
गात्रानुवृत्तेन शुकप्रभेण नारीव लाक्षोक्षितकम्बलेन ॥

In Vikramorvaśiya, Act IV 17, Purūravas does not merely describe the green lawn with red Indragopas as resembling the shawl of a lady, but actually imagines it to be the slipt Uttarīya of Ūrvaśī and tries to pick it up

हृतोष्ठरागैर्नयनोदबिन्दुभिः निमग्ननाभेर्निपतद्भिरङ्कितम् ।
च्युतं रुषा भिन्नगतेरसशयं शुकोदरश्याममिद स्तनांशुकम् ॥
कथं सेन्द्रगोपं नवशाद्वलमिदम् ।

Kiṣkindhā 30 28 It was sage Vālmīki who saw in the autumnal brooks with their thin streams flowing serpent-like, baring the sand-banks this side and that, the image of the new bashful brides revealing their reliefs little by little.

दर्शयन्ति शरन्नद्यः पुलिनानि शनैः शनैः ।
नवसङ्गमसंव्रीडा जघनानीव योषितः ॥

Kālidāsa will not miss this verse ; nor will Kālidāsa's cloud fail to linger over a river like that.

तस्याः किञ्चित्करधृतमिव प्राप्तवानीरशाखं
हृत्वा नीलं सलिलवसनं मुक्तरोधोनितम्बम् ।
प्रस्थानं ते कथमपि सखे लम्बमानस्य भावि
ज्ञातास्वादो विवृतजघनां को विहातुं समर्थः ॥
Megha I 41.

Vālmīki again comes to the slow-moving autumnal river which reminds him again of a similar image.

मीनोपसन्दर्शितमेखलाना नदीवधूनां गतयोऽद्य मन्दाः ।
कान्तोपभुक्तालसगामिनीनां प्रभातकालेष्विव कामिनीनाम् ॥
Kis. 30 55.

Kālidāsa sees a similar lady in river Nirvindhyā in Megha I 28. Only the girdle of Kālidāsa's Nirvindhyā is not the chain of fishes as in Vālmīki, but a row of water-birds

वीचिक्षोभस्तनितविहगश्रेणिकाञ्चीगुणाया
संसर्पन्त्याः स्खलितसुभग दर्शितावर्तनाभेः ।

A verse in the Autumn-description in the Ritu samhāra is nearer Vālmīki's verse

चञ्चन्मनोज्ञ शफरी रशनाकलापाः ।
(नद्यः) मन्दं प्रयान्ति समदाः प्रमदा इवाद्य ॥ 3

In the Vikramorvaśiya, Purūravas imagines his Ūrvaśī in a river Act IV Śl 52 तरङ्गभ्रूभङ्गा क्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना etc

Sundara 4, 3 Hanumān is described by Vālmīki as setting his foot not only in lanka but on Rāvana's head also. See also Sundara 34, 39 Kālidāsa takes the idea of placing the foot on Rāvana's heads, in Raghu, XII, 52.

The image of a woman in a forlorn condition reminds Vālmīki of a neglected lyre, lying in a corner, with its strings broken and hanging about. One of the similes in his billow-

ing description of Sītā in the Aśokavana, in the Sundara Kanḍa, is :

क्लिष्टरूपामसंस्पर्शादयुक्तामिव वल्लकीम् । 17 22

Kālidāsa transfers the simile to Indumatī as Aja takes her dead body on his lap When the idyll of Aja's life with Indumatī came to a sudden end, and there the beloved lay a corpse in her lover's lap, the image which most appropriately occurs to Kālidāsa is the sudden break in some great music, when the strings of the Vīnā get snapped

प्रतियोजयितव्यवल्लकीसमवस्थामथ सत्त्वसंप्लवात् ।
Raghu VIII 41.

Sundara 36 4 and 66 7 When Sītā received Rāma's ring and Rāma received Sītā's Cūdāmani, Sītā thought Rāma himself had come and Rāma thought Sītā herself had come

गृहीत्वा प्रेक्षमाणा सा भर्तुः करविभूषणम् ।
भर्तारमिव संप्राप्ता जानकी मुदिताऽभवत् ॥
अयं हि शोभते तस्याः प्रियाया मूर्ध्नि मे मणिः ।
अस्याद्य दर्शनेनाहं प्राप्तां तामिव चिन्तये ॥

In Raghu XII 64-65, Kālidāsa says that Rāma received the Cūdāmani from Hanumān as if it were the very heart of Sītā, and as Rāma placed it on his heart, he felt the very embrace of Sītā

Rāghu XII 42 Śūrpanakhā informing Khara and others of the new insult to the Raksasas offered by Rāma—

रामोपक्रममाचख्यौ रक्षः परिभवं नवम् ।

The second quarter is taken from Vālmīki, Sundara, 37, 31

चिन्तयामास लक्ष्मीवान् नवं परिभवं कृतम् ।

Sundara 38, 22 The crow's mischief is described by Vālmīki in the words

वायसः सहसागम्य विददार स्तनान्तरे ।

Kālidāsa evidently could not even give thought, much less his own expression to the sacrilege committed by the crow ; he escapes by simply putting there what Vālmīki said with a ' Kila '.

ऐन्द्रिः किल नखैस्तस्या विददार स्तनौ द्विजः ।
Raghu, XII 22.

Yuddha 5 6 Rāma yearns for the touch of the breeze even that blows from the direction where Sītā is.

वाहि वात यत कान्ता तां दृष्ट्वा मामपि स्पृश ।

The separated yaksa in the Meghadūta similarly embraces the northern breezes believing that they must have also been embraced by his beloved in Alaka

आलिङ्ग्यन्ते गुणवति मया ते तुषाराद्रिवाताः
पूर्वंस्पृष्टं यदि किल भवेदङ्गमेभिस्तवेति ।

Yuddha 22, 72 The Setu that Nala built in the Rāmāyana ran like the Svātīpatha, the milky way of the skies

स नलेन कृतः सेतुः सागरे मकरालये ।
शुशुभे सुभगः श्रीमान् स्वातीपथ इवाम्बरे ॥

Kālidāsa's Setu also runs like the milky way Rāma, speeding above in the Puspaka, asks Sītā to see his Setu on the waters below

वैदेहि पश्यामलयाद्विभक्तं मत्सेतुना फेनिलमम्बुराशिम् ।
छायापथेनेव शरत्प्रसन्नमाकाशमाविष्कृतचारुतारम् ॥
Raghu XIII 2

Raghu XII 94 The expression pertaining to the battle ' Krta-pratikrta ' is taken from Vālmīki, Yuddha 79 27 and 89.21.

एको दाशरथिः कामं यातुधानाः सहस्रशः ।
ते तु यावन्त एवाजौ तावांश्च ददृशे स तैः ॥
Raghu XII 45 :

the one Rāma giving fight to every one of the thousands of the enemies and thus appearing to be thousandfold to the enemies' eyes, might have been suggested by Rāmāyana, Yuddha 94, 26 :

ते तु रामसहस्राणि रणे पश्यन्ति राक्षसाः ।
पुनः पश्यन्ति काकुत्स्थमेकमेव महाहवे ॥

In the fury of the fight Rāma says, Yuddha 101 48—' O Vānaras, today you shall see the world rid of Rāvana or Rāma.'

आरावणमरामं वा जगद् द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ।

Kālidāsa puts the words in Rāvana's mouth

अरावणमरामं वा जगद्द्येति निश्चित. । Raghu, XII 83

In Raghu XII 89, Kālidāsa says that Rāma had a great opinion of Rāvaṇa.

जेतार लोकपालानां स्वमुखैरर्चितेश्वरम् ।
रामस्तुलितकैलासमरातिं बह्वमन्यत ॥

Some of the expressions here are taken from the Rāmāyana, Yuddha 114, 47-53, Māndodarī's description of Rāvana, after the latter's death

जेतारं लोकपालानां क्षेप्तारं शङ्करस्य च । etc.

There is ample evidence to show that Kālidāsa considered the Uttara Kanda a genuine part of Vālmīki's work The cantos describing the banishment of Sītā in the Uttara Kānda and the Raghuvamśa have many parallels

When at Rāma's behest, Laksmana took Sītā to the forests to leave her there Sītā had evil forebodings and spoke to Laksmana ·

नयनं मे स्फुरत्यद्य गात्रोत्कंपश्च जायते ।
*   *   *   *

अपि स्वस्ति भवेत्तस्य भ्रातुस्ते भ्रातृवत्सल
श्वश्रूणां चैव मे वीर सर्वासामविशेषतः ।
*   *   *   *

इत्यञ्जलिकृता सीता देवता अभ्ययाचत ॥ Uttara 46.17.

Kālidāsa summarises the whole situation in one verse :

सा दुर्निमित्तोपगमाद्विषादात् सद्यः परिम्लानमुखारविन्दा ।
राज्ञः शिवं सावरजस्य भूयादित्याशशंसे करणैरबाह्यैः ॥

Other parallels in this context are the following

Rāmāyana, Uttara	Raghuvamśa, XIV.
48 1	54
लक्ष्मणस्य वच· श्रुत्वा	—धरित्रीं
वैदेही निपपात ह ।	लतेव सीता सहसा जगाम ।
48 2	56
सा मुहूर्तमिवासज्ञा	सा लुप्तसज्ञा
48 3	57
मामिकेयं तनूर्नूनं	आत्मानमेव स्थिरदु खभाजं
सृष्टा दु खाय लक्ष्मण ।	पुन· पुन दुष्कृतिन निनिन्द ।
48 4	62
किन्नु पाप कृत पूर्वम्	ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां
	विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसह्य ।
48 8	65
न खल्वद्यैव सौमित्रे	किं वा तवात्यन्तवियोगमोघे
जीवितं जाह्नवीजले ।	कुर्यामुपेक्षां हतजीवितेऽस्मिन् ।
त्यजेय राजवंशस्तु	स्याद्रक्षणीय यदि मे न तेज·
भर्तुर्मे परिहास्यते ॥	त्वदीयमन्तर्गतमन्तराय· ॥
48 10	60
श्वश्रूणामविशेषेण	
प्राञ्जलिप्रग्रहेण च ।	श्वश्रूजन सर्वमनुक्रमेण
शिरसा वन्द्य चरणौ	विज्ञापय प्रापितमत्प्रणाम· ।
कुशलं ब्रूहि पार्थिवम् ॥	
48 11-13	61
वक्तव्यश्चापि नृपति·	वाच्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात्स राजा
* .	
जानासि च यथा शुद्धा	वह्नौ विशुद्धामपि
सीता तत्त्वेन राघव ।	यत्समक्षम् ।
* *	

अहं त्यक्ता त्वया वीर	मां लोकवाद-
अयशोभीरुणा जने ॥	श्रवणादहासो. ।
48.13	62
यच्च ते वचनीयं स्यात्	कल्याणबुद्धेरथवा तवायं
मया हि परिहर्तव्यम् ।	न कामचारो मयि शङ्कनीयः ।
48 24	68
उद्विग्ना सीता	सा * *
	विघ्ना कुररीव * ।

Uttara 49, 11 Vālmīkı extends welcome to Sītā ·

स्नुषा दशरथस्य त्वं रामस्य महिषी प्रिया ।
जनकस्य सुता राज्ञ· स्वागत ते पतिव्रते ॥

Kālıdāsa's Vālmīkı says

तवोरुकीर्ति श्वशुरः सखा मे सतां भवोच्छेदकर. पिता ते ।
धुरि स्थिता त्व पतिदेवताना कि त्व न येनासि ममानुकंप्या ॥
Raghu, XIV 74

Vālmīkı had seen the whole happenıng ın hıs Samādhı Uttara 49, 12 :

आयान्ती चासि विज्ञाता मया धर्मसमाधिना ।
कारणं चैव सर्वं मे हृदयेनोपलक्षितम् ॥

In the Raghu, XIV 72, Vālmīkı says

जाने विसृष्टां प्रणिधानतस्त्वा मिथ्यापवादक्षुभितेन भर्त्रा ।

Before sendıng Sīta away, Rāma tells hıs brothers, Raghu XIV 40 ·

अवैमि चैनामनघेति किन्तु लोकापवादो बलवान्मतो मे ।

Thıs ıs taken by Kālıdāsa from a later context ın the Uttara Kānda of the Rāmāyana, 97, 2-3, where Rāma says

एवमेतन्महाभाग यथा वदसि धर्मवित् ।
लोकापवादो बलवान् येन त्यक्ता हि मैथिली ॥

Uttara 33, 13 Kıng Kārtavıryārjuna welcomes sage Pulastya and says

इदं राज्यमिमे पुत्रा इमे दारा इमे वयम् ।
ब्रह्मन् कि कुर्मि किं कार्यम् आज्ञापयतु नो भवान् ॥

This, Himavān in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava borrows for welcoming the seven sages ·

एते वयममी दाराः कन्येय कुलजीवितम् ।
ब्रूत येनात्र वः कार्यमनास्था बाह्यवस्तुषु ॥

To have pointed out a few parallels in thought and expression is not to have measured fully the influence of Vālmīki on either Kāildāsa or the other poets For it is to the Ādi Kavi and his Ādi Kāvya that the classic poets owe the very conception of their classic poetry

" एतस्यैव * * अन्यानि * मात्रामुपजीवन्ति ।"

NOTES

1 At the end of the recent Kālidāsa Day celebrations in the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, Prof K V Rangaswami Ayyangar, who presided over the occasion, asked me why I should not write this article I am glad that a suitable occasion has soon come off to present this paper of mine to the Professor

2 Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 12

3 Pracandapāndava, Act I, Viṣkambhaka

4 Buddhacarita (Cowell edn) VI 36, VIII 8, IX, 9, 59, Besides the whole sequence in V 47-62, description of ladies in several attitudes of sleep which the Buddha has to see is a close, line after line, imitation of Vālmīki's description of Rāvana's harem in sleeping state, which Hanumān has to see, in Sundara, 10, śls 35-49, as also 9, 36-66

5 Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 10

6 Kāvyamālā 76

HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN GARCIA DA ORTA'S BOOK ' COLLOQUIES ON SIMPLES AND DRUGS OF INDIA ' PRINTED IN GOA IN 1563

BY

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Garcia Da Orta's learned treatise on the ' Simples and drugs of India' is more than a medical classic and is almost encyclopaedic in its range It is seldom consulted or quoted by the writers and teachers of Indian History, though, this Portuguese scholar-physician of the 16th Century was much more learned in ancient and mediaeval lore than Bernier and also had the advantage like Manucci of long stay in India as well as innumerable opportunities of gathering an unsurpassed wealth of information by his conversations with the Princes and Pandits of South India

As typical scholar of the mediaeval European Universities, he had a sound knowledge of the literature, History, philosophy and medicine of Greece and Rome During his stay in India as the physician to the Viceroy or the much-honoured consultant at the courts of the Deccan kings or as Lord of the island of Bombay, he collected a great library of European and Oriental works and could quote chapter and verse in his conversations His residence at Bombay was an arcadian retreat to which generals, antiquarians and poets repaired for repose and enlightenment It will not be possible, in a short article to do full justice to his erudition, and quote in detail every passage or reference that may be useful to the student of Indian History I shall content myself by attempting to indicate briefly, types of historical material or broad outlines and earnestly hope that my amateur attempt will stimulate a professional historian or re-

search worker in history to deal with the subject more thoroughly in the near future

The wealth of material may be roughly classified under the following headings

(1) Ancient history and tradition
(2) Archaeological notes.
(3) Medieval History
(4) Observations on recent and contemporary events
(5) Statements based on personal knowledge and views

Ancient Tradition and History

The origin of the name Cairo for the chief city of Egypt is explained in a passage by Orta "Cairo was a famous and ancient city Cairo was called Memphis by the Greeks in ancient times, where there are now the famous pyramids and where Jose was a captive Because a Queen named Alcaire increased the size of that city in one direction, the whole city got the name of Cairo That city, since the Turks have been at Constantinople, continues to fall off in population" (p 427) He refers to the well-known tradition that the Chinese have navigated the seas and traded with the West Coast of India from a very remote period He suggests that the "Uzbegs bordering on China are the Parthians so detested by the Romans" His knowledge of ancient geography and history of India and of west Indies, is illustrated in the passage 'Not only are your lands (West Indies) not Indies, they were never known to the ancients nor was Brazil But, this, Our India, has been called so from the time of Alexander down to this day Of this Alexander, they have many histories, more than we have' (p 292) He also gives a brief history of Ceylon

Archaeological Notes

Undoubtedly, the most famous of his descriptions refers to what are now called "Elephanta Caves." Talking of Bacaim and its neighbourhood Orta adds "The said lands

are called Manora They include, in one part, an island called Salsette, where there are two pagodas or houses of idolatry under ground." Less known but equally interesting are his descriptions of the Chinese antiquities on the West Coast. "In Calicut, they had a fortified factory which still exists and is called 'China Cota!' In Cochin, they left a stone as a mark, in memory of their having been there. When the king of Calicut, besieged Cochin, because the Portuguese held it he destroyed the place and carried off this stone as a trophy, which cost him very dear On this stone, the King of Repelin was crowned, the Zamorin placing the crown on his head The stone remained at Repelin (4 leagues from Cochin) until 1536 Then Mortin Affonso de Souza, the not less invincible than fortunate Captain, burnt, sacked, and destroyed Repelin The king fled and many with him. The stone was taken back to Cochin The King ordered great festivities and remained deeply grateful to the Captain for driving the king of Calicut away" (p 122-123)

Sidelights on Mediaeval History

Orta's account of the difference between the Turk and the Rumi clearly shows his knowledge of mediaeval history of Europe Describing the rise of the Muhammadan Kingdoms of Deccan, Orta narrates how Alladin Khilji, King of Delhi, conquered Balguate from very powerful tribes 300 years earlier and divided his Empire into Captaincies (pp. 70-71) References are also made to Bisnagar (pp 37 and 73) The tribes of Deccan called Brinjaries and Collas are thus described "To this day, the Collas, Kamjares, Reisbretoes, live by plunder and robbery, The kings also are grasping, for they pardon those who share the plunder with them," (p 69)

Orta also mentions Tamerlane, the conquest of Delhi by Baber and the usurpation of the Moghul Throne by Shershah Even Persian history was familar to him and he describes the origin and rise of Shah Ismail and the Court of Shah Tahmasp.

Observations on Recent and Contemporary Events

Orta describes the origin of the Kingdom of Adalkhan, of Nizamaluco and of Verido, and the revolts in the Deccan and some of the important personages taking part in them. (p 71) He gives a very interesting history of the spread of Christianity near Cape Comorin 'That fishery (near Cape Comorin) belongs to the King, our lord It should yield much, for, there is so much zeal for the faith among more than 50,000 Christians who do the work there This Christianity was the work of one man, no less virtuous than learned, named Mighel Vaz who was Vicar-General of India This conversion to Christianity was afterwards increased by Master Francisco, theologist, who was a principal of this holy company jointly with Father Ignatius, whose virtues and sanctities, if they were written down, would make a large book This Christianity is now fostered and encouraged by Fathers and brothers of the Company of Jesus and is honoured by the martyrdom of some of the religions of this holy company," (pp 297 and 298) He also adds a very interesting piece of information that Issac of Cairo, a Jew, learned in many languages, brought to Portugal the news of the death of Sultan Bahadur in 1537 His statements regarding the City of Bacaim and the fortress of Diu may be considered to be authoritative and true "Bacaim is a very great city, and under its jurisdiction there are many lands and cities It gives a rent to the king of more than 160,000 cruzados with its land and fortresses, afterwards granted to Francisco Barreto" "Diu is an island which includes a city and a good port, with a very considerable trade, and concourse of many merchants, Venetians, Greeks, Rumes, Turks, Persians, and Arabs It was given by the great Sultan Bahadur to Martim Affonso de Sousa, being Chief Captain of the Indian Sea The grant to him was that he might build the fortress in any part of Diu that he chose, and this he did, so that it could be defended by land and by sea Afterwards, owing to many treasons that they practised upon us, they lost the city and the whole island

of which we have been possessed of, for many years. It is a very great and strong city, which, with a small besieged force, we defended against the Grand Turk, with a great power, in 1539 Afterwards, in 1546, it was besieged for seven or eight months, the walls being beaten down, the few Portuguese in the garrison defending it gallantly At last, the Governor, Dom Joam de Castro, entered the island and city and drove out the Moors, killing a great number He then resolved to build another and a larger fortress As these events have already been well described in Latin and in Portuguese, I will not write more about them, for as I said, they have already been described in a better style " The intercourse of the Chinese with India and their settlement at Calicut is described " The city of Calicut where all kinds of merchandise were bought and sold, was celebrated in these parts Thither goods were brought from elsewhere and the Chinese came with their trade, including the Sandal which they sold there, whence it was taken to the West I have told you already that the Chinese factory, called 'China Cota' in which the Chinese reside, is to-day still established there But as the people of that land committed treason against the Portuguese when they first came to India, they went to Cochin and laid Calicut waste So, little by little its trade fell off having been the chief city full of rich Moors who brought wealth to it " (p 398)

Statements Based on Personal Knowledge

His estimate of the Portuguese character is probably correct " It is true that the Portuguese are not very curious nor are they good writers They are greater friends of doing than of talking They labour to acquire by their lawful trading but they do not ill, treat the Indians , on the contrary, peaceful Indians are much favoured by the Governors " Orta observes that if he were to write on Kings of China and their Kingdom it will require a volume, (p 95). But, he cannot help recording his observation on the Chinese. " The Chinamen are very subtle in buying and selling and in mechanical trades ; while in letters they do not

give the advantage to any others. They have written laws in conformity with common right and others that are very just, as may be clearly seen from a book on the subject which is in this India One of these laws is that a man may not marry a woman, who is known to have another husband. The men who go to China learn to practise just ways. These Chinese give degrees and many honours to literary men and it is such men who govern the land under the king On the pictures that they design are painted the chairs and the men reading and the audience listening to them" (pp 153-4) He also adds "I know the number of Chinese ships that navigated having counted those which went to Ormuz as recorded in their books and these were 400 Junks which entered the port of the island Jeru (Ormuz)"

His knowledge of the various diamond mines in the Deccan is displayed in a long passage He was acquainted with the brother of King of Delhi at the Court of Sultan Bahadur, King of Cambay and personally knew Chikarao of Vizianagar Orta's opinion on the value of the work of L Verthema as a source-book of Indian History is very candid and deserves the perusal of the historians of India

A HISTORY OF SACRED MUSIC OF INDIA

BY

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Next to Art music, Sacred music claims the largest number of musical compositions Even countries which cannot boast of a highly developed system of music, possess devotional songs in profusion The human longing for God being universal, it is natural that songs of a religious nature should be found in the music of every country In Art music, music is enjoyed for its own sake Art music which is also referred to as *Pure music* has both an emotional and an intellectual appeal Raga alapana and the other types of manodharma sangita (creative music) constitute the finest examples of pure music When a composer or a musician attempts Art music, his chief concern is the portrayal of the raga bhava in all its rich and colourful aspects The sahityas of Art musical forms only help us to better present and interpret the music Sacred music is a species of *Applied* Music Applied music embraces all compositions wherein the sahitya is an important factor and the music which clothes the sahitya serves merely as a vehicle for the latter expression of the ideas enshrined in the sahitya (libretto) In other words, music ceases to be an end by itself and is used or *applied* for a specific purpose Sacred music, dance music, Kalakshepam music, opera music and the music of the Yakshaganas are the important branches of applied music and in all these cases, music serves only as a means to an end The music of these songs is simple and there are neither terse sancharas nor sangatis The range of the pieces rarely exceeds 1½ octaves Nor do we come across in them sections like the chittasvara, svara sahitya, and

solkattu svara which adorn kritis. Sacred music is *Vaidika ganam* and secular music is *laukika ganam.* The hymn, anthem, mass orotorium, passion and the psalm are instances of sacred forms in European music

In India perhaps more than in any other country in the world, religion and music are intimately connected with each other The Tirumurtis are associated with music God is said to reside in the hearts of devotees that sing His praise Says Appar,

" நினைபபவர் மனஙகோயிலாக் கொணடவன "

Also the saying of the Lord to Narada

नाह् वसामि वैकुण्ठे न योगिहृदये रवौमद्भक्तायत्र गायन्ति तत्र तिष्ठामि नारद ॥

Many celestials and Puranic figures are mentioned as adepts in music Musical instruments are named after them Anjaneya, Ravana and Arjuna are mentioned as great musicians Music was styled the Gandharva Veda Times without number, the great Acharyas had emphasised that music should be used only to sing the glories of God The idea " What is the use of the tongue that is not able to sing the praise of God ? What is the use of the hand that is not able to perform Puja to God ? " etc has been echoed and re-echoed by many poets and seers All these circumstances were therefore responsible for the large output of devotional compositions in the different languages in India In this Paper I shall confine my attention to sacred music in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu and refer to a few of the outstanding South Indian composers in this field

Sacred Music in Sanskrit

The Vedic Hymns are the earliest examples of sacred music in India The Ramayana was chanted by Lava and Kusa in the court of Sri Rama in melodious *jatis* (corresponding to modern ragas) When Ravana was pressed under Mount Kailasa he recited the Sama ganam This pleased Lord Siva and he was forthwith released.

The Gita Govinda of Jayadeva (12th century) is an important piece of sacred music and is sung throughout India, though not in the original ragas and talas. The Ashtapadis are also the earliest examples of regular musical compositions, each piece being set in specific raga and tala. For, the Tevara hymns, which are earlier than the Ashtapadis, only the Pans (ragas) are given and not the talas though the metre of the songs suggest to us their possible time-measures Many later writers in South India wrote works on the model of the Gita Govinda, on parallel themes The *Tyagaraja Ashtapadi* of *Venkatamakhi* (17th century), the *Sivashtapadi* of Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati and the *Ramashtapadi* of Rama Kavi may be mentioned in this connection

The *Krishna Lila Tarangini* of Tirtha Narayanaswami (16th century) ranks next in importance The author is believed to be an incarnation of Jayadeva and his work is the finest opera in the Sanskrit language It consists of twelve cantos (Tarangas) and the work is worth study even as a piece of literature From the musical point of view it is an authoritative lakshya grantha for the topic of raga and rasa The songs in the opera are clothed with music appropriate to the occasion The slokas, churnikas, crisp musical dialogues and the kirtanas interspersed with jatis or tala add very great interest to the work Recent researches have revealed that Tirtha Narayanaswami was a native of Tanjore District The circumstances that made him take to sanyasa asrama are interesting Very early in his life he attained great proficiency in learning He got married and his father-in-law's house lay on the other side of the river Vennar A strong man that he was whenever he desired to go to his father-in-law's house he used to swim across the river and reach the other bank But one day as he was nearing the mid-stream, a sudden current came and swept him Giving up all hopes of surviving and feeling that his Janma should not go to waste, he threw off his sacred thread, plucked a hair from off his head, recited the necessary

mantras and became a sanyası. But just at that moment he happened to dash against some reeds and catching hold of them rested for a short time, floating on the water The floods gradually subsided and relieved of exhaustion he resumed swimming, he reached the other bank and went to his father-in-law's house He was given the usual welcome. His wife however saw in him, not her husband but a Maha Purusha Her parents therefrom requested him to explain the puzzling situation and reveal the truth The son-in-law revealed what had taken place in the mid-stream He recognised the greatness of his wife and realising that no purpose would be served by staying in his native place any longer, he started on a pilgrimage to the North He stayed in the Andhra Desa for a long time and it was there that he wrote his famous *Krishna Lila Tarangini* Later in his life he came to the south and stayed in Varahur in Tanjore District and there gave publicity to his work His *samadhi* is in Tirupoonthuruthi and has become a place of pilgrimage

There are many composers who wrote *Kirtanas* in Sanskrit Margadarsi Seshavyangar (early 17th century), Ayyaval, Sadasiva Brahmendra and Vijia Gopala of the 17th century and Paidala Gurumurti Sastri Tyagaraja (1767-1847) Muthuswami Dikshitar, (1776-1835), Syama Sastri (1762-1827) H S Swati Tirunal (1813-1847) Ramachandra Yatindra, Kamakoti Sastri, Walajapet Venkataramana Bhagavathar, Linga Rajurs and Mysore Sadasiva Rao of the last century may be mentioned For the purpose of his daily worship Tyagaraja wrote his own divyanama Kirtanas in Sanskrit and they reveal his powers of sahitya and command over the Sanskrit language There are many Namavalis in Sanskrit Namavali is the simplest of sacred forms and is intended for congregational singing Within the space of one, two or four avartas not only is the raga svarupa carefully portrayed but a complete devotional idea is expressed by the congregation and is concluded with a Pundarikam Antiphonal singing is also seen in the Namavalis. At a time when the people did not take the

trouble to record music in notation, tunes were given special names and remembered. And sahityas bearing those names were sung to the same tune everywhere Pancha chamaram and Matta Kokilam in Sanskrit and Ananda Kalipu in Tamil are instances

In Telugu

Telugu Kirtanas form the bulk of the sacred forms in South India Even composers whose mother-tongue was Tamil, Kannada and Mahratti wrote in Telugu The earliest Telugu Kirtanas are by the Tallapakkam composers who belong to the 15th century For the first time in the history of South Indian music we come across the divisions of a song into Pallavi, Anupallavi and Charana in their works Tallapakkam Chinnayya is regarded as the *Mula Purusha* for the modern Bhajana paddhati His Todayam Mangala pieces are even now sung at the commencement of every Bhajana in South India Tyagaraja who wrote his own Divyanama and Utsava sampradaya Kirtanas for the purpose of his daily worship, out of deference to Chinnayya, did not displace his Todaya Mangalam pieces, by any of his own There is a composition of Chinnayya in Sankarabharana raga Atatala " Sri Hari Pada tirthame " This leads one to conclude that the suladi sapta talas which attained prominence during the time of Purandara Das, were already in vogue. The compositions of the Tallapakkam composers are also seen in such rare ragas as Narani Hejjajji Konda Malahari, Mukhari pantu Padi etc The next Telugu composer of eminence is Bhadrachalam Ramadas (17th century) He was a prolific composer of Kirtanas and the great composer Tyagaraja pays his homage to him in two kritis of his and also in an invocatory Kandapadya figuring at the commencement of his Telugu opera *Prahlada Bhakti Vijayam* Amongst the composers of Telugu Kirtanas in the 18th and 19th centuries may be mentioned Giriraja Kavi, Virabhadrayya, Matrubhutayya, Ramaswamy Dikshitar, Tyagaraja, Syama Sastri, Vina Kuppier, Cheyyur Chengalvaraya Sastri, Kama-

koti Sastrı and others There are many Telugu Namavalis The Utsava Sampradaya Kırtanas and the Dıvyanama Kirtanas of Tyagaraja are soul-stırrıng compositions and are sung ın every Bhajana party Hıs *nındastutı* kırtanas and samkshepa Ramayana kırtanas are also very popular He has also left behınd hım a few dvıdhatu kırtanas also. Occasıonally we come across also Vedanta kırtanas whıch contaın phılosophıcal conundrums.

In Tamıl

The Muvar *Tevaram*, the *Tıruvachakam* of Manıkka Vachagar, the songs of the Vaıshnava samayacharyas the hymns of Tayumanavar and the Sıddhas, the *Tıruppugal* of Arunagırınathar and the *Arutpa* of Ramalıngaswamy constıtute the cream of Tamıl sacred music These songs are even now sung in the temples of Tamıl Nadu Composers lıke Muthu Tandavar, Marımutha Pıllay, Papavınasa Mudalıar, Arunachala Kavırayar, Gopalakrıshna Bharatı, Kavıkunjara Bharatı, Achuta Dasar, Ramaswamy Sıvan, Ghanam Krıshnıar, Madhura Kavı Subramanya Bharatı and others have left behınd them beautıful and charmıng Tamıl Kırtanas

Thus we find that from pre-hıstorıc tımes down to the present day there has been a contınued out-put of songs belongıng to the realm of sacred musıc A student of Indıan musıc cannot afford to neglect this ımportant branch of sangıta

THE OLD GENITIVE SINGULAR OF INDO-EUROPEAN -O- STEMS

BY

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The *rāthas-pātı-ś* hypothesis was first formulated by me in my paper, "The Double Accented Vedic Compounds"[1-2] Holger Pedersen,[3] in case of its validity, showed it to confirm his own view that the old genitive singular of Indo-European *-o-* stems ended in *-s-* My hypotheses is further referred to in my papers, "Postulation of two probable degrees of abstraction in the primitive Indo-European tongue in the light of compound accentuation",[4] "Tocharian and the invalidity of the Satem-centum hypothesis forming a parallel to Hittite and the *rāthas-pātı-ś* hypothesis"[5] and "Indo-European *Gəm-skıhō* or *Gəm-skıō*"[6] I desire now only to state that the correctness of the view that the old genitive singular of the Indo-European *-o-* stems ended in *-s* is attested by the presence of *rāthas-*, undoubtedly the most archaic genitive singular of Indo-European *-o-* stems in the ekāgnıkānda of the Krsna Yajurvēda 1 1 9 *Khē 'nasah khē rāthah khē yugāsya śacīpate* We have yet another reading of the same passage too,—*Khē 'nāsah khē rāthah khē yūgasya śacīpate*[7] Haradatta in his commentary says—*rathah ıtı sasthyarthē prathamā*[8] It is indeed remarkable that this old genitive singular of the primitive Indo-European (if not of the proto Indo-Hittite) *-o-* stems has survived here For the corresponding passage in the Rigveda reads —*Khē āthasya khē 'nāsah khē yugāsya śatakrato*[9] which shows that during the Vedic period there must have been a keen struggle between the analogical *-sya* formation of the *-o-* stems [on account of the influence ex-

ercised by the pronominal declension] on the one side and the most archaic feature of the primitive Indo-European (viz, the apparent identity of the nominative and genitive singular of -*o*- stems, as the oldest genitive singular of the primitive Indo-European -*o*- stems doubtless ended in* -*os* corresponding to Skr- *as*), evidently at one stage of transition when both the mantras referred to were composed, the undoubtedly old *rāthas* and the analogical *rāthasya* existed side by side It is a matter for gratification that these two historic survivals (*rāthas-pātis-ś* and *khē rāthah*) at any rate, possibly with *vānas*- of *vānās-pāti-ś* along with the Hittite instance like *anāṣ*, *atāś* and *antuhśaś* give us a rare insight into the question of formation of the old proto IE or Proto-IH genitive singular of -*o*- stems

NOTES

1–2 *Madras University Journal*, 1936, p 63

3 See H Pedersen, *Etudes Lituaniennes*, p 23 and *Hittitisch und die anderen Indo-Europaischen Sprachen* p 26

4 *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F W Thomas*, Bombay 1939, pp 227-8

5 *The New Indian Antiquary* Vol II, 1939, p

6 An article to be published in a symposium in the New Indian Antiquary forming a sequel to my earlier paper '*gm-sko* versus *$g_{\circ}m$-$sk_1h\bar{o}$* The NIA 1939 Vol I, pp 632–636

7 *Cf* Mysore edition, Bibliotheca Sanskrita No 28, 1902, p 8 Also WINTERNITZ'S edition, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press 1897 p 2 footnotes

8 See Mysore edition p 9

9 RV VIII 91 7

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HINDU ALPHABET

BY

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The great Onentahsts of to-day, have come to the conclusion that the modern and ancient systems of Indian Alphabet can be traced back to the old Phoenician Alphabet, which is regarded as the mothei of the alphabets of the world But support for the theory of a local origin of the alphabet has not been wanting E Thomas (1866) suggested Dravidian Origin Lassen repudiated a foreign origin altogether

It was once believed that the numerals were borrowed by the whole world including India from Arabia hence the term Arabic numerals But thanks to modern scholars it has been established that the Hindu System of numerals was alone the parent of all the systems of numerals in the world with perhaps very few exceptions So, it is not improbable that some day in the near future the same thing may be established very firmly in the case of the Indian Alphabet also It is true that there is nothing degrading in borrowing but it is not right to deny originality to the original inventors

" The earliest written documents that have been discovered in India are the proclamations of the Buddhist King Piyadasi or Aśoka which are written in two different characters , and the silly denunciations of writing in which the Brahmans have always indulged, render it excessively improbable that they had anything to do with the introduction of the Indian Art The inscriptions of Aśoka are of about 250 B C , but it seems probable that writing was practised to

a certain extent in Northern India nearly half a century before that period " So said Burnell. He may be right in saying that the earliest written documents belong only to the period of Aśoka, but he gives no reason for his denouncing the Brahmans as ' those who indulged in the silly denunciations of writing ' There is no passage in Sanskrit literature, where the art of writing is discouraged On the contrary it has been stated that by copying such sacred books as Srī Rāmāyana a person goes to heaven [1]

Again it has been pointed out that Megasthenes states that there were no written books at that time, (302 B C) in India and the people did not know letters, but he also mentions milestones at a distance of ten stadia from one another, 'indicating the bye roads and intervals ' Burnell himself admits that " it is difficult, though not impossible, to suppose that these indications were made by the stones merely, and that there were not any marks on them to tell more than the mere position of the stones could do " Either the evidence of Megasthenes is unreliable or those stones are destroyed the former has been proved to be quite reliable and the latter is quite probable

Another argument is that the spelling of words found in the inscriptions does not satisfy the rules of grammar This Burnell himself admits is traceable to the carelessness of the masons, who could not be expected to be well versed in the alphabet [2]

The express statement that the Indians had no *written* laws the above mentioned instances must not be given any weight Moreover this want of written laws in India was quoted by much later writers like Strabo, who must have been able to correct this statement if wrong at their time [3]

Another important argument put forward by Burnell to prove that writing was borrowed by Indians is the fact that the word *lipi* is used to denote writing It is assumed that writing originally consisted of scratches or incisions on a hard substance Hence if writing were originally invented

in India " one would expect the word Lekhita a derivative of the root ' likh ' (=scratch) instead of lipi a derivative of the root lip (=smear) especially as the last is always used in India to express the act of writing on any substance (e g Mānavadharmā Śāstra). In the Cuneiform inscriptions of Achaemenides *dipi* is the term used for those edicts In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius we find the word Dipim to denote writing So " with an admittedly Semitic *ultimate* origin of the Indian alphabets " Burnell naturally expects a foreign term for the art of writing and suggests that *lipi* is not the derivative of root lip but a corrupt foreign term Otherwise, " the *prima facie* derivation from root *lip* assumes that (1) writing is indigenous to India, and (2) that it originally began there with marks not scratched on a hard substance but painted on the prepared surface of a suitable stuff ", and both these assumptions are negatived by facts according to Burnell [4] On the other hand it will be shown later that writing in India began only with staining and hence writing was indigenous to India as indicated by the term lipi But as a knowledge of certain technicalities of the Hindu Philosophy and Religion is absolutely essential to a clear understanding of the subject, we shall now turn our attention to a brief survey of the same

Philosophy and Religion

The object of the Hindu Philosophy and Religion is to enable a person to attain salvation by getting rid of the vasanas of the previous karmas which throw him in the turmoil of Samsara or series of births Though no distinction can be made between man and man in anything yet all are not equally competent to do the same thing So the Hindu Religion divides mankind into two main groups viz, (1) those that are attracted by the external glamour of the material world and , (2) those that are drawn by an innate desire towards Atma or soul and strive towards attaining salvation The former are called Mlēcchas or (Mlā=low, Iccha =desire) the Low Desired because they are the victims of the glamour of the material world The latter are called the

Hindus, because as a first step towards Ātmā they have begun to purify themselves by taking to Ahimsā and avoiding eating of flesh as the word itself signifies, for the word is derived from two words Himsa and Duyate and means the person who feels aggrieved at Himsa or causing injury to others *Vide* Merutantra "Himsāyām dūyatē yasmād-dhindu rityabhidhīyate" (हिंसाया दूयते यस्माद्धिन्दुरित्यभिधीयते).

Coming to the Hindu, we find there are fourteen stages for him to pass through, yogically described as the fourteen worlds, given in two sets of seven worlds known as Bhū, Bhuvar, Suvar, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, Satya constituting the Higher ones and Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Mahātala, Tālātala and Pātāla constituting the Lower ones

The Mleccha sees only the external body and it is his Ātmā His 'I' refers only to the external body He sees nothing beyond it But the body of a spiritual Hindu is supposed to consist of five kōsas or shells in which his soul is imprisoned The first, as every body knows is the external body and is known as the Annamayakōça or the shell which depends entirely on Anna or food

Inside this Annamaya Kōsa, is the Prānamaya Kōça This Kōça is the Ātmā in relation to the body represented by the Annamaya Kōça Inside the Prānamaya Kōça is the Manōmaya Kōça with the Manōmaya Ātmā (the soul of mind) This Manomaya Kōça is the Ātmā or soul in relation to the body represented by the two Kōças referred to above Inside this Manōmayakōça is the Ātmā of the three external kosas This is known as the Vijñānamayakōça with the Vijñānamaya Ātmā (The Soul of knowledge) This is the pure jīva or the Individual Soul Inside this kōsa is seat ed the Ānandamaya kōça with the Ānandamaya Ātmā (The Soul of Bliss) This is the Paramātmā, Īçwara of the Universal soul This is the Ātmā or the soul of the four Kōsas outside The discovery of the Vijñānamaya and Ānandamaya kōças and the union of the Individual Soul with the Universal is the main theme of the Yōga Śāstra (the science of union).

Various processes are given in the Śāstras to purify these kōśas and thereby discovering the Ātmā seated inside The Ātmā may be compared to a light and the kōsas to darkened glasses surrounding the light The purification corresponds to cleaning of the glasses which will result in the clear vision of the light inside

The seven early stages of a Hindu correspond to the purifications of the Annamayakōśa During these stages the spiritual Hindu remains an Avarna, i e , a person whose goal is varnahood, a person who is very nearly equal to a Savarna, but not completely attained varnahood The particle A in sanskrit is not exactly a negation Th is a non-Brāhmin is one who is not a Brāhman but at the same time similar to him in many respects

The human body being a compound of the five gross elements (having nothing to do with the elements in Chemistry), the purification of the Annamaya kōça requires dhyāna or concentration on the presiding deity of these elements in the subtle form This deity is known as Ganēça or more elaborately Bhūta Ganēça (the lord of Bhūtha ganas or the five bhūthas or elements) Unfortunately nowadays this word 'Bhūta' is misinterpreted as the devil and hence the primary deity of Hinduism has been reduced' to the elephant-faced demon, worshipped by the ignorant Hindus of India' This deity is propitiated first before beginning any important religious ceremony in order that the obstacles standing in the way may be removed Why? The root cause of the external body constituted by Annamaya kōśa (or the Sthūla śarīra) alone stands in the way of our attaining salvation If the karmas of vāsanās that give this sthūla śarira are got rid of, the salvation is attained But this sthūla śarīra is a combination of the five gross elements, which therefore are considered as the main obstacles in the way of performance of religious karmas So no wonder the worship of Ganēsa is identified with the removal of obstacles This is the very reason why every one is permitted to worship Ganēśa, because it is the very starting

point of religion. The image of this deity is placed in every public place, the junction of roads, the river bed etc The kind rishis of old wanted every human being to worship this deity get the Annamayakōsa Purified and thereby ascend the ladder of yōga gradually In short, Ganēśa is the symbol of purification of the Annamayakōśa

The eighth stage corresponds to the perfection of the purification of the Annamayakōśa In this stage the Hindu stands on a firm ground to ascend the ladder of yōga Hence this stage is Bhū or Earth This is the first Savarna stage. He is a śūdra now His main business is Śuśrūsha (शुश्रूषा) which again is mischievously misinterpreted as doing service to the people of higher caste But (शुश्रूषा) Śuśrūsha means (श्रोतु इच्छा) the desire to hear, that is, he is to get a theoretical knowledge of yōga from those who have advanced further and are having practical knowledge of the same The knowledge is always acquired by doing service to the Guru or preceptor and hence the term in Laukika Sanskrit came to mean ' Service ' But in Vaidika sanskrit the meaning remains unaltered

The lower seven stages are known as Avarna stages and the higher ones the savarna stages, for varna in sanskrit means a letter The letters refer only to the letters of the sacred Pranava Mantra which is a mixture of the three letters A, U and M and a fourth known as the Ardha mātrā They symbolically represent the yogic processes corresponding to the four stages of Śūdrahood, Vaiśyahood, Kshatriyahood and Brāhmanhood Hence the lower seven stages are known as Avarna stages and the higher ones Savarna stages

The purification of the Prānamaya kōsa is now begun by the regulation of breath This is the eleventh stage or the first Brahman stage This is the stage referred to by the fourth letter of the Pranava known as Ardha Matra. But this Ardha Matra is divided into five stages of Brahmanhood viz , Bindu, Nāda, Kalā, Kalātīta and Tatpara referring

to Brahman, Morning worship (Prātas Sandhyā) Mid-day worship (Mādhyāhnika), Evening worship (Sāyam Sandhyā), and salvation These correspond to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth stages and final emancipation

In the eleventh stage the karmas are done without any desire for fruits which process is known as Karmayōga This corresponds to the Mahar loka and leads to the discovery of the Individual soul which is concentrated on as in the twelfth stage which is hence known as Janoloka (jana—man) In the tenth stage of Kshatriya only Svarga lokais attained which is considered as perishable at the end of Kalpas and hence the stage is known as Swar loka But the twelfth stage of Janoloka begins the world from which practically there is no return Hence this stage is known as Prāthas Sandhyā[5] or the Morning union, because the union with the Infinite has begun This corresponds to the knowledge from Karmayōga leading to salvation

The thirteenth stage corresponds to the Mādhyahnika or the Midday union with the Infinite The Individual soul is seen in its pristine purity as the embodiment of knowledge The presiding deity is Śiva[6] the basic divinity of the individual soul That is why the presiding deity of 'the Rudra' of the Upanishads is described as the Rudra who is Samkarshana and who is also described as the Sun or Parama Purusha (Sankarshanamurtisvarūpō yōsāvādiyah Parama Purushassa esha Rudro devatā सङ्कर्षणमूर्तिस्वरूपोयोसावादित्यः परमपुरुषः स एष रुद्रो देवता) The process here by which the Akshara or individual soul is concentrated upon as the body of the Infinite is the Jñānayōga

The fourteenth stage corresponds to the Evening Union where mōksha jñāna or knowledge leading to salvation is attained by concentration on the Paramātmā of the Ānandamayakōsa technically styled Vishnu (all-pervading) or the Universal Soul

The next is salvation technically referred to as *Midnight.* This corresponds to the clear vision of the Infinite as is shown by the incarnation of Śrī Krishna at dead of night. The birth of Śrī Krishna at midnight refers both to starting of Karmayoga of the Morning Sandhya and the final goal of both Bhakthiyōga of Sāyam Sandhyā, and Jñānayōga of the Mādhyahnika when the individual soul or Śiva is concentrated upon.

That which is concentrated upon is known as Śabda Brahman The written symbols the Śabda Brahman also fall into two groups corresponding to Jñāna Bhakti and to Kēvala-Bhakti of which the former alone is supposed to give salvation in the three yugas Krita, Trētā and Dvāpara while the latter also helps mankind to work out its emancipation in the Kaliyuga [7] This naturally introduces the subject of the significance of the two sets of Aksaras (letters) corresponding to Jñāna Bhakti and Kēvala Bhakti and hence we shall now try to consider their significance

The significance of the word Lipi

The Aksaras of the alphabet are merely the oral and written symbols of the different phases of the Aksara or the Śabda Brahman Śabda Brahman is not different from the Brahman but only its aspect as combined with Cit prakriti and Acit prakriti, or simply Prakriti This Acit prakriti or matter and Cit Prakriti or souls together constitute this visible world as ordained by the Śabda Brahman The combination of Purusha or Brahman with Prakriti results primarily in the creation of what is known as the Mahat Tatvam This further undergoes a change and the Ahamkāra Tatvam is created This Ahamkara Tatvam has got three phases the Satvic, Rajasic and Tamasic The human body and all the other things of the world are made up of only the five gross elements The Prakriti from which are evolved the remaining Tatvams together with the evolved Tatvams Mahat, Ahamkāra, Mind, five sensory organs, five motor organs, the five tanmātras, the five subtle elements consti-

tute the well known twenty four Tatvams or categories, the twenty fifth being the Ātmā itself If the Paramātma is taken as a separate entity, the Jīvātmā or the Individual soul is considered as the twentyfifth Tatva and the Paramātmā, the twenty-sixth

The purification of the gross elements is identical with the purification of the Annamaya kōça or the external body as already pointed out It is done by taking satvic food, avoiding flesh and other things which cause intoxication or excitement or stimulation

The five subtle elements classed together with the five Prānas (Vital Airs) constitute the Prānamaya kōsa where these Prānas are found together with the five motor organs The Manas or the mind with the five sensory organs constitutes the *Manōmayakōśa The Mahat or Buddhi (Intellect)* with the five sensory organs constitutes the Vijñānamaya kōśa These three kōśas of an Individual together constitute his Sūkshma Śarira Thus the Sūkshma Śarīra or the subtle body consists of 17 categories comprising 5 vital airs (including subtle elements) 5 sensory organs, 5 motor organs, the Mind, and the Buddhi The purification of these 17 categories is yōgically described in the 17 purānas In the Mahābhārata which is higher in rank than the 17 purānas, these 17 categories and the Ātmā are dealt with as signified by the 18 parvas or stages The eighteenth Purāna Bhāgavata deals only with Ātmā as combined with Prakriti since the 17 categories are involved in Prakriti

The partial purification of the Manōmaya kōśa is effected by doing Sat Karma like Yajña or sacrifice All the yajñas are the mechanical counterparts of the mental working out of the process of involution of the Tatvas.

The elaborate rituals of these yajñas seem to have no significance to an ordinary observer Each yajña represents the purification and involution of certain Tatvams, which are symbolically represented by the letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet Different colours are used for different Tat-

vams, which are symbolically represented by the letters of the Sanskrit Alphabet Different colours are used for different Tatvams represented by different letters in order to make the mechanical counterpart perfect So beautiful diagrams are drawn in places allotted for each Tatva with Rice flour and the place is smeared with rice flour coloured in such a way as to suit the particular Tatva and the alphabetical letter symbolising this Tatvam is also written not by scratching but by smearing with rice flour So is it not quite natural that the word lipi meaning letter is derived from the root lip (=smear)? In cases where they are to be kept permanently they are scratched in metallic plates and hence the word lekhanam derived from the root likh (=scratch) also is used to denote writing It will be interesting to note that on account of the various colours used to denote each Tatvam and its written symbol the word 'Varna' also came to be used to denote a 'letter'[8]

The Sanskrit Alphabet

The Taitarīya Upanishad gives the process by which the internal Ātmā is perceived through the five Kōçās, the Annamaya, Prānamaya, Manōmaya, Vijñānamaya and Ānandamaya It says[9]

"The Brahman is Truth, Knowledge, Immeasurable He who knows this seated in the Guhā (the innermost recess of the heart) or in the highest abode attains everything and is happy with Brahman From that Ātmā or from the other the subtle Ether was created From the Ether the Air from the Air the Fire, from the Fire the Water, from the Water the Earth, from the Earth the Plant life, from the Plant life the Food, from the Food the Man That Purusha or This is the essence of Food"

The Upanishad goes on with the explanation of the five Koças one within the other Strangely enough the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet are arranged so as to be a complete epitome of the Philosophy of the Taittariya Upanishad.

The significance of the Upanayanam Ceremony, marking the beginning of the study of the vēdas, is done in the eighth year in the case of Brāhmans, in the twelfth year in the case of the Kshatriyās and in the sixteenth year in the case of the Vaiśyās means that the individual is taken near Him through the Upanishads Corresponding to the Upanayanam, in the fifth year the Aksharārambha ceremony (the ceremony of beginning of the study of letters) takes place when the individual is taught the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet in the order given below Why it is taught in the fifth year is another question which is beyond the scope of this treatise.

हरिः

ॐ न मो ना रा य णा य सि द्धम्

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए

ऐ ओ औ अं अ

क ख ग घ ङ

च छ ज झ ञ

ट ठ ड ढ ण

त थ द ध न

प फ ब भ म

य र ल व

श ष स ह

ळ क्ष अङ् इति

The Taittariya Upanishad begins with the Ātma in the Guha referring to the Antaryāmi or the Universal soul in the Ānandamaya Koça This Antaryāmi is known as Hari, because he rules over Hara or Individual soul and I (इ) or Prakriti.

Vide क्षरं प्रधानममृताक्षरं हरः क्षरात्मानावीशते देव एकः ।

Hence it is that Brahmins greeting one another say 'Hari' referring only to the Antaryāmi common to all This idea is clearly brought out by Śri Śankarācārya in his sloka

त्वयि मयि चान्यत्रैको विष्णु.

Thus the Vishnu or the all pervading Antaryami is the divinity referred to by 'Hari'.

Corresponding to the Universal soul of the Parama Vyōma or the highest Ether we have the famous Ashtakshara ॐ नमोनारायणाय which is supposed to be the sthūla eight lettered mantra corresponding to the suxma Ashtāxara mantra also known as Pranava consisting of the eight letters A, U, M, Bindu, Māda, Kalā, Kalātita and Tatpara of which the last five letters are to be only concentrated on but not pronounced. Hence it is that Sanyāsis or ascetics who are to concentrate on Pranava take to Pranava of the first three letters A, U, M and for the remaining substitute the Nārāyana smarana referring to the letters in the Ashtākshara corresponding to Bindu, Nāda, Kalā and Kalātita of the sacred Pranava, which concentration will lead them to the final emancipation symbolished by the eighth letter of both

सिद्धम् refers to the permanent nature of the Parama Vyōma of Nārāyana, the Brahman Then we have the vowels of which A, Ā, I refer to the subtle Ether, Ī, U Ū refer to the subtle Air, R, Rī, Lri, Lrī refer to the subtle Fire, E, Ai, O refer to the subtle water and Au, Am, Ah to the subtle Earth This corresponds again to the Taittariya Upanishadic exposition of the creation of man from the Ātma of the Guha or Parama Vyōma

The consonant sounds from K to X merely represent different categories But to show that they are the Tatvams lighted by the presence of the Antaryāmi, the vowel A representing Vishnu or the All pervading is used with each of them. Hence they are also known as Aksharas Simple consonants are only varnas and not Aksharas

The vowels, the anuswara, and visarga complete the evolution of the main Tatvams The consonants complete the evolution, the purification and the involution of the Tatvams The first twenty five letters represent the twenty five Tatvams क, ख, ग, घ, ङ represent the elements from Earth to Ether , च, छ, ज, झ, [10] represent the motor organs

pertaining to these elements, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण[11] represent the sensory organs corresponding to the elements. त, थ, द, ध, न[12] represent the Tanmātrās corresponding to the elements, प, फ, ब, भ, म[13] represent the mind, Ahamkāra, Mahat and Prakriti Thus the twentyfour Tatwams are placed in the order in which they are involved The twenty-fifth letter (Ma) represents the twenty-fifth Tatvam namely the individual Soul.[14] Thus far the letters denote the categories of the human being with sthula (gross) and sukshma (subtle) bodies Now, the written symbols for the beings with sukshma (subtle) bodies alone and who are qualified only for performing Gnanayoga or Bhaktiyoga but not for Karmayoga are taken *viz.*, Ya to Ha Hence it is that in ceremonies connected with inviting beings with sukshma (subtle) bodies only the mantra or hymn used for Prana prathishta (or establishing life), in an image is य र ल व श ष स ह ॐ हंसः सोहं सोहं हंस.[15] य, र, ल, व[16] stand for the subtle elements (including the corresponding organs etc) Air, Fire, Earth and Water श and ष[17] represent Rajas and Tamas, corresponding to Pratas Sandhya and Madhyahnika of the 12th and 13th stages of mankind स[18] represents the Satva leading to a knowledge of the Individual soul represented by ह (Ha) the knowledge of which again makes a person more and more satvic Hence it is repeated thus हंस. सोहं सोहं हंस [19] The word Hamsa also means the act of breathing [20] This corresponds to the fourteenth stage or Sayam Sandhya The next letter (La) represents the liberated soul Hence it is omitted in Laukika Sanskrit. क्ष(Ksa) a combination of K, S. and A represents Brahma, Siva and Vishnu[21] of the 12th, 13th and 14th stages and hence the Paramātma represented by Pranava The next is अः [22] It is the Samvrita A representing the Para Brahman as distinguished from the vivrits A representing the Sabda Brahman combined with Prakriti.[23]

The first letter of the Sanskrit Alphabet is A and the last ıs Xa and hence the letters are referred to by the name Aksharah The existence of the superfluous letter ऌ (Lri) alone ıs enough to show that ıt owes ıts present mantrıc aspect. . If letters were borrowed for the sake of wrıtıng Rı, Rī, Lrı can be replaced by two letters showıng the short and long vowel sounds ın them There ıs no word wıth Lrı and only a few words wıth the letter Lrı

The most scıentıfic arrangement of the letters ın accordance wıth the Taıttırıya Upanıshad alone ıs enough to convınce the reader they are as ancıent as the vedas wıth the express object of performıng the vedıc rıtuals as enjoıned by the Vedas themselves.

NOTES

1 Lēkhayantīha Ca narāsteshām vāsastrıvıshtapē (Vālmīki Rāmāyana, Yuddhakānda vı, cxxvııı, 120

2 S I P p 2 footnote

3 S I P p 2

4 S I P p 5 footnote 2

5 That Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana and Bhāgavata, treatıng of Karmayōga, Jñānayōga and Bhaktıyōga refer to the Mornıng, Mıdday and Evenıng of a yogı ıs plaın from the popular sloka

Prātardyutaprasangēna (प्रातर्द्यूत प्रसङ्गेन)

Madhyahnē Strıprasangātah (मध्याह्ने स्त्रीप्रसङ्गतः)

Rātrau corā prasangēna (रात्रौ चोरप्रसङ्गेन)

whıch means (The tıme ıs to be spent) by addıctıng to gamblıng (Mahabharata) ın the mornıng, to woman (Ramayana) at Mıdday and to Thıevıng (Bhagavata) at nıght

6 Sa ēva sōmō mantvyō dehınam jīva samjñakah

स एव सोमो मन्तव्यो देहिनां जीव संज्ञक.

Pāsabaddhastathā jīvah Pāsamuktassadā Gıvah

पाशबद्धस्तदाजीवः पाशमुक्तः सदाशिवः

meanıng 'He who ıs known as jīva ıs the Sōma (Rudra)' When bound by Pāsa he ıs jīva and when lıberated he ıs known as Sadā Cıva'

7 Satyādı trıyugē Bodha vaırāgyau muktıdāyakau
Kalau tu Kēvalā Bhaktır Brahmasāyujyakārını

सत्यादि त्रियुगे बोधवैराग्यौ मुक्तिदायकौ ।
कलौ तु केवला भक्तिर्ब्रह्मसायुज्य कारिणी ॥ Padma Purana

8 For different colours for different letters see Narasimha Purana, where different colours are given for different letters of the sacred Mantra A ṣ t ā Ks a r a

9 Satyam Jñānam Anantam Brahma
Yō vēda nihitam guhāyām Paramē vyōman
Sōsnutē sarvān kāmān saha Brahmanā vipaċoitēti
Tasmādvā ētāsmād Ātmana Ākaśassambhutah
Ākacād vāyuh Vāyōragnih Agnērāpah Adbhyah Prithivī
Prithivyāh Ōshadhayah Oshadhībhyō annam Annāt
Purushah Sa vā esha Purushē Annarasamayah

10 Ka Kha, Ga, Gha and Na

11 Ca Cha, Ja, Jha, Na

12 Ṭa, Ṭha, Da, Dha, Na

13 Ta, Tha, Da, Dha, Na

14 *Vide Padma Purāna*
Bhūtāni Ca Kavargēna
Cavargenedriyādayah |
Tavargēṇa Tavargēṇa
Jñāna Gandhādayastathā ||
Manah Pakārēnaivōktam
Phakārena tvahamkritih
Makārenocyatē Jīvah
Pancavimeāxarah Pumān

15 Ya, Ra, La, Va, Ca, Sha, Sa, Ha, ŌM,

16 Ya, Ra, La, Va

17 Ca, & Sha

18 Sa

19 Hamsah Sōham Sōham Hamsah

20 Hakarēna bahiryāti Sakarēna visēt punah
Hamsa hamsētyamum mantram jīvō japati sarvadā
(Dhyānabindu Upanishad)

It means the breath goes out with Ha and gets in with Sa and hence the Individual soul is always chanting the hymn 'Hamsa' 'Hamsa'

21 Brahmanō vācakah Kōyam
Civasya Vacakah Shacca
Akarō Vishnu Vacanah

22 An

23 The first A is Vivrita in order to make it a Savarna of Ā, and the last is the real A being Sam vrita The same thing is done by Panini also in his last Sutra AA (VIII, iv, 68) where the Samvrta A is asked to be put in the place of the Vivrta A The philosophical significant of An is too great to be discussed here

A NOTE ON JĪVASAMBODHINI

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In the course of my studies in Tolkāppiyam, I found some evidence which tended to prove that the author of this great work was a Jain This led me on to an investigation of the extent and nature of the contribution by the Jains to the Tamil language and literature The works that have come down to us bear ample testimony to their varied literary activities in Tamil Grammars like Neminātham, Yāpparungalam and Nannūl and lexicons like Divākaram show their devotion to the scientific and systematic study of the Tamil Language Didactic works like Nāladiyar and Paḻamoḻi show their remarkable love of the moral order and their mastery over linguistic expression Kāvyas like Chūlāmani and Chintāmani reveal their poetic power and set the poetic standard for all later poets And when we bear in mind that Valluvar, the author of Tirukkuṟal, Ilangovadigal, the author of *Cilappadikāram,* and even Tolkāppiyar, the author of Tolkāppiyam were in all probability Jains, the immensity of their contribution seems indeed phenomenal

But the Jains were first and foremost a religious community and their intellectual gifts and vast learning were naturally utilised for the spread of their religion They sang exquisite devotional lyrics some of which are embodied as illustrative poems in the commentaries on Tolkāppiyam and Yāpparungalam They composed religious poems some of which are available to us in the form of *prabhandas,* e g , Tirukkalambakam, Tirunūrrantāti They engaged themselves frequently in disputations with the teachers of the

rival systems and philosophical controversy formed the subject-matter of many of their important works. Of this class of works, Nilakeśi alone survives. They also wrote a number of systematic treatises explaining their theology, metaphysics and cosmology The Ashtapadārtta Sāram, Lokani and Arungalacceppu are some of them Besides, they were the authors of several stories and lives of the Saints, the Śrīpurānam being the representative of this class of works

These are professedly religious works and are but little known outside the world of Jaina scholars But exposition of religious doctrines is not their only merit, they are types of literature as well Viewed thus, the student of Tamil literature cannot afford to ignore them Some of them are in verse and they are excellent production [1] Some others are in prose, but of a style commonly known as *manipravālam* It has become the fashion now to regard this style as a freakish production of a class of perverted writers and to abhor it as such But we are concerned with it only as a fact in the literary history and one must regard it as the tendency of an age rather than a freak It would be fruitful if we study the literary and cultural forces that were at work in its formation Such a study is alien to my purpose at present

Yet some others form a species of composition in which verse and prose alternately occur, and this class is known as *champu*. Works of this class are not altogether unknown in Tamil literature Perundevanār's Bhāratam and Tagadūr Yāttirai are of this class and Tolkāppiyar calls them 'tonmai '[2]

It is to this last species that Jīvasambodhanai now offered to the public, belongs The verse is in venba metre and the prose is in *manipravālam* style The work deals with the 12 kinds of contemplation (*anupreksha*s) that must be practised to stop the inflow of *karma* (*samvara*) They are : —

1. Anityam—Everything in the world is transient.

2 Aśaranam—No shelter in this world, save Dharma.

3. Ekatvam—We are alone in this world and we shall have to endure the expiation of our karma all alone

4. Anyatvam—The soul is separate from the body

5 Samsaram—The cycle of existence must be escaped

6 Lokam—The world (constituted of the six elements the dravyas, soul, matter, time, spaces and the principles of motion and rest) is eternal Likewise the hell, devaloka and siddhaloka are eternal and serve as constant reminders of our duty

7 Aśucitvam—Our body is impure

8 Asravam—Karmic matter is following into the soul, new bounds are forged for the captivity of the soul in this world

9 Samvarai—This inflow of karma must be stopped

10 Nirjjarai—Soul must be freed from its past karma

11 Dharma—The duty to obtain freedom and happiness by practising the laws of religion

12 Bodhi-durlabham—It is difficult to attain wisdom which consists in Right Faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct

Corresponding to these 12 topics, there are 12 chapters in the work The first chapter contains a section of invocatory stanzas and also a section on the origin of the treatise (Granthāvatara) It is believed that Gautama Ganadhara discoursed upon these topies to the Emperor Śrenika of the Magadha country Each of the above topics is illustrated by a story

These *anupreksha*s have been a popular theme with several authors in Sanskrit and Prakrit Kundakundāchārya's Bara Anuvekka and Kārtikeyaswāmi's (circa 8th century A D) Bara Anuvekka may be mentioned prominently But neither of these could be the original of the

Tamil work Devala in Harivamsapurānam, refers to a work on *Anupreksha* by a certain Simhanandi, but we know nothing of this work. In the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, there is a Sanskrit manuscript on the subject with the name *Jiva-sambodha* (No. 1157 of 1887-91) If any inference might be based on the title, this might probably be the original of the Tamil work

It may be noted that in Kannada also there is a work of the name *Jivasambodhana,* treating of the *anupreksha*s. The author of this was one Bandhuvarma of the 12th century A comparison of this with the Tamil work reveals the fact that one is not a translation of the other, though both might be adaptations of one and the same original. Hence, it is not likely that the two works had anything to do with each other.

The stanzas at the end of the Tamil work tells us that the author was a certain Devendra-muni Nothing is known of him at present. His date even can only be a matter of surmise The stanza 'பிளளைபேய பித்தனை" is found both in his work (see st 29) as well as in Munaiappadiyār's *Araneric-caram* But this is of no value to us, since it is not possible to ascertain who the borrower is In a few places, we seem to hear echoes from Tirukkuṟal and Nāladiyār, but this means almost nothing

வேளை(க்காரா) and வாரியா are two of the institutions known to the students of South Indian History and these are referred to in St 56 and in the prose passages under Sts 49 and 105 Hence, the work must have been written at a time when these institutions were in vogue. 10th to 12th century would be such period and our author must be assigned to this period This conclusion is strengthened by another fact A peculiar kind of metre is found in inscriptions of this period and this metre is adopted in some portion of this work also.

Of the ancient commentators, Naccinārkkiniyar seems, in his note on St 1756 of Cintāmaṇi, to refer to a stanza of

this work In recent years, the work has been cited often by scholars Dr V Swaminatha Aiyar, for instance, quotes from this work in his edition of Cintāmani (See fn under st 2815) This important work is now being edited by me for the University of Madras

NOTES

1 The following specimen may be noted

மெயபபொருள காடடி யுயிாகட காணுகித
துககங கெடுபபது நூல (*அருஙகலசசெபபு*)
நறகாடசி யிலலா ருணாவு மொழுககமும
ஒறகா வொசிநது கெடும (,,)

படைமனனா சூழப பரிகரிதோ காலாள
குடைகவரி பிசசங கொடிகள—மிடைதரவே
பலவியஙக ளாாபபப பரநத நெடுவீதி
மலலியலூா தோளான வரும (*சிவசமபோதனை*, 318)

அறிவெனப படுவது துனடந துடைததல
செறிவெனப படுவது முமமையுஞ செறிதல
ஆணமை யெனப படுவ தைமபுலன வெனறல
கேணமை யெனபபடுவது கேடடிடத துதவல, etc
(—do— 77, *உரை*)

2 Tolkāppiyam—Seyyuliyal—237, Comm

BHARCU, A FORGOTTEN SANSKRIT POET AND HIS POETIC FRAGMENTS (ABOUT 550-625 A D.)

BY

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Introductory.

Bharcu, a Samskrit poet and the preceptor of Bhatta Bāna, though illustrious in his own day being very highly esteemed by the Maukhari Kings, is almost a forgotten writer A connected though short account of this once-famous author is presented here in one place and is brought to the notice of Indologists for the first time in the hope that some competent savant might try to throw fresh light on this poet

The name of the Poet

The correct name of this neglected writer is not known, as his name is spelt in several ways by several writers thus

Bharcu, Bhartsu, Bharvu, Bhaścu and Bhatsu His own pupil Bāna seems to mention his name as Bharvu

'नमामि भर्वोश्चरणाम्बुजद्वयम्'

—*Kādambarī*, Introductory, 4 śl

Even here Bhānucandra, the commentator on the *Kādambarī*, seems to have read it as 'भत्सोः'

In the following stanza attributed to Rājaśekhara, the reading is 'भर्चोः'

'अवन्तिः काव्यमानर्च भर्चोर्मौखरिशेखरः
शिष्यो बाणश्च संक्रान्तःकान्तवेद्यवचाः कविः'

—Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvalī*,[1] (p 44. śl 64).

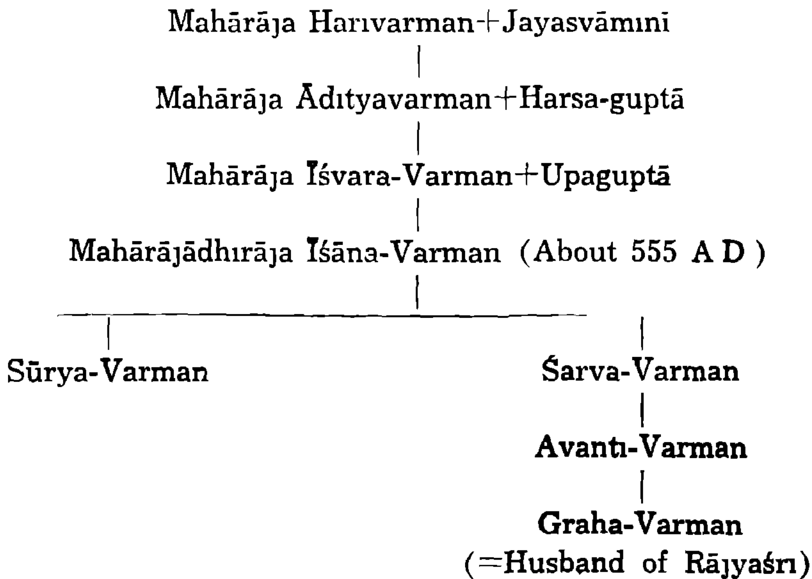
Identıty of the Poet : Was he a king or minister ?

Sāhıtya-ratnākara, Dr M. Krıshnamacharıar writes[2] that Bhoja had quoted the following verse 'probably from the prologue of a drama '·

'धूर्तैर्यत् श्वपचीकृतो वररुचिः सर्वज्ञकल्पोऽपि सन्
जीवन्नेव पिशाचतां च गमितो भर्तुर्यदभ्यर्च्यधीः
छन्दोगोऽयमिति प्रभाकरगुरुर्देशाच्च निर्वासितः
यद्वृत्तान्तविजृम्भितेन मनसा तत्सर्वमल्पीकृतम् '·

—*Śrngāra-prakāśa,* XI.

Dr Acharıar further adds that 'Bharcu was a Maukharı Kıng and teacher of Bānabhatta', without, however, citıng any authorıty We know from the verse of Rājaśekhara cited above, and what is more authentic, from the fourth Introductory stanza of Bāna's *Kādambarī,* that Bharcu was Bāna's preceptor , but that he was a kıng of the Maukharı dynasty does not seem to possess any historical evidence In the list of kings of this dynasty appended below, as given by the late lamented C. V Vaidya[3] and Mr D B Dıskalkar, M A ,[4] (of the Watson Museum, Rajkot), we do not find Bharcu's name at all



Dr C. Narayana Rao (M A , L T , Ph.D.,) in his Telugu work on *Sanskrit Proverbs*[5] gives (on p 128, No 799) a Nyāya *Bharuchūnyāya* and adds his explanation of this Nyāya, without giving the source of his information For the information of non-Āndhra Sanskritists, the substance of his elucidation is subjoined in English

" Bharchu (भर्चु) was the minister of a certain king Once the king sent him to a distant country to subjugate a rival king The minister accordingly set out on his errand and killed the rival king While Bharchu remained there for some time to establish peace and order there, some enemies of Bharchu sent a letter to the king that Bharchu was killed by the enemies On this the king appointed another man as his minister Some time after, Bharchu returned to his country and finding somebody in his stead, he turned out a recluse Besmearing his body with the holy ashes, he repaired to a forest for performing penance His enemies once again reported to the king that Bharchu had become a पिशाच (goblin) and besmearing his body with ashes was roaming about in the forests One day, the king set out for hunting and finding Bharchu in a forest wearing ashes and roaming about like a lunatic, he believed that Bharchu had really become a demon

Thus, if any one keeps quiet when he is scandalised without reason, that scandal would get confirmed " When we consider the above anecdote along with the quotation from the Śrngāra-prakāśa, already cited— ('अभ्यर्च्यर्थी· भर्चुः जीवन्नेव पिशाचतां गमित ') we are able to conclude this much at least—that Bharcu was considered a demon even while alive, though it is not known for certain if he was a minister

Bharcu appears to be an eminent poet From the verse of Rājaśekhara already cited, we know that Bharcu's poem was held in great esteem by the famous king Avanti, the gem of the Maukhari dynasty ('मौखरिशेखरः अवन्ति), the sixth king of the line From Bāna's *Harṣa-caritā*,[6] we know

that this was King Avanti-varman, the father of Graha-varman, the husband of Rājyaśrī (Harsavardhana's sister)

Now let us see Bāna's verse wherein he pays his respects to his teacher, Bharcu—

'नमामि भर्वोश्चरणाम्बुजद्वयं
सशेखरैर्मौखरिभि कृतार्चनम्
समस्तसामन्तकिरीटवेदिका-
विटङ्कपीठोल्लुठितारुणाङ्गुलि'

—*Kādambarı*,[7] 4th Introductory verse (Also cited by Ksemendra in his *Suvrtta-tilaka*, II *ad* 17, p 39 *Kāvyamālā*, II Gucchaka, 2nd ed 1932)

From the late Mr M R Kāle's commentary on the above stanza.—

"भर्वो =तदाख्यगुरो; चरणाम्बुजद्वयं = पादकमलयुग्मं; नमामि. भर्वो इत्यत्र 'भत्सो' इति भानुचन्द्रः पठति 'भत्सौ.' इत्यपि".

Kale's translation of the verse —'I salute the lotus-like feet of (the venerable) Bharvu (my preceptor) to which worship was offered (homage was paid) by the Maukharis with crowns on their heads and the toes of which were reddened as they rolled on the lofty foot-stool formed by the rows of the diadems of all subordinate princes"

In his notes on this verse (pp 2-3), the late M R Kale writes thus —"In this śl the poet pays his homage to his *Guru* named भर्वु

समस्तसामन्त etc —When hundreds of crowned princes bowed to his preceptor भर्वु, their crowns formed together a raised platform which served him as a footstool While the Guru's feet were rolling on this platform, the lustre of the gems was reflected on them and thus they appeared red."

In his Introduction (p xxxv) to the *Harsacarita*, Prof P V Kane writes 'Another royal family with whom Harsa came in close contact was the Maukhari His sister Rājyaśrī was married to Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman His capital was Kānyakubja Bāna intimates that

the Maukhari family was very ancient and highly honoured and that the Maukharis were great devotees of Śiva. Particulars of the Maukhari kings and their genealogy will be found in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions,* pp. 219-230. The Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha went often to war.'[8]

It seems to me that Bharcu might be either an *Āsthāna-pandita* or an *Āsthāna-kavi* (Poet Laureate) at the court of the Maukharis As has been already pointed out, he does not appear to be a king , nor does he seem to be a minister either , for, had he been a minister, it is highly improbable that kings along with their vassals would pay such homage to him as has been alluded to by Bāna Bharcu must have been something like a *Durbar-Pandit* or *Poet* or it might be, the preceptor of the Maukharis, to receive such glorious tributes from them along with their vassals and it is plainly stated in the verse of Rājaśekhara that Avanti-varman, the jewel of the Maukharis had highly honoured Bharcu's poem.

Date of Bharcu

Though the two limits of time during which Bharcu flourished cannot now be definitely set down, the question of his date does not present much difficulty As has been already pointed out, he was a contemporary of Avantivarman, the father of Grahavarman, and this latter who was the husband of Rājyaśrī (Harsa's sister) must have been contemporaneous with Harsa-vardhana who was born in 590 A D , ascended the throne in 606 A D , and ruled upto 648 A D Bharcu's pupil, Bāna, as is well known, was a protege and co-eval of Harsa From all this it can safely be concluded that poet Bharcu was a contemporary of Avanti-varman, the Maukhari, and a senior contemporary of Bāna and his patron, Harsa Hence, it is highly probable that he must have flourished in the second half of the 6th and first quarter of the 7th century A D , or roughly 550-625 A.D If this be accepted as correct let us have a peep at the kings and authors who might have been the probable contemporaries of our poet.

The contemporaries of Bharcu.

Now let us have a glimpse at the age in which our poet flourished Avanti-varman, the Maukhari and after him his son Graha-varman (husband of Rājyaśrī) were ruling at Kanoj Prabhākara-vardhana, and after him his eldest son, Rājya-vardhana and after his brutal murder his younger brother, Harsa-vardhana were rulers of the kingdom of Sthāneśvara (Thaneśvara) Harsa ruled for a pretty long time of about 42 years, and he is rightly styled the last of the Hindu Emperors of Northern India

In Mālava, Mahāsena-gupta of the later Gupta Dynasty was ruling His sons, Kumāra-gupta and Mādhava-gupta were intimate friends of Harsa.

Śaśānka, the king of Karna-suvarna, who had treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana (Harsa's elder brother) was ruling in Bengal.

Bhāskara-varman son of Susthita-varman (About 625 A.D), King of Kāmarūpa (Assam) was on friendly terms with Harsa Dharasena II (About 588 A D), of the Maitraka family was king at Valabhi (in Gujerat) Pulakeśin II *alias* Satyāśraya, the great Cālukyan Emperor (and son of Kīrti-varman) was the mighty ruler who forced Harsa to return discomfited Pulakeśin's younger brother Kubja-vīsnu-vardhana (Visnu-vardhana I, 615-633 A D) flourished during this period

The famous royal-bard, grammarian and philosopher, Bhartrhari (591-651 A D) belongs to this age

Buddharāja, son of Śankara-gana (of the early Kalacuri Dynasty) was another ruler of this period He was defeated by Mangaleśa (597 A D), the brother and successor of Kīrti-varman of the Western Cālukyan Dynasty Visnu-varman, son of Bhogi-varman, was the Kādamba king ruling at Vanavāsi who was defeated by Pulakeśin II

Some of the famous rulers of South India at this period were the royal-bard and Vaisnavite saint Kulaśekhara Ālvār

of Kerala, the author of the minor-poem *Mukunda-mālā* ; Simha-visnu, the Pallava king of Kāñcī who ruled between 575-600 A D., and his son Mahendra-vikrama-varman (600-625 A D) the royal author who wrote the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* , and Durvinīta, the Gānga king, author of a commentary on the 15th canto of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*

The following are some of the famous writers and personages that flourished in this period

Bhatta Bāna, Mayūra, the author of the *Sūryaśataka,* Mātanga-Divākara, the poet, and the great savants Haridatta and Jayasenā were at the court of Harsa

Bhāravi and his friend Damodara, the great-grand father of Dandin

Ravi-kīrti, the author of the *Aihole Inscription* The famous scholars, Kumārila (600-660 A D) and Mandana Miśra (615-669 A D)

Poet Mātrgupta (about 500-600 A D) of Kāshmir Tirumangai Ālvār, the famous Vaisnavite saint and Tamil poet of South India and Tirujñānasambandhar, the Śaivite saint of South India

Late in the 6th cy A D Bhadanta-Sthiramati, a very great Buddhist savant was living at Valabhi The famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Thsang who visited Valabhi in about 643 A D , also belongs to this period

Bharcu's Works.

From Rājaśekhara's verse cited above we know that Bharcu was the author of a Kāvya, that had elicited the appreciation of king Avanti-varman This poem, like many other literary works seems to have been lost to us and perhaps irretrievably, through the ravages of time Even the name of the poem is not known to us.

In his Samskrit Introduction (p 47) to Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvali,* Pandit Embar Krishnamachariar thus says about Bharcu and his lost poem—

'भर्चुः—भर्श्चुः भर्त्सुः इत्यपि नाम्नि भेदः पठ्यते-कविरयं बाणस्य गुरुः. स्तौति च कादम्बर्यां बाण एनम्। * * * राजशेखरश्चैनं श्लाघते—'अवन्तिः काव्यं' इत्यादि। कवेरस्य काव्यं किमप्यस्तीति अनेन श्लोकेन विज्ञायते, काव्यस्य नाम न व्यक्तम्। कविं काव्यं च निरूपयन् राजशेखरः काव्यनाम न किं ब्रूयात्? अपि स्यात् अवन्तिकाव्यमिति एकं पदं? सुव्यक्त· समयोऽप्यस्य। अस्य श्लोका बहवः सुभाषितावलौ समुदाहृताः'.

From the construction of the verse of Rājaśekhara—

अवन्ति· मौखरिशेखरः भर्चो काव्य आनर्च,

Pandit Ācharya's suggestion that *Avanti-kāvya* might perhaps be the name of Bharcu's poem does not appear to be correct.

The poetic fragments preserved by the several Samskrit anthologists in the name of Bharcu might have been the only surviving relics of this neglected poet and his lost anonymous poem

The eminent poet Bāna praises the glory of Bharcu The famous poet, dramatist and critic, Rājaśekhara pays him a high tribute Not only this—such well-known writers on Sanskrit Sāhitya, as Ānandavardhana and Ruyyaka quote a verse of Bharcu, though without mentioning the author's name, which fact alone is sufficient to show the high merits of Bharcu as a poet In later days, the Samskrit anthologists like Śrīdharadāsa, Jalhana, Śārngadhara and Vallabhadeva preserve in their anthologies under the name of Bharcu a few poetic fragments With the few verses of our poet so far available, we cannot at present dwell at length on the poetic excellences of this writer Now let us turn our attention towards the poetic relics of this author

Poetic fragments of Bharcu

—हेमन्त· or हेमन्तपथिकः—

'आहूतोऽपि सहायैरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्तनिद्रोऽपि
गन्तुमना अपि पथिक·संकोचं नैव शिथिलयति'.

[*Sbhv* 1838 śl 311 p 'भश्चोः' *Ś P* 3932 *śl* 598 p. 'भर्वोः'; *sml.* p. 235, śl. 23 | Ruyyaka's *Alamkāra-sarvasva,* p 161, as

an example of Viśesokti (Nirnayasāgar Press, 2nd ed. 1939), in the Verse-Index to this work, the editors assign this stanza to Mālavarudra, and it is not known on which authority

Also cited anonymously in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana, as an example of Viśesokti (p 45, *Calcutta Sanskrit Series* ed 1938) = I p 38 (*Kāvyamālā* ed. 2nd ed. 1911.)

Variants in *Sml.* आगन्तुकोऽपि for गन्तुमना अपि; शैथिल्यं नव विजह्राति for संकोचं नैव शिथिलयति. The verse is found also in the modern Samskrit anthology—*S R. Bh* p 362, śl 47. ('भर्वोः', 'भश्वो.' इति केचित्)]

—उदारा or मनस्विप्रशसा —

'कामं प्रियानपि प्राणान् विमुञ्चन्ति मनस्विन.
इच्छन्ति न त्वमित्रेभ्यो महतीमपि सत्क्रियाम्'.

[*Sbhv* 513 śl 77 p 'भश्वोः' *Ś P* 252 śl 40 p 'भर्वोः' Two MSS of *Subhāsitāvalī* 'assign this verse to Bhatti Aufrecht, who gives the verse, writes the author's name Bharchu'—Dr Peterson The verse is found also in *S R Bh* p 83, śl 1 ('भर्वो.','भश्वो :' इति केचित्)

'गौरीविभ्रमधूपधूमपटलश्यामायमानोदरा.'.

[Attributed to 'Bharvu' in Dr Bhandarkar's MS of *Sml.* Vide *Collected Works of Sir R G Bhandarkar,* Vol. II, p. 390 (1928), and after Dr Bhandarkar, Dr. H D Sharma, in his Introduction to Srīdharadāsa's *Salukti-Karnāmrta,* (p 82) assigns this stanza to Bharvu But this is wrong, as the verse is rightly attributed to Bilhana in the edition of *Sml* With some variants this śloka is found in Bilhana's *Vikramānkadevacarita,* XVI 51 śl (p 141, Dr Buhler's ed 1875)]

—गजान्योक्तिः or मत्तगजः—

'नीवारप्रसवाग्रमुष्टिकवलै र्योवर्धित शैशवे
पीतं येन सरोजपत्रपुटके होमावशेषं पयः
तं दृष्ट्वा मदमन्थरालिवलयव्यालुप्तगण्डं गजं
सोत्कण्ठं सभयं च पश्यति मुहु दूरे स्थितस्तापसः'

[*Sbhv.* 637 śl p 99 ('भश्वोः'), *Ś P* 918 śl 145 p 'कस्यापि' but assigned to Manoka in *Skm.* IV. 41, 3 śl. p. 254.

'मनोकस्य'; Cited by Ksemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* (p 129) under Rājaputra-Muktāpīda, son of Durlabha, Mahārāja of Kāshmir In the Kāvyamālā (I Gucchaka) ed. of the *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*, the editors remark thus on Muktāpīda: 'मुक्तापीड इति काश्मीरमहीपतेः ललितादित्यस्य नामान्तरम्। सुभाषितावलौ अयं श्लोको भश्चुनाम्ना लिखितः. कदाचित् मुक्तापीडस्यैव बाल्यावस्थोचितं भश्चुरिति नाम स्यात्'. From what we have thus far discussed, the learned editor's surmise that 'Bharcu' might be a nick-name of Muktāpīda himself in his boyhood, does not appear to be correct at all

The verse is found in *S R Bh* p 243 śl 81, under the name of 'भश्चु.'. In this *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā,* Ksemendra thus remarks on the impropriety of this verse, or the 'Anaucitya' of 'Bhayānaka-rasa' herein depicted—

'अत्र गजस्याघातकविकृतचेष्टानुवर्णनाविरहिततया स्थायिभावस्य भयानुभाववर्जितस्य केवलं नाममात्रोदीरणेन च भयानकरसोचितसंभ्रमाभावात् उपचितमौचित्यं न किंचिदुपलभ्यते.' (p 129)

The reader's attention is invited to Dr Peterson's notes (p 22) to the *Sbhv* (on the above stanza) where he quotes a sonnet—'*To a Lofty Beauty, from her poor kinsman*'—by Hartley Coleridge (1796-1849 A D), which 'exactly repeats the सोत्कण्ठं सभयं of this fine verse'

—विरहिणां प्रलापाः—

'विकल्परचिताकृतिं सततमेव तां वीक्षसे
सहासमभिभाषसे समुपगूहसे सर्वथा
प्रमोदमुकुलेक्षणं पिबसि चैतदस्या मुखं
तथापि च दिवानिशं हृदय हे समुत्कण्ठसे'.

[*Skm* II 91 5 śl. (p 128 'भर्वो.'), *Sbhv* 1329 śl (Anon)]

Abbreviations

1. *Ś P* = *Śārngadhara-Paddhati* (Dr Peterson's ed)
2. *Skm.* = Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Sadukti-Karnamrta* (Lahore ed)

3. ***Sbhv.*** **= Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsılāvalı* (Dr. Peterson's ed)**
4. *Sml.* = Jalhana's *Sūktı-muktāvalī* (Baroda ed)
5. *S.R.Bh.* = *Subhāsıta-ratna-Bhāndagāra* (Nırnayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1905)

NOTES

1 *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, No LXXXII, Baroda (1938)

2 *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (page 88) , by Dr M Krishnamachariar, M A , M L , PH D , (T T D Press, Madras, 1937)

3 *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol I, p 33

4 *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Vol I, part 2, pp 92 and 155 (No date of publication)

Also see Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No 47—*Asırgadh Copper Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman*

5 *Samskrta-Lokoktulu*, Rajan Press, Rajahmundry (1928)

6 **'धरणीधराणां च मूर्ध्नि स्थितो माहेश्वरः पादन्यास इव सकलभुवननमस्कृतो मौखरीवंश । तत्रापि तिलकभूतस्य अवन्तिवर्मण· सूनुः अग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा नाम ग्रहपतिरिव गागत· पितुरन्यूनो गुणै· एनां प्रार्थयते '.**

—IV Ucchvāsa, p 13 Edited by Prof P V Kane, M A , Ll M , (1917 Printed at the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay)

7 Pūrvabhāga only, edited by M R. Kale, B A (3rd ed Revised Gopāl Nārāyan & Co , Bombay, 1928)

8 The following extract from Prof A B Gajendragadkar's Notes to his edition of the *Harsa-carita* (p 112) may be perused with advantage in this connection 'The Moukharis of whom Grahavarma, the husband of Rājyaśrī, was one, were a powerful family and ruled at Kanauj The seal found at Asirgad (*Corp Ins* , Vol III, No 47, p 219) and the inscriptions found at Jaunpur and Deo Barnak (*Ibid* , p 217) show that they held sway over a large extent of territory southwards upto the Vindhyas, northwards upto Jaunpur, and eastwards upto the Brahmaputra

MAYŪRA STAVA—A FORGOTTEN WORK OF MAYŪRA

BY

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It is a well known fact in the history of Sanskrit literature that the poet Mayūra was cured of his leprosy by a hundred ślokas in praise of the Sun God, known as the *Sūrya Śataka,* and that the poet demonstrated to the world what wonderful effects Sanskrit poetry could produce on the human mind and body Thirteen centuries have elapsed since the inception of the *Śūrya Śataka* but it still holds a unique place in the realm of Sanskrit Literature, and is studied all over India, both from literary and devotional points of view even to-day

Besides the *Sūrya Sataka*, *Mayūrāstaka* and a few stanzas ascribed to Mayūra in anthologies, no other work of Mayūra is known to Sanskrit Scholars[1] The Telugu Śaivaite Literature, however, furnishes us with a work of Mayūra known as the *Mayūra Stava*

Pālakuriki Somanātha, the famous Śaiva Poet-Saint of South India (1170—1230 A D) in his last great work *Panditārādhya Caritra*[2] gives the following story about Mayūra In the fourth or *Mahima Prakarana* of the work, Somanātha says

............तोलुदोलुत
जनि मयूरुडु सूर्यशतकंबु जेप्प
निनुडु प्रत्यक्षमै इदि नीदुपूर्व
कमंबु कुष्ठरोगमु शूलिदक
निर्मूलमुग जेय नेर रट्लय्यु

नोक्कित नाद्दीप्ति नोसगेद्द नद्दियु
ग्रक्कुन वेलिकुष्ठ गप्पिप पोवंग
अन्तस्थमगु कुष्ठ हरुनिचेगानि
ड्रंनयु जेडदट्टुलीशु नुतिंप
तडयकोरोगंबु तनकय्ये क्रतुल
नोड्डुवुमार्ताडभानो. कुष्ठ यनग
नंत तद्रोगंबु हरुपादभक्ति
मंतुडनै कोल्व माने नावुड्डनु
रति मयूरुडु मयूरस्तवमनग
क्षितिधरात्मजपति गीर्तनचेसि
धरभानुचे बोनि तनलोनि कुष्ठ
हरियिंप निद्दियु चोद्यमे............

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Mayūra first praised the Sun God in hundred stanzas The Diety appeared before him and said " your leprosy is the fruit of your past deeds in your previous birth None else but Śiva can cure you of your disease completely You may be relieved of the disease by my rays externally, but internally you will be suffering Even myself had leprosy and was cured of it only by worshipping Śiva Therefore you praise Śiva and you will have a complete cure Mayura accordingly praised Śiva in the form of a stotra known as *Mayūra Stava* and had the desired effect "

From the foregoing, it is evident that the poet who wrote the *Sūrya Śataka* also wrote *Mayūra Stava* The facts of the above story are from the pen of Pālakuriki Somanātha, the earliest and the most authoritative writer on Vīra Śaivism in Telugu and Canarese countries Somanātha's Telugu Dvipada works, *viz* , the *Basavapurāna* and the *Panditārādhya Caritra* are the original works from which translations were made in Canarese, Tamil, and Sanskrit From the 12th century onwards Somanātha's works were handed down in tact from disciple to disciple, and as such, the statements made by Somanātha in the body of the work are correct Further questions of interpolations does not therefore arise in the works of Somanātha.

Though the *Mayūra Stava* is not available now, it was in vogue in 12th century in the Telugu Country as referred to by Somanātha in the fifth or *Parvataprakarana* of the *Panditārādya Caritra* Somanātha says that the *Mayūra Stava* with other famous Śaivaite Stavas was actually recited by the devotees on Śreesaila on the Śivarathri festival day in his time I give below the extract relating thereto

व्यासाष्टकंबुनु श्रीनीलकण्ठस्तवबुनु श्रीरुद्रकवचंबु शारभंबुनु मयूर-स्तवमु हलायुध मनामयमु मलहणबुनु महिम्नंबनु स्तवमु मलयराजीयबु

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(*Vyāsāstaka Śri Nilakantha Stava Śri Rudra Kavacha Śarabha, Mayūra Stava Halāyudham Anāmayam, Malahana, Mahimna* and *Malayarajiya*)

The *Mayūra Stava* should therefore be in existence in the time of *Pālakuriki Somanātha* in the 12th century A D and not procurable now

Professor A B Gajendragadkar opines in his introduction to his edition of Harsha Carita (Page 19 Bāna and Mayūra) that " Mayūra must have composed more works than one *viz* , the *Sūrya Śataka* But like many others they are now lost to us through ravages of time "

Mayūra Stava of the poet of *Sūrya Śataka* fame might have been one of the works lost to us In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Panditārādhya Caritra* contains the story of Kalidāsa with reference to his *Gadya* in praise of Śiva, and the story of *Bāna* with reference to *Bana Gadya* in praise of Śiva A reference to *Mahānātaka,* and to a host of Sanskrit poets and authors is found in this rare South Indian Saivaite Dvipada Telugu work, and all these are unknown to other scholars and deserve a separate treatment. Since the date of the author *Pālakuriki Somanātha* is fairly fixed,[3] his references in Sanskrit Literature are historically very valuable to Research Scholars

May further research bring to light this forgotten work of Mayūra !

NOTES

1 The Poems of Mayūra and Bana, 1916 Columbia University Indo-Iranian series

2 Printed at Śrī Śivadharmavardhanī Rāmalingeswara Press, Warangal, 1909

3 (1170-1230 A D) The present writer has thoroughly discussed the date elsewhere Vide Śarasvata Sarvasvamu A Telugu Journal Vol I No 89, 1924

SECTION IV

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

THE ANTIQUITY OF SOME HINDU FESTIVALS FROM LITERATURE

BY

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The culture of the Hindus has from ancient days inculcated a joyous attitude on life Their deep faith in the creed of sunshine and pulsating joy has found due expression in the observance of some very charming festivals (*utsavas*) which are found to punctuate the course of the Hindu calendar through the year A systematic study of these festivals as regards their nature and extent in time and place will prove of great interest, and deserves to be taken up as part of the work planned to unfold the positive side of our ancient culture The fascinating revelations of such study will infuse new life into some of the festivals that have become neglected, and also effect new orientation in the observance of others I am here bringing together some references from literature which throw light on a few of our important festivals

1 *Vasanta Utsava*

The vasanta festival coinciding with the fifth day in the bright half of the month of Magha seems to be one of great antiquity and of country-wide prevalence It is still observed with due preparation both in the uttarapatha and the Dakshinapatha The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana mentions it as *Suvasantaka*, which is explained as a festival dedicated to the worship and propitiation of the God of Love The Kamasutra observes That the citizens indulged on this day in sports involving dance and music, both oral and instrumental (Kamasutra, I 4).

The festival is also referred to by Kalidasa. The sutradhara in the prologue to the *malavikagnimitra* informs us that he had been commanded by the Vidvat-Parishad to stage the drama as part of the Vasantotsava celebrations

Again for the Vasanta festival as part of the South India culture, we have a reference in the Jivaka Chintamani of Tiruttakadeva, which dealing with the Puranic story of Jivaka is 'the greatest existing Tamil literary monument.' This great romantic epic which is at once the Iliad and the Odyssey of the Tamil language is said to have belonged to the Tamil Academy or Sangam at Madura, and to have antedated Kamban, the author of the great Tamil Ramayana The work is divided into thirty *lambakas* or chapters, the first beginning with the birth and education of the hero and the last ending with his nirvana We meet with a reference to the celebration of the vasanta festival in the fourth chapter entitled *Gunamalaiyar ilambagam* on which it is hoped some competent Tamil scholar will throw more light We find there that the youth of the city went on this day to an adjoining Park for play and enjoyment 'Among these were two young ladies Suramanjari and Gunamala Between them there arose a discussion as to the quality of the fragrant powder used for the purpose of bathing Each claimed that her powder was superior The matter was referred to the wise youth Jivaka, who gave a verdict in favour of Gunamala Hearing the decision Suramanjari was sorrow-struck and decided to shut herself up in Kanyamada with a vow that she would never see male's face, till this very Jivaka would come begging for her hand in marriage While Suramanjari desisted from taking part in the vasanta festival Gunamala encouraged by the verdict in her favour went out to enjoy the festival

2 *Indra Festival*

The Sakrotsava also is of great antiquity The Raghuvamsa refers to the hoisting of the *Puruhuta-dhvaja* (IV. 3);

But the richest description of the Indra festival again comes from another Tamil classic named the Silappadikaram, or in Epic of the Anklet Fortunately this work has been made accessible to English readers recently through on excellent translation done by Prof V R Ramachandra Dikshitar As the seed of the story in the Jivaka Chintamani evolved out of the Vasanta festival, so also in the Silappadikaram the turning point of the plot comes from an incident at the Indra festival Kovalan (Skt Gopala) is the hero of the story, his faithful wife is Kannaki The young couple after marriage spent some time together happily One day when Kovalan was passing through the busy streets of Puhar, he happened to cast his eyes upon Madavi, a charming courtesan in the city, who had just won her laurels from the king of the land Kovalan having fallen in love with her, left his home and lived with the courtesan until he had wasted upon her the whole of his wealth There then came the festival sacred to Indra, the God of Heaven All Puhar celebrated it with pomp and splendour The lovers spent their evenings in the park on the seashore entertaining themselves with music A song of Madavi made Kovalan suspect that she had thoughts of another lover This caused a change in his feelings towards her ' and he returned home to his faithful wife From this point the story of their conjugal fidelity develops with great depth of pathos

The fifth canto of the Silappadikaram is entitled *Indiravilavureduttakadai*, it describes at great length the celebration of Indra's festival We have here a vivid description of how the rich inhabitants of the royal city of Puhar, which was also a prosperous emporium of sea-borne trade, together with followers of various professions and trades, as dealers in fine fabrics made of silk, fur and cotton, of corals, sandals, myrrh, besides a wealth of rare ornaments, perfect pearls, gems and gold, dealers in wines, sculptors, potters, goldsmiths, jewellers, and workers of all sorts, as well as great musicians possessing faultless skill on flute and lute and masters of the whole technique of musical science, these

and other aristocratic nobles proficient in dance and music combined to celebrate the Indra festival with unequalled splendour and participated in feasting and merry-making We learn from the sixth canto that Kadaladukadai or sea-bathing also formed part of this festival as observed in Puhar A Vidyadhara residing on the silver-peaked Kailasa betakes himself with his wife to the flourishing city of Puhar in South India to witness the Indra festival.

There is some interesting information also about the time of the Indra festival 'It was the full moon day in that ancient awe-inspiring city' (*Ibid*, canto VI, ll 111-17) This *pauranamasi* day was that on which the moon approached the *cithirai* (*chitra*) star in the month of *cittirai* (i e *chaitra*) [*Ibid*, canto V, ll 64-75] So it may be taken that the Indra festival as observed in South India fell on the full moon day in the month of Chaitra

The Mahabharata, Adi Parva, ch 63, preserves a tradition that the ceremony of the planting of the pole-staff in honour of Indra was initiated by king Vasu Uparichara, but there is no hint as to the time when this Sakrotsava was observed

3 *Kaumudi-Jagara*

The bright full noon night of the month Asvina in the sarat season is glorious for its milky whiteness It is still observed as a day of festivity and enjoyment According to the Bhagavat it was this night when Krishna participated in the *Rasa* dance with the *gopis* of Brindaban The Kamasutra mentions the day as Kaumudi Jagara, i e, the time when the moon light is seen in its fullest glory

4 *Karthika Amavasya*

Vatsyayana refers to it as the Yaksha-ratri.

The association of ceremonious gambling with the festival on this night is well-known Others believe that it was on this night that the great Yudhishthira held a discourse

with a Yaksha. The Karthiki night festival is best mentioned in the story of the Puppharatta Jataka [No 147, Fausball, I, p. 499).—

"Once on a time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was born a spirit of the Air Now in Benares there was held the night-festival of Karttika the city was decorated like a city of the Gods, and the whole people kept holiday And a poor man had only a couple of coarse cloths which he had washed and pressed till they were in a hundred, nay, a thousand creases But his wife said, "my husband, I want a safflower-coloured cloth to wear outside and one to wear underneath, as I go about at the festival hanging round your neck"

The above festival is identical with the Dipavali observed with such great eclat throughout the length and breadth of the country The brilliant scenes of illumination are witnessed by men and women as pictured in the Jataka story

5 *Karttika Paurnamasi*

The full moon day in Karttika is the day of public bathing in the Ganga or some other sacred river Its observance is universal throughout North India wherever the Ganga flows

The story of the Vajjian prince who became a monk as related in the Dhammapada Atthakatha mentions the above festival 'On the night of full moon of the month Karttika, the entire city of Vesali was decked with flags and banners, making it coterminous with the realms of the Four Great kings, and the festival began As the festival continued through the night, he listened to the noise of the beating of drums and the striking of other musical instruments and the sound of the playing of lutes'

It is also stated in the story that 'the seven thousand and seven hundred and seven princes of Vesali, and a like number of young princes and commanders-in-chief, all

dressed and adorned in festive array, entered the street for the purpose of taking part in the festivities.' [Buddhist *Legends,* Burlinghame Part III, p. 182, *Dhammapada* stanza 302]

In Part I, p 269 of the same book we read of another festival, which we may call Kumari Utsava or Kumari Snana-Yatra 'One day a festival was proclaimed in the city Now at this festival daughters of respectable families, who do not ordinarily go out, go on foot with their own retinue and bathe in the river Accordingly on that day Samavati also, accompanied by her five hundred women, went right through the palace court to bathe in the river.'

I need not here refer to the full moon days of Phalguna and Sravana on which we have two great festivals of religious significance The above list comprises those in the observance of which the human element predominates, and I think that the list can be augmented more fully after a more thorough search of our ancient literature has been effected

NĀGĀRJUNA ON THE BUDDHIST THEORY OF CAUSATION

BY

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Buddha is said to have introduced the theory of Dependent Origination in order to show the origin and development of our phenomenal existence which goes endless and gives rise to many sorrowful events. And the ultimate happiness can be secured only when the wheel of life is stopped. Thus it serves to explain the second and third Truths of Saints, *viz.*, origin and extinction of misery (*Duhkhasamudaya Nirodha*). The formula has been well explained in the Samyuttanikāya and Dīghanikāya of the Sutta Pitaka and in the Patthāna of the Abhidhama Pitaka.[1] Similarly a detailed and lucid comment upon it has also been provided in the Mahāyana Sūtras, specially in the Śālistamba sūtra. But the explanation offered by Nāgārjuna in his Pratītyasamutpādahrdaya is unique and worth studying. He divides there the formula of the dependent origination into three groups, (1) Defiling group (*Kleśakānda*), (2) Action group (*Karma*), and (3) Misery group (*Duhkhah*). According to the Pali sources on the other hand, the formula has been put in relation to three successive lives, past, present, and future. The first 2 links of the formula, ignorance and Karma-formation, (*Avijja, Sankhāra*) represent the past life, the next 8 links consciousness (*Vijnāna*), mentality and corporeality (*Nāma-rūpa*) the 6 bases (*Salayatana*), impression (*Phassa*), feeling (*Vedanā*) craving (*tanhā*), clinging (*Upādāna*) and process of becoming (*bhava*) represent the present, and the last two links, rebirth (*Jāti*) and decay and death (*Jarā Marana*)

form the future The first group of the past life serves as a condition to the second group of the present, and the last three links of the latter again form conditions to the last group of the future.[2] Thus we have two main groups, one representing the five conditions, viz , the first two links of the past and the last three links of the present, the other representing the seven conditioned—5 links of the present, and two of the future This two-fold division of the formula has also been accepted by Nāgārjuna with the difference that the group of the conditions for him is again to be divided into two, Kleśa, and karman That makes the formula into three groups, as above stated Prajñākaramati has once referred to this three-fold division of the formula in his commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra where the editor, Prof Louis De La Vallee Poussan points out the agreement of the passage with Nāgarjuna [3]

So the classification and exposition of the formula seems to be quite unique with Nāgārjuna and it will be highly helpful to understand clearly the theory of causation from the standpoint of Nāgārjuna and other later Buddhists, if we study systematically this work, the work on Dependent Origination, Pratītyasamutpādahrdaya The work consists of two parts, text and commentary thereon It has been translated both in Tibetan and Chinese In the following pages I have prepared translations into English from the Chinese version of the work, Taisho edition, Vol 32, No 1654 As the text has been reproduced in full in its commentary, I have not prepared separate translations for the text

It is in the fitness of things that this paper has been dedicated in Commemoration of his sastyabdapūrti occasion to Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Iyengar Avl , who is held in high esteem by the public not merely as a distinguished Professor of History and Economics but as an enlightened scholar and promoter of the ancient Indian Literature and Culture as well.

There was a hermit, desirous of listening to the Scriptures, skilled in recollection and retention, good speaker, well-trained in meditation and disinterested in the family life He, having arrived at where the honourable Teacher, Nāgārjuna was residing, put to him questions in regard to the teachings of the Buddha as follows

" Twelve distinct constituent links of Dependent Origination were benevolently preached by the Buddha "

I desire, O Noble Teacher, to listen to and understand under how many categories those links may be brought I pray to you to elucidate the question

Then the Master, Nāgārjuna, with a sigh of relief, answered as below

"They are brought in entirety under three categories, viz Defilement, Action and Misery (*kleśa, karman, duhkha*) " The number " twelve " denotes their division into links and so it is said, "Twelve constituent links" And again because they are distinct from one another, it is said " Twelve distinct constituent links " Because they are similar to the spokes of a chariot's wheel, they are called " constituent links " Because they pacify bodily and vocal defilements, they are said to be benevolently preached Benevolent preaching, (*subhāsita*), exhortation (*upadesa*) and interpretation (*vyākhyā*) are all these synonyms They are brought into existence through causes and conditions but never through the agency of any principle like Primordial Matter, Destiny, Intelligent Person (purusa), Lord (Īśvara), Time Nature, Free-Will[4] Creator, Accident and others They are mutually dependent and interrelated like the twisted plants

Hermit What is Defilement ? What is Action ? What is Misery ? In how many heads are they divided ?

Nāgārjuna. " The first, eighth and ninth are Defilements "

Of twelve distinct constituent links, the first is ignorance, eighth is craving and ninth is clinging These are included in the category of Defilement " Second and tenth are Actions " The second is samskāra and the tenth is process of becoming (*bhava*) These two are included in the category of Action, " Remaining seven are all Miseries and twelve links are brought under three heads." The constituent links other than the above included in the two heads, Defilement and Action, are seven, viz, consciousness, (*vijñāna* in new birth), mentality and corporeality, six bases, impression, rebirth and decay and death , and these are to be brought under the category of Misery The word " all " is used to include other items of Misery mentioned elsewhere, viz, separation from what is beloved association with what is disliked and longing for what is not obtained.[5] Therefore twelve constituent links are all to be brought under three heads All the other dharmas spoken of in the sutras are to be included in one or the other category above mentioned without exception

Hermit I have well understood the significance of the above three categories Now I pray you to elucidate their mutual origination

Nāgārjuna " Twos originate from Threes " From three Defilements two Actions are originated " From twos originate Sevens," i e , seven items of Misery above stated "Sevens give rise to threes," the said defilements From these three again originate two Actions " Thus wheel of life revolves endless " Life comprises the three-fold existence, sensuous, corporeal and incorporeal Life flows uninterruptedly in these spheres of existence Those spheres which constitute a series of rebirths naturally continue in succession just like the waves of the water-current However things come into being and continue in succession not in a fixed order (*niyata*) like the flow of river, (but simultaneously).

Hermit. Who is the Lord of this body ? Is there anything like living being ? If so what is his function ?

Nāgārjuna. "All living beings are merely conditions and conditioned (*hetuphalamātra*). They are only nominal There is nothing like living being" in reality It is only conventional and so it has no reality of its own.

Hermit. Now who will transmigrate from this world to the next one ?

Nāgārjuna There is nothing which may transmigrate from this world to the next one[6] However, "Void things originate from void things," that is to say the five causes, three Defilements and two Actions, which are devoid of the self or something pertaining to the self, give rise to the results, seven kinds of Misery which are again devoid of the self or something pertaining to the self It is, therefore, to be understood that things which are characterised with the nature of no self, produce things of the same nature

Hermit What is the example to prove the above statement ?

Nāgārjuna. There are many examples such as "Preaching, light, mirror, seal, spark seed and sound" We establish the no-self theory by means of these examples which are empirically settled facts Their successful application is also to be understood empirically as below Suppose a teacher recites some passage If it really goes to his pupil, then the teacher will henceforth become deprived of the recited passage We, therefore, must admit that it does not go to the pupil However the pupil recites the same That does not arrive at from somewhere else , because these two are not related as a cause and result Similarly mental consciousness at the last moment of life does not transmigrate from this world to the next one[6] for the reason of its being eternal However the mental consciousness in the next world does not arrive from somewhere else,[7] because both of them are not mutually related as cause and result. Just as what the teacher recites the pupil also recites, and the recitation of the latter cannot be said either identical with or different from the former ;

so also a new series of consciousness in the future life continues depending on the last moment of the mental consciousness in the former life and the new series of consciousness cannot be said either as identical with or different from the old one. In the same manner one light (*dīpa*) arises from another one An image is reflected in the mirror when it is put against our face A significant impression appears when we impress a seal upon a paper Fire is produced from a spark The sprout emerges from the seed A fluid substance is produced from a fruit The echo is heard from a sound under favourable conditions All these results, light, reflection, impression and fire, etc cannot be said either as identical with or different from the causes, light mirror, seal and spark, etc

In this way, " All the aggregates which continue in an uninterrupted series do not transmigrate (from this world to the next one) " "Aggregates" means the five aggregates of matter, feeling, idea, volition and consciousness Other five aggregates also arise continuously and successively by means of their suitable causes But there is not anything even in the subtle form, which transmigrates from this world to the next one From the incorrect and illusive imagination (*vikalpa*) ill-habit is formed and then we unite words with what is habituated Only the meditation upon an antidote against it can remove all the obscurations of defilements. So if one meditates upon dharmas as impermanent, sorrowful, void and of no self, then he would have no delusion in regard to the reality of things If there is no delusion, there would be no covetousness If there is no covetousness, there would be no hatred If there is no hatred, there would be no action If there is no action, there would be no clinging If there is no clinging, there would be no process of becoming If there is no process of becoming, there would be no birth If there is no rebirth, there would be no miseries of the body and mind Therefore five-fold cause of misery being absent, the result, rebirth in another sphere of existence is stopped But the fruit derivable from the absence

of the said five-fold cause of misery will be only the attainment of Nirvāna Therefore one must give up the wrong belief in Eternalism or Nihilism, etc Now we have two verses

One who entertains in regard to the deep and subtle Reality a wrong belief (in Eternalism or) in Nihilism, is not adept in the doctrine of Dependent Origination and therefore does not realise the deep import of that doctrine

No wrong belief in regard to that Reality should be entertained, nor should anything be attributed and adhered to it Whoever realises the Truth by repeated practice of meditation upon the Truth in its real form, becomes liberated

NOTES

1 See *Nyanatiloka*, Guide through the Abhidhamma Pitaka, p 141 *f*

2 *Ibid*, p 158

3 *Bodhicaryāvatārapañcikā*, p 351, 2-5, and note 2

4 *Yathecchā Yadrccha* accident is also mentioned as a separate principle

5 My article, "The first Sermon of Buddha" in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol I, No 8, 483, 484, 491

6 Cf Bhavasankrāntisūtra, ed by me, p 4, *na kascid dharmah asmāt lokāt paralokam samkrāmati*, etc

7 Theory of rebirth is well explained by the Buddha in the Bhavasankrāntisūtra, para 7

THE RELIGION OF THE TAMILS 1800 YEARS AGO

BY

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The state of religion among the Tamils 1800 years ago forms a very interesting study from several points of view , and it is fortunate that numerous poems and other literary works of the period furnish evidence to this interesting study These poems generaly designated as the " Sangam Works " have their feet on religion and as such provide us with an instructive window to the religious state of their times.

In the present paper I wish to dwell merely on one point, viz , the general eclecticism of the period as seen through the poems above referred to and in particular the twin-epics, the *Manimekalai* and the *Śilappadikāram*

In the first place, these Śangam works mention a vast pantheon of gods and goddesses, almost of a bewildering variety , neither age nor the element of growth seems to set a bound From the god Indra of the most ancient Vedas and the deities of the natural religion all kinds of divine manifestations are mentioned, including the more refined and the comparatively modern conceptions of Śiva and Visnu and the deities of the minor variety, like the goddess Mathurāpathi (the guardian deity of Madura) and the Bhūta (the demon) at the cross roads in Puhār [1]

The same works also exhibit varied cults in existence during the period each one with its own followers and preachers. The Vedic and the pre-Vedic, the Buddhist and the Jain philosophies were as current in this period as the later Bhakti cult of Śiva and Visnu of which we see here

the infancy.[2] Superstitious beliefs were not also by any means uncommon The *Śilappadikāram* and the *Manimekalai* serve to reveal the existence of such superstition to a great extent The former, in particular, refers to fervent belief in dreams and evil omens as well as in the efficacy of magic and spiritual properties endowed with tanks, ponds and springs[3] Nor do we miss in these works references to the existence of temples, which, as Mr J N Farquhar once wrote, are the peculiar product of the Dravidian mind[4]

The fifth, the ninth and the fourteenth cantos of the epic *Śilappadikāram* mention temples dedicated to a number of deities like Śiva Muruga, Visnu and Baladeva, nature gods like the sun and the moon, guardian deities like Śāttan and other objects of worship like the Karpakam of Indra, the Kailāsam of Śiva and the Vēl of Muruga[5]

Incidentally, these references point to the early date of the temple architecture, which must be placed according to this evidence at least as early as the 2nd century A D In the *Educational Review* for April 1929, Prof V Rangachari assigned to the first years of the 6th century A D the origin of the temple in S India His opinion certainly loses ground in the face of this evidence

Controversy aside, the Śangam works must be taken to reveal to us in the manner above indicated a vast panorama of cults and religions, ranging from that of Indra and of the nature gods to that of Bhakti or fervent devotion to Śiva or Visnu, which has now found a settled home in the Hindu mind This is as much a mark of the "unchanging East" as a tribute to the broad-minded tolerance of our fore-fathers

The spirit of free enquiry is in fact the first and the most outstanding mark of the Tamil religion 1800 years ago In other words, it was characterised by complete toleration The student of early Tamil literature is, so to say, lost in the wide unembanked river of religious promiscuity—if the word can be used—and controversy of the period. Doctrines which are now on all hands completely antithetical

have existed side by side each with its own upholsterer or propagandist and all that without any serious religious fight. What an imagination would be required to conceive of a Buddhist preacher and a Brahman advocate of the Śaivite doctrine side by side holding forth their respective tenets The references in the Śangam works give equal importance to the Buddhist and the Jain and the Śaivite and the Vaisnavite preacher and yet the first group of preachers elaborated an atheistic doctrine under the guise of a phantom-like Absolute, and the second group stood for strict theism [6] The poet Āvūrmūlamkiḻār has a long poem, *Puṟam* 166 already referred to, in which he sings the praise of a Brahman named Vennandāyan of Pūnganur in Śonādu and depicts him as the champion of the doctrine of Saivism against the onslaughts of those whom he (the poet) describes as sophistic religionists This poem thus paints in outline the picture of free controversy that characterised the times

The exact position of the Brahman in this period of eclectic religion is not clear There could be, however, no doubt that the Brahmans were in sufficiently large numbers in the Tamil land even during this period and had come to occupy the position of light and leading, especially in matters religious

Mr V Kanakasabhai, the author of *Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, gives the reader an altogether wrong impression when he refers to the fewness of the Brahmans during this period [7] The whole range of the Śangam literature shows a great familiarity with this caste and often associates it with the "triple sacred fire" the "twice-born nature" and the "six duties", which are always the distinguishing characteristics of the Brahman [8] Two lines of the tenth canto of the *Śilappadikāram* give a beautifully suggestive evidence of the great number of the Brahmans during this period when they describe the volume of smoke ever seen rising up into the skies in the city of Puhār as dark cloud-like smoke, sweet in smell, rising from the yāgas of the Brahmans, here characterised as "men of religion" (maṟaiyōr) [9]

The same work refers in another place to the predominant position occupied by the Brahmans in the royal court at Vañji, where the king is advised to make sacrifices through the Brahmans to attain bliss in after-life [10]

With this eclectic state there could have been nothing like bigotry or religious warfare But men must have lacked the religious foothold or certainty which is necessary for strength in life Characters in the two epics, from which I have chiefly drawn evidence for this paper, live and move before the reader and yet their religion is utterly vague. Kovalan and Kannaki, the very hero and heroine of the *Śilappadikāram* refuse to be fixed to a religion [11] On the other hand two passages taken from canto XXVI of the epic bear out the grand eclecticism of King Śenguttuvan Cera. These passages tell us how, when the king was on his start for the Himalayan expedition, he accepted first the symbol (?) of Śiva's holy feet on his crown and soon after received the offerings made to Visnu on his shoulders when they were brought to him by the priests from the place mentioned in the epic Ādakamādam [12]

From another point of view, however, this eclectic tendency was of the utmost value It helped the ancient Tamil to absorb whatever was good in the different religions around him Thus the northern and the southern cults met on favourable ground in the Tamil country of the Śangam age and influenced each other freely and profusely The natural and animistic forms of worship developed themselves quite undisturbed by the propagation of a highly philosophic religion, like Jainism or Buddhism or the more humane form of understanding the divine, like Śaivism and Vaisnavism Deities of the masses, like Korravai and Kāli flourish during this period and, what is more, incorporate themselves into the Śaivite conception of god Thus in the *Vettuva-vari* Korravai is described as the consort of Śiva, and the incarnation of Lakshmi She is even described as having the *sūla* of Muruga in her hand.[13] The god, Muruga who is an ancient and popular Tamil deity, is indeed des-

cribed by the author of the *Tirumurugārruppadai* as the "wealth of the Brahmans"[14] Śiva, Visnu (Māyon), Brahma and Subramanya (Muruga) who appear from the Śangam works as forming the four famous deities of the Brahmanic pantheon of the period clearly indicate the process of fusion between the northern and southern cultures that was then in progress

NOTES

1 See, for instance, *Silappadikarām*, X, 11-14, VI, 16-17, XIV, 181, XXV, 98, XXIII, 177-178, V, 64, *et seq*. etc

2 See *Śilappadikāram*, X, 44-45, 64-65, etc, *Manimekalai*, XXIX, *Śilappadikāram*, X, 142-147, 11–14, 15–25, *Manimekhalai*, XXI, 90, *et seq*

3 *Śilappadikāram*, IX, 45–51, XVII, *Uraippāttumadai*, IX, 59–60, etc

4 *J R A S*, 1938, pp 15, *et seq*

5 *Śilappadikāram*, X, 168–173, IX, 9–13, XV, 7-10, etc

6 *Śilappadikāram* X, 44-45, 221-245, X, 8–10, XVI, 71, *Manimekalai*, XXIX, *Śilappadikāram*, X, 50-51, *Puram*, 166, etc

7 See his book *Tamils 1800 Years Ago* pp 55-56

8 *Śilappadikāram*, XXIII, 67-68, XXV, 127-128 XVIII, 70, etc

9 *Śilappadikāram*, X, 142-143

10 *Ibid*, XXVIII, 176-178

11 Compare *Śilappadikāram* X 44–45 with XVI, 71

12 *Śilappadikāram* XXVI 54–57, 60–67 Also footnote on p 536 of the work for the commentator's identification see in this connection the Introduction to his translation of Śilappadikāram by V R R Dikshitar (1939)

13 *Ibid*, XII, 54-57, 60

14. *Tirumurugarruppadai*, 264-265

RELIGION, THE REAL NEED OF THE PRESENT GENERATION

BY

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The problem stated in the title of this paper carries its own solution—if we understand the term 'Religion' in the sense in which the Hindu understands the term 'Dharma' For the Hindu, 'Dharma' stands for the whole Duty of Man, not only for his duty towards an ultra-cosmic person For the Hindu there is nothing beyond or above the "World". The 'World' embraces all conceivable things

Man's whole duty thus is his Dharma , his duty to himself, to his family, to his village, to his province, to his country and to the entire world

Once you get hold of this idea, all antagonism must disappear from your mind

You have, under this idea, to concentrate your whole attention upon what your 'duty' is , what it is that you *owe* to others It is not your business to think of what is due *to* yourself That should be the concern of others

In this way the whole life becomes broadbased upon Love, and there is no room left for Hatred , no idea of profiting or profiteering at the cost of others

This last is the source of all the trouble in the modern world Activity based upon Hatred must lead to conflict and all that conflict brings In such a conflict, even the Victor becomes a loser in the long run The race, based upon Hatred, does not end with victory , victory only adds zest

to further conflict. Was not the victory of the "Allies" culminating in the Treaty of Versailes the direct cause of the present day conflicts that threaten to bring about universal dissolution So on and on the race for 'profiteering' will go on

To the Hindu mind, profiteering for the sake of your own 'nation' or 'country' is as reprehensible as the worst 'robbery'—if it is secured at the cost of another 'nation' or 'country' This is not an impossible ideal. The History of Hinduism and Hindu Culture teaches us that what is based upon Love, at least Tolerance, is lasting, while what is based upon Hate and Intolerance is Ephemeral How many cultures and civilizations have Hindu culture and civilisation survived? Hindu culture has lived and has been living all along,—sometimes going astray and suffering in consequence But the germ has been there with all its potencies It is there now, and is soon going to come up when the world is hurled back after its race in nationalism and internationalism—all based on mutual Hatred Then will be the opportunity for Hindu love of universal Brotherhood to assert itself.

Each man will then look after his own *Duty* not his *Rights* Both will thus be secured—one by the other, and all on the basis of Love and Goodwill That will be the day of glory for Hindus and Hinduism

Unity and Service form the basic germ of the Hindu Religion, these are going to bring about the millennium 'to-morrow',—only if forces working to the contrary do not succeed in arresting its progress, but even so, it will be only arrested for a while, and again assert itself till the glorious end is achieved

What this glorious end is going to be, it is difficult to see, but one cannot help feeling that when it does come there will be "less and less of inequality between man and man" Inequality there will always be, absolute equality

is an impossibility ; but the feeling of inferiority and consequent fear and jealousy will be absent , and it is in these latter that lies the sting of the ' inequalities ' that we bemoan and yet cannot get over This sting will disappear as we go on imbibing the main undercurrent of ' Vedānta ' and thereby cultivating the feeling of tolerance and Brotherhood , this is the ' Unity ' that is taught by practical Vedānta, as a prerequisite to the absolute metaphysical Absolute Unity, which is beyond our understanding and which therefore need not detain us or restrain our practical activities

JAYESA VITTALA A MODERN MYSTIC 1850 A.D TO 1932 A D.

BY

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Jayesa Vittala Dasa was born in the Karnataka country in 1850 A D , in a family of considerable wealth and distinction At a very early period in his life, he came into contact with a great mystic, who initiated him and gave him ankita or dedicatory name, as Jayesa Vittala From that time onwards, the life of Jayesa Vittala was one of God-absorption, though to all outward appearances, he led the life of an ordinary householder He possessed poetic gifts and composed more than a thousand songs in praise of God and Gurus His master retired from this world in 1871 A D From 1871 to 1932, Jayesa Vittala was a living inspiration to a group of his followers From a collection of 35 letters, written between 1914 and 1924, the essential elements of his teaching are summarised.

The goal of the Mystic is to train the mind to an uninterrupted meditation of God. This training is not at all an easy one The first step in this training consists in the realisation that worldly life can never give us enduring happiness. It must, therefore, be so lived, that though in it, we do not get attached to it "The invisible chord (Maya) with which we are bound—body and soul, baffles our attempt to reject Samsaric ideals and plunge head long in full faith in the Supreme, into His Samadhi" 8-12-14 Again, "Time flies and life is being wasted and although we know there is nectar and its taste begets eternal bliss, we are not given the power to release ourselves from the invisible Bandha of Samsara and to seize the necter even at great sacrifices."

8-2-1916. Or again "There is no use of our trying to attach ourselves and loving to find bliss in Samsar with obstinate folly when Vedic wisdom proves even to our (misguided) mind that the more we love Samsar, the farther we go away from our Dearest Eternal Friend, Love, Nidhi and the Lord of our whole heart before whom even the whole universe is mere straw i e , as dry and sapless as straw We must turn away from the poisonous serpent (Samsara or Vishaya) whose body is smooth to look at but whose fangs deal out death Only children give away priceless jewels for a piece of sugar candy Only those who love to find happiness in the world of Aham Mama give away God, their eternal friend and Lord for living with the five hooded serpent of samsara We must become resolute and move towards God detaching ourselves (in mind only) from Samsaric ties " 12-4-19

One of the most effective steps to attain this detachment from Samsara is to seek the association of godly men, who have practised such a detachment " Satsahavasa is the first requisite for training the mind to look into the inside of itself and it is the rarest commodity just now " 5-11-14 Again, " The meeting of spiritual friends churns out precious knowledge of the Bimba Yoga, (contemplation of our Inner Ruler) God and Gurus should keep us together to glorify Him and His devotees and to develop Antarmukhatwa " 8-2-1916 Again, " I weep tears of blood for wandering in a wilderness devoid of Bhaktas To live, to eat and sleep only is Hell Mind will not relish Dhyana without Sadhu Sanga, which excites our dormant Bhakti and holds the mind rivetted to His Lotus Feet " 26-5-18

The constant company of those that have conquered the senses, enables us to conquer our own passions Kapila teaches Devahuti, in the Bhagawatha Purana, that men of vision consider attachment to evil as the never slackening bondage of the soul The same attachment, if it is with good souls, becomes the open entrance to deliverance The Bhagawatha Purana is full of instances of those that attained peace, by giving up attachment to the senses King Pri-

yavratha resigned the functions of the senses to the Lord, in uninterrupted meditation Vide 5-1-6 Bh "In all suffering and in all enjoyment the most prominent thought must be at the feet of the Supreme Master Let the eyes live on that ambrosial form, the ears on his wondrous deeds, the tongue on the nectar of his Name, which can burn our Linga Deha and which swells up the eternal fountain of Nine-fold Bhakti, the head at his lotus-feet and mind in all these and in the ocean of His Infinite attributes and be lost there" 5-8-1915 Again, "Perfect faith in God means relinquishing faith in the efficacy of our own effort Just as Prahlada did when thrown into fire, sea, under elephant's foot and from the top of mountains and when drinking the cup of poison given by his mother or as Jada Bharata did, in going in procession before Kali, knowing that he was being taken there for being sacrificed, with a cheerful countenance and bowing his head, when the king bade him do so, with his uplifted sword to cut off the Yogi's head It is so simple and yet the difficultest thing to achieve Doubt at the core of our heart is the sinful nature of the soul Why should we doubt the supreme goodness and the all-sufficiency of our creator? Without Him it is not worth living a second of time We would be at the mercy of chance which is terrible With faith in Him even hell may be converted into paradise He can make and unmake all things" 4-12-15 Again, sometimes God gives unbearable sorrow to his devotees to hasten their elevation to Sujnāna and Vijnāna Our earthly sorrows are Kasmala sorrows While we are separated from our eternal friend and preceptor, we are not sorry We are sorry for the outgoings of the Jeevas of God and for his work of destruction while we are unable to protect even an insect from harm Our unreasonable sorrow is the result of our Bhranti Bhranti is poison Drinking poison how can we expect to be immune from pain? You must give up poison drinking and then only you will be free from pain It is therefore, commanded that even when we are drowned in the greatest danger our devotion to God should remain unshaken" 11-1-17.

It is, therefore, very necessary to control the senses. To one who is unable to control his senses, gifts and charities do not produce godliness "The great secret is, we must learn *to give our minds to God God must never be out of* your mind Forgetfulness of God is the most dreadful of Sins Yet our Pandits are blind to it and tell us that bathing, repeating a few hymns and making money gifts is all that is required for our salvation" 28-6-17. That is also the teaching of Prahlada to the Asura boys, that neither gifts nor penances nor sacrificial rites will be of use They are only empty forms and what really pleases God is unalloyed devotion to Him

Just as gifts and charities do not necessarily produce godliness, pilgrimages and worship of images in temples, are not of value, unless they develop your capacity to meditate uninterruptedly " Although there is an Infinite Nidhi within ourselves sufficient to absorb our mind and whole being towards itself and its service, for all time, wherever we may be, our inability to win that grace by so devoting ourselves to the Inside Nidhi, often suggests our devotional service to external parts (amsas) of the same Nidhi for occassionally comforting our distressed hearts" 8-12-14 Kapila tells Devahuti, in the Bhagawatha Purana, that he who neglects God who is present in all beings and worships idols is really throwing his offerings into ashes

Similarly, the reading and teaching of sacred literature is only a step towards that involuntary absorption in God, which is the highest Samadhi " Discussing and reading and reciting Bhagawat Gunas are good but they mean Bahirmukhatwa We should practise Antarmukhatwa for at least half-an-hour a day gradually to clear our inward vision towards our Inner Ruler's palace and presence. He who can read the universe as his book has reaped the benefit of Pravachanopasana and not otherwise To read this book one must be a mute spectator and should not take part in the activities of the world." 6-7-21. Again, " nothing is more desirable than to learn to live by oneself with perfect calm

and happiness than in Company of people True Sadhana begins only then. Of course, teaching and reading are not to be neglected. We must take time for communion with self. It is a great training to get to God " 4-10-23

What then is the mystic teaching imparted to the pupil, who has undergone successfully all the discipline implied in the previous steps ? The pupil is able to experience the vision of God That experience changes completely his outlook He sees God pervading over the whole of creation He realises that All Activity is from Him He realises that all beings are absolutely under the control of the Lord He realises that all wealth and all objects of desire are only intended to be offered to His worship That is the teaching of Narada to Yuddhistira, in Bhagawatha, 7th Skandha When such a realisation is achieved by the aspirant, he becomes constantly alive to the threefold one-ness

Several mystics realised this goal King Rishabha teaches his sons, vide Bhagawatha, 5-5 26, to treat all beings with respect as being God's abode " The true mystic only sees his Bimba (Inner guide) even in the movement of his pen and no motion either in Jada or Jiva" 9-5-16 Again, " Rest comes only when our faith in Bimba, (the Inner guide) becomes unshakable Till then we find no rest Prahlada had it Bhishma had it Narada had it " " The instances of Draupadi, Dhruva, Prahlada, Vibheeshana, Ajamila, Bali are not the productions of heated brains but are landmarks and truths of history intended to support us in our struggle to reach Him " 24-9-17 Again, " we must be able to see the presence of God in everything animate or inanimate We must dedicate to Him all that we have enjoyed in the past or likely to enjoy in the future Our attachment to Him must resemble the attachment of a child to its mother We must consider Him as our everlasting relation We must contemplate Him within as well as without This Sadhana should not be postponed to the last days of our life Every moment of our life on this earth should be looked upon as the last moment and should be spent in such

a contemplation." 23-7-19 The mystic who has achieved the capacity for such an uninterrupted meditation, leading to complete self surrender is a Jeevan Mukta. He has crossed the ocean of samsara and is taken to the bank of Vaikuntha What is Vaikuntha ? " It is none other than the unceasing flow of mind-full of the highflood devotion to the most holy lotus feet of our Eternal Bimba (Inner Ruler and guide) in all Vishayas of the five senses and mind, Buddhi, Antahkarana and Vijnāna " 5-1-20

Jayesa Vittala Dasa is a modern representative of a tradition that traces its ancestry to Purandara Dasa of the sixteenth century and to Narahari Tirtha, a direct disciple of Sri Madhwacharya of the 14th century, A D The followers of Madhwacharya hold SriMad Bhagawatha Purana in very high esteem Its expounder, Sri Suka is regarded as one of the greatest Mystics, who imparted the secret knowledge of Bhagawata to King Parikshit and enabled him to realise God-vision in seven days It is a belief shared by several mystics, that the neighbourhood of Tirupathi, was sanctified by the presence of Sri Suka The Venkatachala Mahatmya gives a beautiful account of Sri Suka, dancing in self-forgetfulness and praising the glory of Sri Venkatesa For at least six hundred years, if not for a longer period, Tirupathi attracted mystics from all parts of South India They not only obtained a peace that passeth our understanding but they were able to communicate a little of that peace to those struggling souls that sought repose through their association

May the Oriental Institute at Tirupathi, under the able direction of Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Iyengar impart that Education of the Soul, which is so much lacking in the schools and colleges of the day

Sarvani Maddhishnyatayā Bhavadbhih Charāni Bhūtāni Sutā Dhruvānī Sambhāvitavyani, (Bhagawata V-5-26)

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SPHOTA

From Sphotāyana to Kātyāyana

BY

K Madhava Krishna Sarma,

Adyar Library, Madras

Kaksīvān —If a tradition current among the Pāninīyas is to be believed, the first exponent of the Sphota in the grammatical sense was a Rsi called Kaksīvān who, on account of the doctrine propounded by him, came later to be known as Sphotāyana Commenting on the Sūtra अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य (P 6 1 123) in which Pānini refers to this Rsi Haradatta says

स्फोटोऽयनं परायणं यस्य स स्फोटायन· । स्फोटप्रतिपदनपरो वैयाकरणाचार्य· ॥

Following is one of the concluding verses of the Laghusiddhāntamañjūsā-Upādhyaya's magnum opus

वैयाकरणनागेशः स्फोटायनऋषेर्मतम् ।
परिष्कृत्योक्तवाँस्तेन प्रीयतामुमया शिवः ॥

The original name of this sage is known to us from Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmani which gives Sphotāyana as an alias of Kaksīvān

स्फोटायने तु कक्षीवान् (3 517)

The lexicographer in his own commentary explains the former as follows .—

स्फोटं शब्दस्फोटमयते स्फोटवादित्वात् स्फोटायनः ।
तत्र स्फुटस्यापत्यमित्यश्वाद्यायनञि स्फोटनोऽपि ॥

The name Kaksīvān also is known to Pānini

Cf. आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती ॥(8-2-12).

Kāśikā · आसन्दीवद्······संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते ॥

Nothing is known about this great grammmatical philosopher and his work except that he was the father of the Sphotavāda. Ofcourse, a Kaksīvān is mentioned frequently in the Vedic literature (See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Part I, p. 131), but the Sphotavādin who, as will be shown presently, was probably later than Yāska cannot be identified with a sage of that antiquity

Audumbarāyana —Another Rsi called Audumbarāyana has been singled out by Bharata Miśra for mention in the beginning of his Sphotasiddhi as follows

इह कैश्चित् वर्णातिरिक्ततया पदतत्त्वमेकाकारप्रत्ययनिर्भासमानमप्यनन्तरदृष्टार्थहेतुतया च ' तदागमे हि दृश्यत ' इत्यनेन न्यायेन प्रसिद्धमपि भगवदौदुम्बरायणाद्युपदिष्टाखण्डभावमपि .... "

(P. 1, Trivandrum S Series)

From this it would appear that according to Bharata Miśra, Sphotavāda is Audumbarāyanopajña There is reference to one Audumbarāyana—the only grammarian known by that name so far, in the Nirukta The passage in question runs thus

इन्द्रियनित्यं वचनमौदुम्बरायणस्तत्र चतुष्ट्वं नोपपद्यते ॥

(1 1)

From this it is not clear that he accepts Sphota as manifested by, and transcending, the Varnas All that is given here as his view is that he regards speech as permanent in the (Vak) Indriya, and one is justified in saying that Bharata Misra is attributing to him something more than what he might have really held This coupled with the fact that there is no allusion to Sphota as understood by the grammarian, in the Nirukta suggests that this doctrine was not known to Yāska and that Sphotāyana was later than the exegetist. Audumbarāyana seems to have belonged more or less to that school which holds that Varnas are eternal.

Pānini —Pāṇini refers to Sphoṭāyana (6.1.123) and seems to have been acquainted with the doctrine promulgated by the latter, but there is no evidence of any kind

that he accepts it   On the other hand it may be inferred from the following that he thinks that words are eternal.

सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।
एकदेशविकारे हि नित्यत्वं नोपपद्यते ॥

Mahābhāsya on P 1-1-20 and 7-1-27.

यद्वा तदशिष्य संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिसूत्राणि नित्यत्वं समर्थयन्ते ॥

(Bhartrhari's commentary on the Vākyapadīya, Brahmakānda, p 11, Ben S Series)

True, in the Pāninīya-darśana of his Sarvadarśanasangraha, Mādhava treats Sphota as the cardinal tenet of that school, but it must be noted that he bases his exposition of it more on the Mahābhāsya and the Vākyapadīya than on the Astādhyāyī, and the title of the section is really a misnomer

Vyādi —There must have been different authors bearing the same name Vyādi   The works known to have been written by Vyādi are such as should be assigned to different periods (See Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 618), and it is very unreasonable to ascribe them all to the grammarian (Sangrahakāra)   As MSS of most of these works have not yet been discovered, nothing is known about any one author of this name except the meagre information that is available regarding the author of the Sangraha

First there is Vyādi known as the author of some Prātiśākhya   He is quoted in the Rk Prātiśākhya (3 14 17, 6 12 13, 12 15) and is the earliest of all known bearing that name   The word occurs both in the Kraudyādi (4-1-56) and the Gahādi (4-2-138) Ganas, but we have no evidence to equate this Vyādi with the author of the Prātiśākhya   It is, however, probable that the author quoted in the Rk Prātiśākhya is older than Pānini   Vedic literary tradition knows one Vyādi as the first exponent of the eight Vikrtis (the eight modes of chanting the Vedas) and also as the disciple of Śākalya   The Vikrtivalli, obviously a much later work, has been fathered on him (See Astavikrtivivrti, p 1 *et*

seq; Vikrtivalli p 1 *et seq* Samasrami's editions). Probably he is the same as the sage referred to in the Prātiśākhya.

Next comes Vyādi—the author of the Sangraha. Patañjali calls him Dākṣāyana, and from this it may be inferred that he belongs to Pānini's family

Cf शोभना खलु दाक्षायणस्य संग्रहस्य कृतिः ।
शोभना खलु दाक्षायणेन संग्रहस्य कृति॰ ॥

(P 2.3 66) (See also Patañjali on 4.1 1-9 and 6 1 91-7.)

Aufrecht overlooks this Mahābhāsya and wrongly attributes the Sangraha to Patañjali (op cit p 686) Perhaps he is misled by the Mahābhāsya

संग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् ।
(Vol I, p 6, Kielhorn's ed)

which does not contain the subject A Vyādi is mentioned as a Vyaktivādin in Vārtika 1 2 64 45 According to Nageśa, the reference is to the Sangrahakāra It, however, deserves to be noted that neither Patañjali nor Bhartrhari calls the author of the Sangraha by the name Vyādi

Then there are known by this name a poet, a lexicographer, a medical author (perhaps same as the last), the author of a work on Paribhāsās, the author of a Śiksā and the author of a work called Prātiśākhyakārika (See Aufrecht, op cit, p 618), the identity of each being as obscure as that of any other. In the Abhidhānacintāmani we have ·

अथ व्याडिर्विन्ध्यवासी नन्दिनीतनयश्च सः ।
(3-516).

According to the Śabdakalpadruma, the aliases Vindhyavāsin and Nandinītanaya apply to the lexicographer (See "Vyādi") Aufrecht gives both a lexicographer and a medical writer with this name (Op cit., p 577) Here attention should be drawn also to a Vindhyanivāsa referred to by Kumārila in his last Ślokavārtika on the Ākrtivāda Obviously the reference is not to a lexicographer or to a

medical writer, but to a philosopher who has discussed Śakti. Whether the Sangrahakāra was also called Vindhyavāsin, i e, whether Kumārila's reference is to the grammatical philosopher is a question which cannot be answered without more cogent evidence than what is yet available [1]

Sphota in the Sangraha—Sangrahakāra was the first Pāniniya to adopt the Sphota According to Nāgoji, the Sangraha consisted of one lakh of Ślokas

संग्रहो व्याडिकृतो लक्षश्लोकसंख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्धिः ।

(Udyota Vol I, p 55, Nirnaya Sagara ed)

The work seems to have been very prominent in the days of Patañjali who says

शोभना खलु दाक्षायणस्य संग्रहस्य कृतिः ।

Bhartrhari says that both his Vākyapadīya and Patañjali's Mahābhāsya are much indebted to it Unfortunately voluminousness and abstruseness made the work soon unpopular Says Hari .

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान् ।
सप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते ॥
कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना ।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने ॥
अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् ॥

(Vākyapadīya, 2 484-86)

On the last Punyarāja adds एतेन संग्रहानुसारेण भगवता पतञ्जलिना संग्रहसंक्षेपभूतमेव प्रायशो भाष्यमुपनिबद्धमित्युक्त वेदितव्यम् ॥

A few quotations from, and references to, the Sangraha occur in the commentary on the Vākyapadīya—not

*A Sānkhya author is also known by this name See the Foreword to Tattvasangraha p 61*ff* Gaekwads' Or Series.

only in that on the Brahmakānda which is by* Bhartrhari himself, but also ın that for the second and thırd Kāṇḍas by Punyarāja and Helārāja respectıvely; and the work must have been extant ın the days of these three grammarians

तत्रापि वाक्य वाक्यार्थो वा मुख्यः। तदुक्तं संग्रहे—न हि किञ्चित्पदं नाम रूपेण नियतं क्वचित्। पदानामर्थरूपं च वाक्यार्थादेव जायते॥

संग्रहेऽप्युक्तम्—

शब्दार्थयोरसम्भेदे व्यवहारे पृथक्क्रिया।
यतः शब्दार्थयोस्तत्त्वमेकं तत्समवस्थितम्॥
सम्बन्धस्य न कर्तास्ति शब्दानां लोकवेदयोः।
शब्दैरेव हि शब्दाना सम्बन्धः स्यात्कृत. कथम्॥

(p 14, Ben ed, 1887)

सग्रहकारस्त्वभिधेयं स्वरूपं नाभिधेयतां प्रतिपद्यते तत्त्वभिधेयमेव गोपिण्डादिवत्तुल्यरूपतया अभिधानतामनापन्नमपि समुच्चार्यमाणत्वेनावसीयत इत्याह॥

(P 27)

एतदेव संग्रहकारोक्त श्लोक प्रदर्शनेन संवादयितु माह॥

(P 193)

तथाहि संग्रहकारः पठति—संस्त्यानं संहननं तमोनिवृत्तिश्शक्तिरुपरतिः प्रवृत्तिः प्रतिबन्धस्तिरोभावः स्त्रीत्वम्। प्रसवो विष्वम्भावो वृद्धिशक्तिर्वृत्तिलाभोऽभ्युद्रेक प्रवृत्तिराविर्भाव इति पुंस्त्वम्। अविवक्षातः साम्य स्थितिरौत्सुक्यनिवृत्तिरपरार्थत्वमङ्गाङ्गिभावनिवृत्तिः कैवल्यमिति नपुंसकत्वम्॥

(P 137, Prakırnakaprakāśa, Trıvandrum Serıes)

But the work was lost long before Nāgojı who, ın the Udyota cıted above, bases hıs ınformatıon only on Prasıddhı. From Patañjalı we know that the maın subject dealt wıth ın the Sangraha was the nature of Śabda.

संग्रह एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षित नित्यो वा स्यात्कार्यो वेति।
तत्रोक्ता दोषाः प्रयोजनान्यप्युक्तानि।

(Vol. I, p 6, Kıelhorn's ed)

*My revered Professor Dr C Kunhan Raja has shown thıs ın hıs artıcle 'I-tsıng and Bhartrharı's Vakyapadıya,' Krıshnaswami Aıyangar Commemoratıon Volume, p. 385 *et seq.*

According to Nāgeśa, it contained also an exposition of the Sphoṭavāda. Commenting on the Pradīpa

अन्यत्र ध्वनिस्फोटयोर्भेदस्य व्यवस्थापितत्वात् he says . अन्यत्रेति ।
संग्रहादौ तपरसूत्रे भाष्ये चेत्यर्थः ।

(Vol I, p 18, N S ed)

From the quotations given above it may be gathered that the Sangrahakāra was an Akhandavākyavādin, that he held Śabdārthasambandha to be eternal and that, therefore, he was a Vākyasphotavādin No source from which details of his treatment of the subject can be known has yet come to light.

Kātyāyana —Kātyāyana regards Varnas as Nityas In the following Vārtika† he says that it is the Vrttis that are characterized by variations in speed and not the Varnas which are immutable

सिद्धं त्ववस्थिता वर्णा वक्तुश्चिराचिरवचनाद्वृत्तयो विशिष्यन्ते ।

(1 1 70-5)

We are here confronted with two irreconcilable facts Tradition places the Sangrahakāra between Pānini and Kātyāyana , but the Vārtikakāra does not show the least acquaintance with so great a work as Sangraha should have been, or with the Sphota doctrine which, according to later commentators, was dealt with in extenso in that work No doubt, he refers to a Vyādi in Vārtika 1-2-64-65 , but there is no warrant for the assumption that this Vyādi is the author of the Sangraha Further, it has already been noted that neither Patañjali nor Bhartrhari refers to the Sangrahakāra by that name In the absence of further evidence I have to leave this question as well as the question as to what extent has the Sangraha been followed by Patañjali and Bhartrhari unanswered

†" भेर्याघातवत् " is not a Vārtika, but an example given by Patañjali to illustrate the distinction between Sphota and Dhvani See Kielhorn's ed Other editions wrongly give it as a Vārtika Cf the N Sagara and Benares editions

THE IDEA OF CONFLICT IN THE BHAGAVADGITA

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The greatness of the Bhagavadgītā lies in the fact that it does not deal with an artificially simple view either of human nature or of the universe around us. The unity, therefore, which it establishes is a unity in the midst of great diversity and complexity, and is a much deeper unity than one which is obtained by ignoring all inconvenient differences. The central fact with which the Gītā starts and which it always keeps in mind through all its eighteen chapters is the presence of conflict. It is this which gives it its ethical character, for moral life is not possible unless there is some conflict. The life of a saint who has no doubts, who is never troubled by what we call perplexities of conscience, is beyond the pale of morality. If Arjuna were a perfect saint, he would have no moral problems, and the Gītā would lose its ethical character entirely.

Every chapter of the Gītā presents us with a problem of conflict. The conflicts vary with the different chapters, and with it also vary the different solutions that are offered with a view to resolving the conflict. The different Yogas which form the titles of the different chapters are so many different ways in which the conflicts depicted in the different chapters can be removed.

I will briefly explain here what I mean by the word 'yoga'. Śri Krishna Prem has explained yoga as follows in his book, *The yoga of the Bhagavadgītā*. "By yoga is here meant not any special system called by that name, not jnana yoga nor karma yoga, nor the eightfold yoga of Patañjali, but just the Path by which man unites his finite self with

the Infinite Being. It is the inner path of which these separate yogas are so many one-sided aspects. It is not so much a synthesis of these separate teachings as that prior undivided whole of which they represent partial formulations" (p xiv). I accept this view of yoga, but I would like to add that it means also the realization of integral personality through the removal of conflict and also the realization of the unity of the individual and the universe by the same means In other words, yoga means a threefold union—union of ourselves with ourselves, leading to the realization of our integral personality, union of ourselves with the universe, and lastly, union of ourselves with God The way to the realization of this threefold unity is the removal of conflict Each chapter of the Gītā presents to us one kind of conflict and exhibits also one kind of yoga for the solution of the conflict But it is important to remember that not one of the conflicts depicted in any of the chapters is finally resolved by the yoga mentioned in that chapter but requires for its final resolution the whole series of eighteen yogas This explains the frequent repetition and overlapping of the subject-matter of the different chapters which is such a puzzling feature of the Gītā

The idea of conflict, therefore, is a germinal idea in the Bhagavadgītā, and my object in this paper is to show how this idea develops and what different forms it assumes as we proceed from one chapter to another

Not that the Gītā stops with merely presenting to us the idea of conflict Its object is not merely to exhibit a moral problem or a metaphysical problem, but its object is intensely practical, namely, to show the way in which a solution of the different problems may be sought

The conflicts may be broadly classed under three heads: (1) the conflicts that arise within the individual himself, (2) the conflict between the individual and the cosmic forces, (3) the conflict between the cosmic and the supra-cosmic.

The individual is himself the centre of a number of conflicting impulses and tendencies He is divided within himself, and on account of this division, he does not know what path to follow. The first six chapters of the Gītā depict this conflict and this division within the individual himself

First, there is the conflict between the naive impulses of the individual and what he vaguely senses to be his duty This is depicted in the first chapter Arjuna is seized with despair, because his naive impulses prompt him to abandon a war which involves the killing of so many of his own kinsmen, while he has a vague consciousness that as a Kshatriya he ought to fight The result of this conflict is a total paralysis of his will, and he drops his bow and arrow in utter dejection Here it should be remembered that Arjuna has had no instruction either in ethics or in metaphysics He is a totally uninstructed person and his action is solely prompted by his untrained impulses That he has had no instruction, that his mind is wholly untrained, is evident from various statements about him He is, for instance, superstitious, he sees omens ("निमित्तानि च पश्यामि विपरीतानि केशव") when about to begin the battle He has no power of reflection, he simply goes on repeating the dire consequences that will follow from war, his mind is clouded and he wants instruction from Lord Krishna Lord Krishna's ironical words to him, "प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे" also indicate how utterly lacking in wisdom he is Arjuna therefore is the type of the uninstructed soul, guided by goody goody notions of refraining from doing harm, not, of course, true *ahimsa* which proceeds from a rational perception of the worth and dignity of life and is therefore based upon reason I need hardly point out that Arjuna's hesitation to fight is not prompted by any true *ahimsa* but is a more or less instinctive shrinking from violence Mr D S Sharma in his excellent *Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā* very nicely discusses this matter, and I cannot do better than quote his words: "His (Arjuna's) resolution that he would rather forego his gain than do violence to his dearly cherished affections, clouds the

whole issue to the casual reader as well as to Arjuna himself The latter, instead of appearing in his true colours as one who falls short of heroism, actually poses in his self-righteousness as the exponent of a type of heroism even superior to that of his class We surely misunderstand the situation if we take Arjuna's words at their face-value But his charioteer, the Divine Searcher of hearts, knows better. He is not baffled by the objections trotted out by Arjuna He quietly snubs his friend's self-righteousness at the outset by saying ironically, 'You speak words of wisdom,' and proceeds to lay bare the real situation" (*Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā*, pp 42-43)

The second chapter carries the conflict from the point where the first chapter leaves it The first chapter merely presents before us the conflict but does not try to clarify it, much less to resolve it This the second chapter does It shows what the basis of the conflict is and how it can be overcome by throwing the floodlight of knowledge upon it For this will have for its effect the demonstration that Arjuna's shrinking from fighting is not justified by reason at all, but is purely prompted by unreasoning repugnance The glorious verses (11-30) depicting the immortality of the soul and the foolishness of feeling grief at death exhibit the standpoint of knowledge, as against that of naive sentiment The latter part of this chapter (verses 31-72) depicts the nature of duty and the characteristics of the man having a balanced mind (स्थितप्रज्ञ) The conflict is thus lifted in the latter part of this chapter from the plane of naive impulses to that of reflection The two main topics discussed in the second half of the chapter form, however, not two but one topic Duty is to be performed in the spirit of the *sthitaprajña*. Duty performed in any other spirit is really not duty We should think in this connection of Kant's view that actions done from any principle other than reason exhibits heteronomy and not autonomy

The sānkhyayoga which is taught in this chapter thus means the overcoming, through discriminating knowledge,

of the opposition between naive shrinking from killing anybody and rational reflection upon what one's duty is It also means the elucidation of the nature of duty from the standpoint of discriminating knowledge, resulting in the realization of the condition of a *sthitaprajña*

But the conflict is not overcome in the second chapter It only passes from the stage of unreflecting naive feeling to that of conscious reflection Conscious reflection, however, creates its own conflicts The resolution of the conflict through knowledge opens the door for a further conflict, the conflict between knowledge and work The first fruit of reflection is thus the emergence of the conflict in another form

In this form, as the Gītā explains, the conflict is most perplexing The words of Arjuna in the first verse of the third chapter

" ज्यायसी चेत्कर्मणस्ते मताबुद्धिर्जनार्दन । तत्किंकर्मणिघोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव "

clearly show what perplexity the conflict causes On the one hand, knowledge is shown to be the way to salvation , on the other hand, it is equally strongly emphasized that work should not be abrogated The solution of the conflict is through karmayoga which, while retaining the advantages of the way of knowledge, yet enjoins the performance of work The method of doing this is admirably indicated in verse 30 of the third chapter by the words , " मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणिसंन्यस्य " Even if external enemies do not exist, there are the internal enemies, the passions and desires, and it is in the conquest of these through karmayoga that the reconciliation of knowledge and work is effected

एवं बुद्धेः परं बुध्वा संस्तभ्यात्मानमात्मना ।
जहि शत्रु महाबाहो कामरूप दुरासदम् ॥ III 43

This is the solution of the third chapter—the reconciliation of *jñāna* and *karma* with the help of *karmayoga* The late Lokamanya Tilak believed that this was the final reconciliation of the opposition, the ultimate message of the Gītā But this would be to treat the remaining fifteen chapters as

having no independent message of their own This, in my opinion, would be a very inadequate view of the purpose of the Gītā and is wholly untenable.

I therefore believe that the Gītā's teaching does not stop with the third chapter Indeed, it cannot stop there, for the conflict reappears In spite of the teaching of the previous chapter, doubt still lurks in the mind of Arjuna He has not clearly understood the nature of Lord Krishna to whom in the previous chapter he is asked to surrender all his actions. He still believes that Lord Krishna is only a human being and fails to realize that he is the eternal God Thus the first task of Lord Krishna in the fourth chapter of the Gītā is to instruct Arjuna in the doctrine of Avatāra Lord Krishna speaking to Arjuna, behaving as his most intimate friend and teacher, is the *avatāra* of God Himself, although he appears in the human form This doctrine of *avatāra* is not further developed in this chapter[1] which proceeds from the enunciation of this doctrine to the conclusion to be drawn from it, namely, that provided one has the right knowledge, one can understand how even in doing work one does not impair the purity of one's nature but can maintain it in its absolute unsullied condition

> न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले स्पृहा ।
> इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स लिप्यते ॥ IV. 14.

What is important is not to eschew action, but to have action burnt by the fire of knowledge

> यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः कामसंकल्पवर्जिताः ।
> ज्ञानाग्निदग्धकर्माणि तमाहु पण्डितं बुधाः ॥ IV. 19.

The knowledge here spoken of is different from the mere discriminating knowledge (buddhi) mentioned in Chapter II It is the knowledge that arises from the contemplation of God and consists in the realization of the all-pervading nature of God ("वासुदेवः सर्वमिति") It is also described as that knowledge by which "you can see all beings without exception in yourself and thus in Me" ("येन भूतान्यशेषेण

द्रक्ष्यस्यात्मन्यथो मयि") It is the knowledge which by removing all doubts, establishes oneself in *yoga* (iv. 42) Although this yoga is called *Jñānavibhāgayoga,* that is, yoga of the section of knowledge, the pure, disinterested pursuit of knowledge but it is given this title, because, as explained by Sri Krishna Prem in the footnote to p 29 of his *Yoga of the Bhagavad-gītā,* it is knowledge which is applied to one particular subject, namely *yajña*[2] Sankara takes the title of this chapter to be *jñānakarmasannyāsayoga* This is also the title of this chapter in Lokamanya Tilak's *Gītārahasya* If we accept this title, then the purport of the chapter will be to show how true yoga consists in surrendering to God both action and knowledge In verse 33 of this chapter, in fact, it is stated, " Better than the sacrifice of any material objects is the sacrifice of knowledge " The true yajña is the yajña of knowledge, the pure, dis-interested pursuit of knowledge

The doubt of Arjuna is not removed even after the instruction communicated to him in the first four chapters He therefore asks Lord Krishna for fuller instruction

सन्यास कर्मणां कृष्ण पुनर्योगं च शंमसि ।
यच्छ्रेय एतयोरेकं तन्मे ब्रूहि सुनिाश्चतम् ॥

The conflict this time is between *sannyāsa* and *karmayoga* The reconciliation as effected in the fifth chapter, consists in showing that both lead equally to the highest bliss (सन्यास कर्मयोगश्च नि.श्रेयसकरावुभौ) though of the two, *karmayoga* is the better A little later, it is said that the two paths are the same :

यत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थान तद्योगैरपि गम्यते ।
एकं सांख्यञ्च योगञ्च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥ V 4

(The word ' sānkhya ' in this verse means the path of knowledge enjoining the renunciation of all work)

The identity of the two paths is due to the fact that the essence of sannyāsa does not lie in the renunciation of action as such but in the renunciation of action prompted by

desire ("काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यासं सन्यासं कवयो विदुः" XVIII 2). This appears further from V 3, where it is said that the true sannyasin is he who neither hates nor desires The same thing appears also from v 6, where it is said that it is difficult to attain *sannyāsa* without yoga, that is, *karmayoga* What makes *sannyāsa* of value is precisely that which is found in *karmayoga,* that is, non-attachment to objects Where this non-attachment is present, there is no bondage in work (v 7) It is further said in vi 1 that "he who performs his duty without reference to the fruits of his action is a sannyasin, a yogin, and not the man who is without fire and without rites"

So far the conflicts have been horizontal, that is to say, there has been no implication that one of the two conflicting ideas is higher than the other But in the sixth chapter there is introduced for the first time the idea of a vertical conflict The basal idea of this conflict appears in vi 3

आरुरुक्षोर्मुनेर्योग कर्म कारणमुच्यते ।
योगारूढस्य तस्यैव शम. कारणमुच्यते ॥

Here a contrast is made between the condition of the man who is a seeker after yoga and that of the man who has already attained yoga Lokamanya Tilak in his interpretation of this verse has pointed out the false interpretation which is made by the followers of the *sannyāsamārga* According to the latter, the verse means that for the seeker after yoga karma is the cause of yoga, but for the man who has attained yoga, discarding of karma is the cause of his continuing in yoga This interpretation, as Lokamanya Tilak has pointed out is manifestly inconsistent with vi 1, where it is distinctly stated that neither the sannyasin nor the yogin abandons work but only the fruit of work The interpretation which Lokamanya Tilak has given of this verse undoubtedly seems more natural than the one given by the followers of the path of sannyasa According to this interpretation, the verse no doubt contrasts the condition of the man who has attained yoga with that of the man who is a seeker after yoga, but the contrast only lies in this, that

whereas for the former, karma is the cause of *śama* or peace of mind, in the latter, *śama* is the cause of karma.

This idea of a vertical conflict is also brought out clearly in vi 5, where it is said that the higher self must control the lower self "उद्धरेत् आत्मनाऽत्मानम्" This conflict is resolved in meditation (dhyāna) or in spirituality (adhyātmayoga), according as we accept the first or the second as the title of this chapter.

From now onward vertical conflicts are the rule The conflicts within the individual are now partially overcome (of course, a complete resolution of these conflicts, as has been already said, only takes place after instruction in all the eighteen yogas has been imparted), but there begins another conflict—the conflict between the individual and the Cosmic Reality, including its Supra-Cosmic Source This new conflict is the theme of the next six chapters I have shown in my paper, *The Cosmic Significance of Karma in the Bhagavadgītā* ("Prabuddha Bharata", Feb 1939), how essential it is to bring into view the cosmic factor in understanding that which apparently only concerns the individual Chapters VII-XII describe what I have called in that paper the ascent of the soul The ascent is from the individual to the cosmic and from the cosmic to the supra-cosmic

The beginning of this ascent from the individual to the cosmic standpoint we see in the seventh chapter which is characteristically named the *yoga of knowledge* If we compare this name with that of the fourth chapter, we find a characteristic difference The fourth chapter, although dealing with the discipline of knowledge, does not deal with the whole field of knowledge, but as we have already pointed out, with knowledge so far as it relates to one subject, namely, *yajña* In the seventh chapter, on the other hand, the entire field of knowledge is utilized for the sake of showing the cosmic background of individual life I need not dwell upon it at great length here, for I have already shown in my paper already referred to, how the cosmic factor al-

ways operates in the individual life, giving a new significance to it

There is a further ascent to the cosmic plane in the eighth chapter which traces the sources of all *karma* to the imperishable Brahman (aksaram brahma). The ascent, in fact, here is beyond the cosmic to the supra-cosmic The gap between the individual and the cosmic forces and their Supra-Cosmic Source widens, and it becomes a difficult problem to discover how the gap can be removed Eschatological ideas are a part of the means employed to bridge over the enormous gulf that separates the individual from the Akshara Brahman The individual in this way is given the hope that it is possible for him to reach the Akshara Brahman after death Such a hope, for example, is given in the following verse

ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन्मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति त्यजन्देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ।। VIII 13

The ninth chapter deals with the yoga of the royal secret (rājaguhya) and the royal science (rājavidya) The essence of this yoga is the reconciliation of the conflict between the Avyakta or the Unmanifested and the world of diverse beings The reconciliation consists in the realization that the Unmanifested, although it is the support of beings, yet is not rooted in them (' bhūtabhrnna ca bhūtasthah ') The transition from the cosmic to the supra-cosmic which we have already noticed in the eighth chapter is more clearly evident in this chapter

From the nature of the epithets applied to God in verses 16-19 it appears that His transcendent aspect is emphasized more than his immanent one Such epithets as *pitā, mātā, dhātā, pitāmaha, gati, bhartā, prabhu, sākshī, nivāsa, śarana, prabhava, pralaya sthāna, nidhāna* indicate the transcendence of God, although it must be admitted that there are some epithets, such as *suhrit, bīja* which indicate partially His immanence. Altogether it must be said that the ninth chapter emphasizes the transcendent character of God rather

than His immanence. Unless, however, the immanent aspect of God is exhibited, the conflict between the Avyakta and the world of beings cannot be resolved Indeed, this conflict is not resolved until we come to the fifteenth chapter, where it is resolved with the help of the idea of Purushottama.

What should be the attitude of man towards the God depicted in these verses? The attitude is expressed in verse 27

यत्करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
यत्तपस्यसि च कौन्तेय तत्कुरुष्व मदर्पणम् ॥

In other words, the attitude is one of surrender It is, however, a surrender of the less powerful to the more powerful, of the lower to the higher authority, not the surrender depicted in xviii 65

मन्मनाभव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।

The transcendent character of God is more developed in the tenth chapter, where He is described as

परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् ।
पुरुषं शाश्वतं दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥ X 12

He is also called the highest of each kind, and therefore clearly differentiated from others of the same species

All through these chapters the conflict that we notice is the conflict between the individual and the cosmic forces and between the individual and the Supra-Cosmic Reality The conflict deepens as we pass from the eighth to the ninth and from the ninth to the tenth chapter, for the gulf between the individual and God widens as more of the transcendent aspect of God is realized

It reaches, however, its climax in the eleventh chapter which deals with the Visvarūpa (Cosmic Form) of God This Visvarūpa is really not the cosmic but the supra-cosmic form of God The transcendent character of God is so pro-

nounced here that Arjuna, although he enjoys the intimacy of Lord Krishna, cries out in fear :

अदृष्टपूर्वं हृषितोऽस्मि दृष्ट्वा भयेन च प्रव्यथितं मनो मे ।
तदेव मे दर्शय देव रूपम् प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ॥

The view, however, which some European writers have put forward, namely, that in the eleventh chapter a distinction is drawn between the *ghorarūpa* and the *viśvarūpa* does not seem to me to be correct, for the viśvarūpa itself is ghorarūpa, so far as it presents that side of God's nature which is awe-inspiring The conflict between the individual and the Supra-Cosmic Reality reaches its zenith and cries out for a solution. The resumption by Lord Krishna of the human form, thereby showing the identity between the individual and his Supra-Cosmic Source, partially mitigates the horror of the Visvarupa but does not completely remove it There is need, therefore, of a further attempt to bring the two widely separated ends This is done in the twelfth chapter.

As I have shown elsewhere, the twelfth chapter is to be looked upon as a continuation of the eleventh Bhakti is the only attitude which is possible to a man when he sees his own helplessness and insignificance by the side of the stupendous grandeur of the Lord It is the only way in which a finite individual can bring himself into relation with a Reality which is immeasurably greater The instruction of the twelfth chapter, therefore, takes the form

मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।
निवसिष्यसि मय्येव अत ऊर्ध्वं न संशय ॥

The whole chapter is devoted to the discussion of the proper subjective attitude in view of the immeasurable gulf that separates the individual from God It has therefore to take into account also the weaknesses of some human beings which prevent them from adopting the attitude depicted in the verse quoted above The Gītā, therefore, lays down in verses 9-11 what those individuals should do who have not got the capacity to follow the instruction given in verse 8.

One thing should be noticed in connection with these verses, namely, that although the successive classes mentioned in these verses are in a descending order, so far as the power of abstract reflection is concerned, they are not in a descending order of merit The order of merit is indicated in verse 12, where those who seek union with God through *abhyāsa* (practice) are placed at the lowest rung of the ladder Above them are placed those who seek union through knowledge Above these are those who seek union through *dhyāna* (meditation), and on the top of all are placed those who follow the path of the renunciation of the fruits of action (sarvakarmaphalatyāga)

The Gītā here indicates two orders the order of difficulty and the order of merit The two are not identical All the difficulty in the interpretation of these verses arises from the mistaken idea that what is more difficult must be one which has greater merit attached to it That this is not the Gītā's view is sufficiently clear from verses 2-5, where the easier method of approaching God through faith is pronounced to be superior to the more difficult path of the worship of the Avyakta In fact, the Gītā's general standpoint is that the easier course is always the better course There is therefore no inconsistency in asserting that *sarvakarmaphalatyāga,* which is pronounced to be the easiest of all the methods, is yet the best How it is the easiest of all the methods is explained very carefully in the late Lokamanya Tilak's *Gītārahasya* in the commentary on verse 12.

But after all, the solution of the conflict between the finite individual and the Supra-cosmic Reality which the twelfth chapter offers is only a subjective one. It only shows how the individual can obtain peace in spite of the conflict But it is not able to show how the conflict can be finally resolved

The source of the conflict is really the opposition between the transcendent and immanent conceptions of God, and unless attention is drawn to it, there can be no possibi-

lity of realizing God as an indwelling principle. It is therefore the task of the last six chapters to deal with this opposition between the cosmic and the supra-cosmic, and by overcoming it to make the path smooth for the realization of God as an indwelling principle

It is important to understand clearly what is meant by calling God an indwelling principle If God is the indwelling principle of the universe, then no part of the universe can be said to be God-forsaken This whole universe, in fact, will acquire a new dignity—I might say, a new Divinity—by being the medium through which God realizes Himself

This transformation of the conflict from being one between the individual and the cosmic (including the supra-cosmic) reality into one between the cosmic and the supra-cosmic first appears in the thirteenth chapter which starts with the opposition between the *kshetra* and the *kshetrajna* The kshetra (field) comprises (vide xiii 6) the whole world of matter, the ego, the intellect, the ten senses and the mind and lastly, the five objects of the senses Over and above this field, however, there is the knower of the field (kshetrajna) There is thus the opposition between the knower and the object which is known Unless this opposition is overcome, all hope of realizing the oneness of God and the world must for ever be abandoned

I have shown elsewhere that the problem of the thirteenth and the next five chapters is the problem of descent The individual, after ascending to the Supra-cosmic Reality, viewed as a transcendent Power, must descend to the world and find therein also the same Supra-cosmic Reality at work In other words, he must realize the Divinity of the world

How this Divinity is to be realized, how this opposition between the Kshetra and the Kshetrajna is to be overcome, is the theme of the thirteenth chapter The opposition is overcome on the emergence of the true knowledge relating to the nature of God and His relation to the universe We have, therefore, in those remarkable verses (verses 14-18)

of this chapter which in point of depth of thought, grandeur of style and beauty of expression, have perhaps no equal in any literature, a magnificent description of the nature of God and the relation of the universe to Him. From this description two things are evident, namely, (1) that the world and God do not fall apart, but that the world is throughout sustained and animated by God, and (2) that although God is the indwelling principle of the universe, He is not completely merged in it but maintains His transcendence. This is, of course, no new idea which the Gītā here for the first time enunciates; it has throughout maintained this view of the relation of God and the world. But the previous chapters, especially, the ninth, tenth and the eleventh, emphasized the transcendent aspect of God and hence a restatement of the true relation with a view to bringing out the immanent character of God is found necessary here. This will be evident if we compare the verses 14-18 of the thirteenth chapter with the verses 17-19 of the ninth chapter. The latter verses emphasize very strongly the transcendent nature of God, whereas the object of the former is to bring out the immanent aspect, while, of course, not giving up the transcendent aspect.

The fourteenth chapter brings before us the conflict between the soul, free, indestructible and eternal—the kshetrajna of the previous chapter, the nature of which has been so fully expounded in it—and the bondage caused by the three gunas. It might be thought at first sight that this conflict is one within the individual and should therefore have been discussed in the first part of the Gītā. But really it is not an individual conflict; it is a cosmic conflict. It has its source in the nature of the universe which can never free itself from the three gunas. The eternal and indestructible spirit working in the universe finds itself hampered by the presence of these gunas. How to free it from the bondage of the gunas is therefore a problem.

It should be remarked here that the Gītā's conception of the gunas is somewhat different from that of the orthodox Sānkhya. In the first place, the Gītā speaks of the gunas as

originating from Prakriti, whereas, according to the orthodox Sankhya, the gunas constitute Prakriti Secondly, the gunas are looked upon by the Gita as the universal characteristics of all kinds of mental activity, whereas in orthodox Sānkhya, the gunas are not qualities but constituent elements of Prakriti Indeed, all actions are supposed by the Gīta to be determined by specific forms of sattva, rajas and tamas Even knowledge is classed as sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa

The fifteenth chapter introduces us to the heart of the conflict between the cosmic and the supra-cosmic In the chapters which depict the transcendent character of God, He is called Akshara Brahman This Akshara Brahman is described in VIII 3 as creating the world by this sacrifice This is, in fact, his connection with the world of finite beings In other respects he is *nirguna* and *nishkriyā*[3] He is, in fact, called *kutastha* in XV 16 But the God who is the indwelling principle of the universe cannot be the Akshara Brahman whose connection with the world is only that of the creator to the created A new conception of God as Purushottama is therefore put forward in this chapter ·

यस्मात्क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तम ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तम ॥

Lokamanya Tilak in his *Gītārahasya* has identified Purushottama with Akshara Brahman, but in view of the explicit statement in this verse, it is not possible to accept this view The whole teaching of the Gītā in the last six chapters would lose all its meaning if Purushottama were identified with Akshara Brahman For what is required is the conception of a concrete God who is not merely the creator of the world but guides and sustains and inspires it Such a conception is that of Purushottama

Sri Aurobindo also has stressed the importance of the conception of Purushottama, in addition to that of Akshara Brahman Thus he says, (*Essays on the Gītā*, Second Series, pp 258-59) 'There is a status which is greater than the peace of the Akshara as it watches unmoved the strife of the gunas. There is a higher spiritual experience and founda-

tion above the immutability of the Brahman, there is an eternal dharma greater than rajasic impulsion to works, pravritti, there is an absolute delight which is untouched by rājasic suffering and beyond the sattvic happiness, and these things are found and possessed by dwelling in the being and power of the Purushottama "

In the conception of Purushottama God becomes the immanent principle of the universe It is therefore most appropriately said of Him (*vide* verses 12-14), " that His is the light that illumines all this world, that which is in the moon and the fire, that He is the Spirit who, having entered the earth, sustains all beings by His energy, and becoming Soma, nourishes all plants, and further, that having become the flame of life, He sustains the bodies of living creatures, and united with Prāna and Apana, digests the four kinds of food (that is, food which is chewed, sucked, licked and drunk) " This description also makes it clear that although God is the indwelling principle of the universe, yet He is not completely merged in it But if there was any doubt on this point, that is removed by verse 7, where it is stated that only a portion of Him manifests itself as Jiva in the world of living creatures

The conception of Purushottama thus reconciles the opposition between the world and Akshara Brahman

The sixteenth chapter brings into view the conflict between the daiva and the āsura qualities The conflict is a cosmic one, for the qualities are cosmic qualities and not qualities of individuals, though representatives of these qualities are found in human individuals That these qualities are cosmic and not individual is indicated by Sri Aurobindo also very clearly Thus he says, " The ancient mind, more open than ours to the truth of things behind the physical veil saw behind the life of man great cosmic forces or beings representative of certain turns or grades of the universal Shakti, divine, titanic, gigantic, demoniac, and men who strongly represented in themselves these powers of nature were themselves considered Devas, Asuras, Rak-

shasas, Pisachas. The Gita for its own purposes takes up this distinction and develops the difference between these two kinds of beings, *dvau bhuta-sargau.*" (*Essays on the Gītā,* Second Series, p 313)

The *daiva* qualities are always to be maintained, and the *āsura* qualities to be put down Although human beings are born with one or other of these qualities, yet the Gītā gives us the hope that it is possible for everyone to put down the *āsura* qualities and allow himself to be dominated by the *daiva* ones This is the clear meaning of verse 21 of the sixteenth chapter .

त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत्त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥

Unless it is within the power of man to get rid of the three gates of hell, the injunction ' tyajet ' has no meaning

The problem presented before us in the seventeenth chapter is as follows The Gītā at the end of the sixteenth chapter says that Śāstra should be followed for the determination of what is right and what is wrong Now Arjuna puts the question to Lord Krishna " Supposing a man does not follow Śāstra but acts full of faith, what is his condition?" Apart from the question of the meaning of the word Śāstra,[4] the difficulty arises whether the problem is one which concerns the individual or is a cosmic problem The problem no doubt is dealt with in its application to the individual, but as it is one concerning the gunas, it is also a cosmic problem It is, in fact, an offshoot of the general problem of the gunas discussed in the fourteenth chapter

The problem, as Sri Aurobindo points out, is a novel one It is "of the nature of a powerful adventure into the unknown or partly known, a daring development and a new conquest." The sixteen previous chapters, illustrating sixteen types of yoga already discussed, really show how a man ought to act The Gita introduces here a new principle of action, namely, śraddhā or faith, not included in the sixteen kinds of yoga discussed so far, and wants to consider how far it can be accepted as a moral standard.

The chapter begins by stating that a man is as his faith is. There are three kinds of faith—sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa—and according as a man has one or other of these, he is sāttvika, rājasa or tāmasa The tapas, the food, the gifts of these three types of men are also respectively, sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa.

The significance of the problem discussed in this chapter is indicated in the last verse of this chapter

अश्रद्धया हुतं दत्त तपस्तप्तं कृतं च यत् ।
असदित्युच्यते पार्थ न च तत्प्रेत्य नोइह ॥

Śraddhā is an essential ingredient of right action Thus the answer which this chapter gives to Arjuna's question is somewhat as follows No doubt śraddhā cannot exempt a man from the duty of acting in accordance with Śāstra, but an action if it is according to Śāstra but if it is not informed by śraddhā, cannot be right

The problem of this chapter, as we have already said, is a part of the general problem of the gunas discussed in the fourteenth chapter The nature of a man in regard to śraddhā is determined bv his nature as indicated by the gunas ("सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धाभवति भारत"). The cosmic forces thus determine the nature of śraddhā

It should be noted, however, that although the problem owes its origin to cosmic forces, it has a subjective aspect also, and it is the subjective aspect that gives it its peculiar ethical significance The last verse of this chapter makes this clear However objectively right an action may be, however completely it may conform to Śāstra, if it is not informed by śraddhā, it cannot be called right Thus, just as in Green the subjective condition of the purity of the motive is the essential condition of the rightness of an action, so, according to the teaching of the Gita, the subjective condition of sraddha is the essential condition of the rightness of conduct The only difference is that whereas in Green the subjective condition is the sole condition of morality, it is not so in the Gita The objective conditions of morality,

indicated by *śāstravidhi,* every action must satisfy, but in addition, it must satisfy the subjective condition of śraddhā. This is the attitude of the Gita towards the subjective and objective criteria of morality

We come now to the last chapter of the Gita which is the longest, and in many respects, the most important chapter of this great book It summarises the teaching of the previous chapters The instruction which it gives completes the instruction given in the earlier chapters The conflict which it resolves is the totality of the conflict noticed in the previous seventeen chapters As I have already said at the outset, the conflict which each chapter presents is not finally resolved in that chapter but waits for its final resolution till the end when the final instruction is imparted This is the peculiarity of the Gītā, where the synthesis which is attempted is one which is not completed immediately but waits till the final synthesis is reached Thus there is a fundamental difference between the dialectic of the Gita and that of Hegel Whereas, according to the latter, each pair of opposites which the dialectic presents is merged and consummated in the synthesis which results from it, in the Gita on the contrary, no final synthesis of any conflict is possible until one runs through the whole gamut of the eighteen chapters Thus, for example, in the Hegelian dialectic the contradiction involved in the category of Being which leads to the positing of its negation, non-Being, results in the immediate synthesis of these two contradictory categories in the higher category of Becoming It is true that the category of Becoming is itself unstable and leads through its negation to the category of Being Determinate But what I want to observe is that the category of Being does not reappear again in its original form in the procession of categories which the dialectic presents before us In other words, in the Hegelian scheme each synthesis is completed in three steps I pointed out several years ago in a paper, entitled *The Logic of the Real,* the defect of this view of synthesis and showed how it could be removed by taking a polyadic view of the movement of thought, instead of a triadic one, as was done by Hegel.

Now the Gītā takes such a polyadic view of thought, and that is why no synthesis is completed before the final resolution of all conflict in the eighteenth chapter We see this very clearly if, for example, we consider the fundamental conflict which is the starting-point of the instruction of the Gita This conflict, which forms the theme of the second chapter, is not completely resolved there, but is only finally resolved at the end of the eighteenth chapter when Arjuna exclaims triumphantly

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाऽच्युत ।
स्थितोऽस्मि गतसन्देहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥

This lends a special importance to the eighteenth chapter where all the conflicts are finally resolved It starts with the nature of *Sannyāsa* and *tyāga* and shows how the opposition of them to karma can be overcome by taking sannyasa to mean renunciation of desires, and tyaga to mean the relinquishment of all fruits This is exactly what the Gita has taught in the second and third chapters, and it may seem to be a needless repetition But it is a repetition with a difference, for the Gita does not simply speak of *sannyāsa* and *tyāga*, as it does in the earlier chapters, but mentions three different kinds of it, according to the preponderance of the respective gunas So, too, it applies the doctrine of the gunas to the determination of the nature of the different kinds of jnana karma karta, buddhi, dhriti, etc , and in this way removes the opposition between them

This is followed by the enunciation of the doctrine of *svadharma* which is an essential part of the teaching of the Gita This doctrine has also been mentioned in the previous chapters (*vide* II 31 & III 35) But it is restated with a new setting I have explained in my paper *The Cosmic Significance of Karma in the Bhagavadgita* what the Gita's doctrine of svadharma signifies This doctrine is very similar to Bradley's doctrine of "my station and its duties," and means that the realization of one's individual self is not possible except through the society in which one finds oneself The Gita's object, however, as Sri Aurobindo has pointed out, is not to support the caste system by an ethico-religious theory.

I now come to the last part of the eighteenth chapter where the final instruction is imparted to Arjuna. This final instruction is called *sarvaguhyatamamvacah* (the most secret word), and runs as follows .

मन्मनाभव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥
सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि माशुचः ॥

In other words, this final instruction is Surrender. This could not have been imparted to Arjuna before this If he had known God only through His Visvarupa, he could not have surrendered himself as he could do now This final instruction succeeds in removing all his conflicts which have been mentioned in the previous seventeen chapters.

NOTES

1 As I have elsewhere shown, the question is taken up again in the fifteenth chapter and is in fact the central topic of that chapter

2 I have given above the meaning of the word 'jnānavibhāgayoga,' as we find it in Sri Krishna Prem's book But the word can, I think, be interpreted in another way The object of the chapter is to show that whatever action is performed acquires its value from the type of knowledge revealed in it The different yagnās, therefore, described in this chapter really stand for the different types of knowledge Consequently, the chapter may approximately be called *Jnānavibhāgayoga,* or the yoga of the division of knowledge

3 Śankara also in his commentary on the second sutra of the *Brahma Sutras* admits that Brahman, although conceived by him as *nirguna,* is the cause of the origin, etc, of the universe It should be noticed that Sankara does not here take recourse to the *māyā doctrine,* for he does *not* say that Brahman is the cause *through māyā* of the origin, etc , of the universe There is no inconsistency, therefore, in saying as the Gita does, that Akshara Brahman through *his sacrifice creates all beings*

4 It is difficult to say what the word '*śāstra*' here means It cannot evidently mean Śruti and Smrti after the severe indictment of the Vedas in II 42-45 The late Lokamanya Tilak took it in the sense of *Karmayogaśastra* I think it will be better to take it in the sense of *yogaśāstra,* as taught in the Gita

ŚĀSTA, THE FOREST DEITY OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

Śāsta is the most important deity of the forests[1] of Travancore But he is now worshipped in all parts of the country by all classes of people The period from the middle of November to the middle of January is the period par excellence of the worship of Śāsta The fasting and the prayers extending over two months culminate in an arduous pilgrimage[2] to the most famous of the Śāsta temples in Travancore situated at Śabarimala, one of the inaccessible hills in the High Ranges of Travancore In recent years Śāsta worship is becoming more and more popular with the educated classes in the country Last year (1939) more than two lakhs of pilgrims are said to have congregated at Śabarimala on the 1st of Makarom

Origin of Śāsta

Hindu Mythology gives the following account of the origin of Śāsta

In connection with the churning of the Pālazhi (sea of milk) Mahāvishnu assumed the guise of a beautiful woman (Mohinī) Śiva felt enamoured of this Mohinī and as a result of the union was born Śāsta He is therefore called Hari-Hara Suta He was born on a Saturday under Uttaram star, Vrichika legnam in the month of Dhanus

There is another myth describing the circumstances of the origin of Śāsta Bhadrakāli killed Mahishāsura His sister Mahishī performed tapas and obtained from Brahma

the boon that she would conquer the Devas and that she could be killed only by a son of Hari and Hara who has spent 12 years as the dāsa of a man Strengthened by this and other *varams* she began to oppress the Devas. They complained to Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva In response to their prayers Śāsta was born This blessed child lived with Śiva at Kailās When he grew up Śiva told him that he was born to kill Mahishī, and to achieve that he should live as a dāsa of the Patalam King for twelve years, and sent him with his blessings to achieve his mission

Location of the Śāsta Temples

The temples are mostly situated in dense forest covered regions invariably on the side of rocky hills But in villages too Śāsta temples are quite common. Around the Śāsta temples in villages there is always a wild growth of trees called Kāvu which serves the purpose of a forest

Mode of Worship

The offerings to the deity consist mainly of boiled rice, milk, fruits etc There is no sacrifice of animals Those who go on pilgrimage to Śabarimala to have *darsana* of the deity on the 1st of Makarom have to undergo fasting and lead a celibate life for about two months They wear light green or yellow clothes and walk all the distance to the temple carrying with them their provisions and the offerings to the deity They are virtually sannyāsis till the pilgrimage is completed Every year lakhs of pious worshippers from all parts of the country undertake this pilgrimage to the most famous of the Śāsta temples in Travancore

The Buddha theory of Śāsta

It is sometimes held that Śāsta is the Hinduised form of the Buddha "Śāsta,[3] the name often given to Buddha in Buddhist scriptures was admitted into the Hindu Pantheon The famous Śāsta temples now existing at Śabarimala, Thakazhi and other places in Travancore were originally none

other than temples dedicated to Buddha" "Śāsta himself is supposed to be a Hinduised form of Buddha and the pilgrimage to Śabarimala seems to be a relic of the Buddhist pilgrimage of ancient Travancore."[4] Dr. F. W. Thomas in the course of his presidential address at the 9th Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, referring to the religious condition of ancient Travancore says "after the earliest Hinduism or Vedic Aryanism there came a period when Buddhism was strong in the land, as evidenced by the designation Śāsta, originally applied to Buddha but now to the deity"

Arguments adduced in favour of the theory

Śāsta[5] is one of the names of the Buddha When Buddhism was in course of time absorbed by Hinduism the Buddha was also Hinduised and worshipped under the name Śāsta

The sing song repetition of Śaranam Aiyappa by the pilgrims to the Śāsta temple at Śabarimala is reminiscent of the triple Śaranam formula of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha of the Buddhists

The story regarding the birth of Śāsta as the son of Hari and Hara is the outcome of an attempt on the part of the Śaivites and Vaishnavites to incorporate the Buddhists within their fold

The location of some of the famous Śāsta temples in the interior of forests is held as an additional ground because the Buddhists preferred to live in out of the way secluded places

The fasting and other rites by the pilgrims to Śabarimala have reference to a religion like Buddhism which was absolutely insistent on the doctrine of Ahimsa

Criticism of the Arguments

The word Śāsta means[6] one who teaches, instructs rules etc , and the word may be applied to any deity whose main

functions are protecting, guarding, instructing etc. Accordingly the village deity of the west coast who was the protector and ruler of the village was called by the name of Śāsta also.

"The expression[7] Śaranam Aiyappa is common to all Hindus whenever the appeal is to god exercising grace It is not clearly established that the idea of seeking the protection of a saviour is an idea peculiar to the Buddhists or originated with the Buddha and the Buddhist teacher No doubt the Buddhists have the notion of the *triśaranam* but that does not necessarily mean that that is the earliest or the first"

The origin of the name Hariharaputra can be explained by the supposition that it is the result of an attempt on the part of the Śaivites and Vaishnavites to incorporate the Dravidian village deity called Śāttan, Aiyan, or Aiyappan into the Hindu pantheon

Śāsta is the most important deity of the forests of Travancore Keralotpatti mentions that God Śāsta was made the guardian[8] of the eastern slopes and was propitiated for the defence of the land frontier against the incursion of foreigners into the country Hence many of the Śāsta temples are located in the forest regions

The fasting, putting on coloured clothes at the time of the pilgrimage to Śabarimala, and other practices cannot be said to be reminiscent of Buddhism as such practices are not peculiar to Buddhism

Thus the arguments of the Pro-Buddhist school in support of the view that Śāsta is Hinduised Buddha fall to the ground

Arguments Against

The images of Śāsta do not show any resemblance to the images of the Buddha "The figures[9] of Buddha must be made of white stone seated or standing on a lion pedastal, with two hands Ushnisha, (the hair on the scalp) which

would be done up in the shape of a Kirita, yellow cloth, broad forehead, long earlobes, big eyes etc , when standing the arms must be made to hang down loosely ". The Śāsta images found in Travancore do not conform to the details described above On the other hand they exhibit features which point to their affinity with the images of Aiyanār, a village deity worshipped in the east coast For example, the Śāsta image of the famous Sabarimala temple is represented with a crown and jewels[10] and ornaments (J I H Vol XVIII plate to face p 116) This image answers closely to the description of Aiyanar given below In the Śāsta temple at Vattavila near Pangode, a suburb of Trivandrum the Śāsta is represented as riding on a horse A figure of Aiyanār from Rameswaram[11] is also represented as riding on a horse

In the heart of Trivandrum at Puthenchanthai there is a Śāsta temple It consists only of a walled enclosure about 10 ft square without a roof The image of Śāsta consists only of a round piece of stone placed on a pedestal On either side of this idol stands a female figure sculptured in stone They are said to be Pūrnāmba and Pushkalāmba, the consorts of Śāsta Aiyanār the village deity of the east coast is stated[12] to have two wives Puranai and Putkalai, the very names by which the female figures by the side of this Śāsta are known This strengthens the view that Aiyanār is worshipped as Śāsta in Kerala

The image of Śāsta in the Śāsta temple at Thycaud, Trivandrum, is seated in the posture of Sukhāsana [13] On the head is a tapering crown This image has the likeness of an image of Aiyanār from Tiruppalathurai [14] The Śāsta image in the Valiachalai temple, at Trivandrum has also a crown on the head and there are also ornaments for the neck ears and arms These are some of the types of Śāsta images in Travancore, and they do not exhibit any traces of Buddhist influence On the other hand, as pointed out already, they exhibit features which establish their affinity with the images of Aiyanār worshipped in the east coast.

One great feature of Śāsta worship in Kerala is that Śāsta is a popular deity worshipped by all classes of people in all parts of the country Most villages have temples dedicated to Śāsta In many cases they are mere walled enclosures without even a roof, located in Kavus usually a cluster of wild trees and creepers In temples dedicated to Śiva or Vishnu or other Hindu deities a minor shrine will be found where Śāsta is installed Many primitive tribes in Travancore Hills Malayarāyans, Malapandārams, Mannans, Kanikarans, Pulayans, Vizhuvans, etc , still worship Śāsta as their Patron deity. This universal prevalence of Śāsta worship in Kerala is incompatible with the theory that Śāsta is Hinduised Buddha The real explanation for the phenomenon consists in the character of the Aryanisation of Kerala There was racial as well as cultural fusion The Hinduism of Kerala was the result of a fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan cults The Śāsta worship is a Dravidian element which was absorbed by the Aryan religion

The view that Śāsta was a pre-Aryan deity and that after the immigration of the Aryans that deity was incorporated into the Hindu pantheon is further supported by the worship of Aiyanār the most common village deity, by the people of the east coast In several inscriptions of south India the temples of Aiyanār are referred to as mere temples while the temples dedicated to puranic deities are referred to as sricoil or sacred temples The fact would suggest that Aiyanar is a non-Aryan deity Aiyanār is also known by the names of Śāttan, Aiyan, Aiyappan, Hariharaputran and Śāsta Aiyanār is described as the chief[15] male deity among the grāmādevatas He is also named Hariharaputra Aiyanār is represented in a sitting posture with a crown on his head, pearls in his locks ears and neck, and a sort of ribbon on his breast The arms, hands, feet and the whole body are full of jewels and ornaments Round his body and his left leg he wears a kind of belt called bahuppadai which is also used by sages and others when they sit From his shoulders garlands hang down Aiyanār's two wives Puranai

and Putkalai are represented with crowns on their heads and flowers in their hands The temples of Aiyanār stand usually at some distance west of villages in a grove His province is to guard the fields, crops, and herds of the peasantry and drive away their enemies His image is roughly carved some time in a sitting posture and at other times on horseback In the light of the foregoing description of Aiyanār, it may now be stated that images of Śāsta are analogous to the figures of Aiyanār In one Śāsta temple he is worshipped along with his consorts Puranai and Putkalai who are described as the wives of Aiyanār Śāsta is also known by the names of Aiyan, Aiyappan and Harihara-putra, the Paryayams of Aiyanār Temples dedicated to Śāsta are located in Kavus like the temples of Aiyanār Śāsta worship is widespread in the west coast as that of Aiyanār in the east coast Even in regard to the functions of these deities there is considerable agreement Śāsta like Aiyanār is a protecting deity of the village He is also the lord of the Forests and is propitiated for the defence of the land frontier All these facts would establish beyond doubt that Śāsta is the same deity as Aiyanār and by no stretch of imagination can this deity be regarded as Hinduised Buddha

Conclusion

Śāsta was a pre-Aryan deity As a result of the Aryanisation of the west coast, the deity was incorporated into the Hindu pantheon and worshipped by all classes of the people as Śāsta, Aiyappan, Hariharaputran etc There is no evidence to support the view that Śāsta is Hinduised Buddha

NOTES

1 Tr State Manual Vol III Glossary, Vol I, p 217 Vol II, p 53
2 Journal of Indian History Vol XVIII, 1939
3 The census report 1931 Vol XXVIII Part I p 334
4 Journal of Indian History Vol XVIII Part I p 113
5 Munindra Sri Khana Sasta Amarakosa.
6 Sanskrit English Dictionary Apte

7 J I H Vol XVIII Part I p 117.

8 Presidential Address by Mr A Gopala Menon, President, Kerala Art & Culture section, 9th Oriental Conference, p 2

9 South Indian Images, H Krishna Sastri p 47 n

10 J I H Vol XVIII p 117

11 South Indian Images H Krishna Sastri p 233

12 South Indian Images H Krishna Sastri p 230
South Indian Inscriptions Vol II Intro p 40 n

13 South Indian Images p 269 plate 1 No 14 and plate 4 No 7

14 South Indian Images p 231

15 South Indian Inscriptions Vol II Introduction p 40 n.

THE SAMĀVARTANA OR SNĀNA (THE END OF STUDENTSHIP)

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This Samskāra was performed at the close of the Brahmacarya period and it marked the termination of the student life Samāvartana means "returning home from the house of the guru"[1] It was called Snāna also, because bathing formed the most prominent item of the Samskāra According to some anthropologists, bathing was meant for washing away divinity from the student[2] During his Brahmacarya period, he was living in divine contact and he himself had some divine halo round him So, before he returned to the ordinary world, he had to put off divine influence otherwise he would pollute divine attributes and thereby incur divine displeasure The early Indian writers also regarded Brahmacarya as a long sacrifice[3] Therefore just at the end of a sacrifice, the sacrificial bath or Avabhrtha was taken by the sacrificer, so the long sacrifice of Brahmacarya also required that the student should have a bath at its end But there was one more idea associated with bathing in the Samāvartana Samskāra, which later on became the most prominent In the Sanskrit literature learning is compared to an ocean, and one who possessed great learning was supposed to have crossed that ocean Naturally, a student, who had completed his course of studies, was regarded as a person who had crossed the ocean of learning He was called a Vidyāsnātaka (one who has bathed in learning) and a Vratasnātaka (one who has bathed in vows)[4] Thus the ceremonial at the end of the student career symbolized the crossing of the ocean of learning by the student.

The close of one's student career was a very momentous period in one's life One had to make a choice between two paths of life One of them was to get oneself married and plunge into the busy life of the world, sharing its full responsibilities The other was that of retirement, that is, to keep off from the turmoil of the world and to lead a life of detachment, both physical and mental Those students who chose the first path were called "Upakurvāna," and those who selected the second path were known as "Naisthika".[5] The Upakurvānas returned from their gurukulas and became householders The Naiṣṭhikas did not leave their teachers and lived in the service of their masters in quest of supreme knowledge[6] According to Visnu, some people were compulsorily required to lead the life of a Brahmacāri on physical grounds They were the hump-backed, the blind by birth, the impotent, the lame and the diseased[7] They did not perform their Samāvartana, because Vivāha was not possible in their case

But the majority of students followed the normal course of life and preferred the life of a householder to that of a celibate one All the authorities on Dharmaśāstra recommend that one should pass through all the four Āśramas in order Manu says, "The different orders, Brahmacarya, Gārhāsthya, Vānaprastha and Sanyāsa spring from the life of a householder The four Āśramas followed in order, according to the rules of the Śāstras, bring a man to the supreme state of life"[8]

The students who intended to enter the married life were required to undergo the Samāvartana This Samskāra was originally performed in the case of those, who had finished their entire course of studies and observed all the vratas (vows) Those who simply memorized the texts of the Vedas, without understanding the meaning and without following the rules of conduct prescribed for a Brahmacāri, were excluded from the right of performance[9] Thus, in the beginning, the Samāvartana was a ceremony corresponding to modern convocation function Only those who

have passed their examinations are at present admitted to the convocation, only those who had finished their education were allowed to take their bath But in course of time this rule seems to be relaxed In the opinion of a large number of the Grhyasūtras, there were three types of the Snātakas[10] The first type was that of the Vidyāsnātakas, who had completed their entire course of studies but not the full term of Brahmacarya The second type consisted of the Vratasnātakas, who had observed all the vows and spent the full period of Brahmacarya at the house of the guru but had not finished the full course of studies The third type was constituted by the best students who had finished their full course of studies and observed all the vows They were called the Ubhaya-Snātakas Still later on, when the Upanayana lost its educational significance, the original purpose of this Samskāra was also lost sight of and it came to be regarded, more or less, a bodily Samskāra, a sort of licence for marriage This condition obtained when early marriage became prevalent in the country Because marriage could not take place before the Samāvartana it must be performed some time before that First, the convenient time found for it was that of the Keśānta ceremony, which also resembled it in some details, e g in shaving and bathing[11] But subsequently, the Keśānta too became an insignificant Samskāra, so the Samāvartana came to be combined with the Upanayana At present, in the majority of cases, both the Samskāras are performed together What a mockery of fate! The education of a child was supposed to be complete before it commenced Another ridiculous result also followed from the ignorance about the real nature of the Samāvartana In the beginning, it was performed when the education of the youth was over, marriage usually followed but by no means immediately In later times, the theory became current that one should not remain without an Āśrama even for a single moment[12] If a Snātaka was not immediately married, he would incur sin by spending some days without any particular Āśrama In medieval times it came to be advocated that the Samāvartana should

be performed when the marriage of the youth was already settled So it takes place one day before the marriage, possibly with the Haridrā ceremony

At what period after the Upanayana, the Samāvartana Samskāra should be performed was a problem first to be considered[13] The longest period of Brahmacarya was forty eight years, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda The smaller periods stopped at thirty-six, twenty-four and eighteen according to the circumstances of the student and his parents The last period was the worst common type of Brahmacarya and in the majority of cases education was finished at twenty-four The medieval writers, however, began to favour the last period in order to enable a boy to marry earlier But at present there is no time limit The Vedas have become a sealed book, there is no fixed course of education and even ordinary literacy has become a luxury The Samāvartana Samskāra is now drowned into insignificance and is incorporated either in the Upanayana or the Vivāha (marriage) ceremonies

Before the student took his bath, he had to discharge a very important duty He asked the permission of his master to end his student career and satisfied him with the guru-daksinā or tuition fees[14] Anujñā or permission was regarded necessary, because it certified the Snātaka that he was a fit person in learning, habit and character for a married life Manu says, "Being permitted by the guru, one should perform his Samāvartana and marry a woman etc"[15] Up to this time the student did not pay any thing to the Acārya[16] So, when he was going to leave him, he was expected in all propriety, to pay him according to his means, in the form of fees The teacher should be given earth, gold, cow, horse, umbrella, shoes, clothes, fruits and vegetables[17] According to Vyāsa only cows should be given in fees[18] The services rendered by the teacher to the student were highly respected and none could pay too much for them "Even the earth containing seven continents was not sufficient for the guru-

dakṣiṇā "[19] "There is no object on this earth by giving which one can free himself from the debt of even a teacher who teaches a single letter "[20] If one could not pay anything in the form of money or land etc he should, at least, go to the teacher and formally take his permission In such cases the teacher used to say, "My child, enough with money ! I am satisfied with thy merits "[21]

When the preliminary considerations were disposed of, an auspicious day was fixed for the performance of the Saṃskāra The ceremonies opened with a very strange procedure The student was required to shut himself up in a room throughout the morning According to the Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra it was done, so that the sun may not be insulted by the superior lustre of the Snātaka, as the former shines only with the light borrowed from the latter [22] At the midday the student came out of the room, embraced the feet of his teacher and paid his last tribute to the Vedic fire by putting some fuel on it Eight vessels full of water were kept there The number eight indicated the eight quarters of the earth and suggested the idea of honour and praise being showered on the student from all over the earth Then the student drew water out of one vessel with the words, "The fires that dwell in the waters, the fire that must be hidden, the fire which must be covered, the ray of light, the fire which kills the mind, the unbearing one, the pain causing one, the destroyer of the body, the fire which kills the organs,—these I leave behind The shining one that I seize here Therewith I besprinkle for the sake of prosperity, of glory, of holiness, of holy luste "[23] With other appropriate verses he bathed from other vessels The body of a student was heated with the fire of austerity and penance ; hence for the comfortable life of a householder it required a cooling influence, which was symbolized by bathing and indicated by the verses associated with it

After the grand bath the student cast off his entire outfit, e g the mekhalā, the deerskin, the staff etc , into water and put on a new loin cloth Having eaten some curd and

sesame he cut off his beard, lock of hair, nails, and cleansed his teeth with an Udumbara tree branch with the verse, "Array yourself for food Here has come King Soma, he will purify my mouth with glory and fortune"[24] The student had practised continence both in food and speech. Now he was going to prepare for a fuller and more active life of the world At the time of the Samāvartana, the austere life of a student was over, and many comforts and luxuries of life denied to him during his Brahmacarya, were presented to him by the Acārya First, he gave the student a bath with fragrant water[25] Then ointment was applied to different organs of the student and a wish was expressed for the gratification of senses, "Satiate my up-breathing and down-breathing, satiate my eyes, satiate my ears"[26] The student, then, put on new garments which had not yet been washed or soaked in dye, and received flowers and garlands Ornaments, collyriums, earrings, turban, umbrella, shoes and mirror, the use of which was forbidden to the student, were officially offered to him A bamboo staff was also given to the scholar for safety in life Well-to-do guardians were expected to furnish a double set of the above articles, one for the teacher and the other for the student[27]

In the case of a Brahman student, according to some, a Homa was performed and the hope was expressed that the Snātaka would get plenty of students to teach The teacher, then offered to student the Arghya, indicating a great respect, for it was reserved for a few, e g, a King, a teacher, a son-in-law etc[28]

Dressed in his new attires, the student would proceed to the nearest assembly of the learned in a chariot or on an elephant[29] There he was introduced as a competent scholar by his teacher But according to other authorities, after the ceremony was over, all day the Snātaka kept away from the sun-shine and remained silent till the stars appeared Then he went east or northwards, paid reverence to the quarters, and the stars and the moon, conversed with friends and went to where he expected arghya gift, which was re-

garded appropriate to a Snātaka immediately after the bath.[30]

A survey of the Samāvartana ceremonies shows how high was the respect in which scholars, who had completed their education, were held by society in ancient India A Brāhmana passage quoted in the Grhyasūtras asserts that the Snātaka was a powerful personality [31]

At present, the whole ceremonies have been reduced to an absurd simplicity The Samāvartana is performed either with the Upanayana or the Vivāha in hurry and the only remnants of the detailed procedure are the bath and the decoration of the person, and these also without proper Vedic mantras.

NOTES

1 तत्र समावर्तन नाम वेदाध्ययनानन्तरं गुरुकुलात् स्वगृहागमनम् ।
The Vīramitiodaya-Samskāraprakāśa, Vol I, p 564

2 R H Nasau, Feticschism in West Africa, p 212

3 दीर्घसत्र वा एष उपैति यो ब्रह्मचर्यमुपैति ।
quoted by Gadādhara on the Pāraskara-Grhyasūtra, II 2 15

4 The Pāraskara G S, II 5 32-36

5 The Yājñavalkya-smrti, 49

6 यदि त्वात्यन्तिको वासो रोचयेत गुरोः कुले ।
युक्त परिचरेदेनमाशरीरविमोक्षणात् ॥
Manusmrti, II, 243

7 कुब्जवामनजात्यन्धक्लीवपङ्ग्वार्तरोगिणाम् ।
व्रतचर्या भवेत्तेषां यावज्जीवमनंशतः ॥
Visnu quoted in the Samskāra-Mayūkha, p 62

8 The Manusmrti, ibid

9 अन्यो वेदपाठी न तस्य स्नानम्।
The Mānava G S, I 2-3

10 त्रयः स्नातका भवन्ति विद्यास्नातको व्रतस्नातको विद्याव्रतस्नातक इति ।
The Pāraskara, G S, II 5 33

11 cf Present writer's unpublished article on the Keśānta

12 अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेत्तु क्षणामेकमपि द्विजः।
आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन्प्रायश्चित्तीयते हि सः ॥
The Daksa-smrti, I, 10

13 The Pāraskara G S., II, 6 2-3

14 विद्यान्ते गुरुमर्थेन निमन्त्र्य कृतानुज्ञानस्य वा स्नानमिति ।
The Āśvalāyana G S., III 8

15 गुरु नानुमत. स्नात्वा समावृत्तो यथाविधि ।
उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्यां सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् ॥
Manusmṛtı, III, 4.

16 *ıbıd*, II 245

17 *ıbid*, II 246.

18 स्नायीत गुर्वनुज्ञातो दत्त्वाऽस्मै दीक्षणा हि गाम् ।
quoted ın the Vīramıtrodaya-Samskāraprakāśa, I, p 565

19 सप्तद्वीपवती भूमिर्दक्षिणार्थं न कल्पते ।
ıbıd

20 एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरु. शिष्ये निवेदयेत् ।
पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद्द्रव्यं यद्दत्वात्वनृणो भवेत् ॥
Laghu-Hārīta, *ıbıd*

21 अलमर्थेन मे वत्स त्वद्गुणैरस्मि तोषित ।
Samgraha, *ıbıd*

22 एतदह स्नातानां ह वा एष एतत्तेजसा चवति तस्मादेनमेतदहर्नाभितपेत्
The Bhāradvāja G S, II 1 8

23 The Pāraskara G S, II 6 8-10

24 *ıbıd*, II 6 12

25 *ıbid*, II 6 13, the Gobhıla G S, III, 8

26 *ıbıd*

27 The Āśvalāyana G S, III 8

28 The Baudhāyana G S, II 6

29 The Pāraskara G S, I 3 1-2

30 The Āpastamba G S, I 2-5

31 The Gobhıla, G S, III 5 21

FRAGMENTS FROM NYĀYATATTVA

BY

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Ranganathacarya or Nathamuni was the first of the illustrious line of Vaishnavite reformers who carried forward and completed the work started by the Alvars of an earlier epoch A native of Viranarayanapuram in S A District, he spent a great part of his life at Srirangam He must have lived from about the middle of the 9th century A D to the middle of the 10th century Tradition has it that Nathamuni once heard from some visitors to his native place from the southern part of the presidency recite a hymn of ten verses composed by Saint Sathakopa in praise of the Diety (Aravamudan) in the Vaishnavite temple of Kumbakonam He was captivated by the charm of their language and the grandeur of their thoughts Finding from the concluding verse of the hymn that these constituted only ten out of a thousand verses composed by Saint Sathakopa, Nathamuni went to Kurugur, the birth-place of the saint and recovered all the works of Sathakopa and as also the compositions of the other Alvars, set them to music[1] and arranged them into four collections of about a thousand stanzas each He instituted the practice of reciting these poems as part of the regular service in Vishnu temples, a system which obtains to this day.

About his son, Isvaramuni, we know little, but his grandson, Yamunacarya, was a worthy successor of Nathamuni in the task of systematising Visishtadvaita thought and rendering it proof against attack

Two of the disciples[2] who were whole-heartedly devoted to their master, Nathamuni, were his own nephews. It

was to them that he first taught the Tamil hymns of the Alvars, having settled their musical modes With a dialectical skill that was unsurpassed, they were able to vanquish their philosophical opponents and thus assist Nathamuni in the task of consolidating Vaishnavism.

There is an interesting episode connecting the life of Nathamuni with the celebrated poet Kamban But all available evidence goes to show that Kamban flourished at a later epoch and that he was a contemporary of Ottakuttan and Sekkilar, the author of *Peria Purānam* Another story has it that sometime after Nathamuni recovered the works of the Alvars and set them to divine music, a musician sang some of these hymns in the prescribed tune in the court of the Cola king of the day at his capital town, Gangaikonda-colapuram, a city near Nathamuni's birth-place The king was not appreciative But the musician went to Viranarayanapuram and sang in the same tune before the God of that place Nathamuni was delighted at the performance On hearing this the Cola king was eager to know how what he considered an outlandish tune could have evoked so much appreciation from Sage Natha He paid a visit to the sage and sought an explanation for his preferring this tune It is said that Nathamuni showed to the king how the tune to which the hymns of the Alvars had been set was superior, and incidentally gave evidence of his own capacity to tell the weights of bronze cymbals by hearing their sounds alone A great difficulty in the way of accepting this story as genuine is that Gangaikonda-colapuram was founded only in the time of Rajendra, who bore among other titles that of Gangaikonda-cola But we may take it that though the city was not known by that name, it was even then an alternative capital of the Colas.

Though an eminent Tamil scholar, Nathamuni has left no Tamil work of his own excepting a few memorial verses prefixed to the works of Sathakopa, Vishnucitta and Mathurakavi. But the practice of reciting the works of the Alvars furnished an impetus for a critical study of the works

of Sathakopa and caused religious truths to percolate into the minds of the masses. Nathamuni composed two works *Nyāya-tattva* and *Yoga-Rahasya*, neither of which is now extant. As an adept in yoga he must have set forth the secrets of yogic concentration in the *Yoga-Rahasya*. *Nyāya-tattva* was an authoritative, masterly and exhaustive treatise on Nyaya establishing views entirely in harmony with the Vedanta[3] but often at variance with those of Akshapada (Gautama)[4] and his followers. This treasure house of philosophic wisdom has furnished the basis for the epoch-making writings of his grandson and spiritual successor Yamunacarya. The latter's *Ātmasiddhi* has been described as a concise exposition[5] of the views expounded at great length in the *Nyāyatattva*.

A few extracts from this work found in Vedanta Desika's *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, *Tattva-Muktā-kalāpa* and *Nyāya-pariśuddhi* and in Bhagavan Ramanuja's *Śrī-Bhāsya* are all that we now have of this philosophic master-piece. Even the few fragments that are now available bear eloquent testimony to Nathamuni's philosophic acumen, dialectical skill and the encyclopaedic range of his learning.

The book seems to have been divided into *Pādas*, each of which consisted of several *adhikaranas* (sections). Vedanta Desika makes mention of some of the padas of this work, and they are—*Prathama-pāda*, *Prameya-pāda*, *Pramātr-pāda* and *Karana-pāda*. Among the adhikarnas referred to, some are Prathamādhikarana, Samyogādhikarana, Bhrāntyadhikarana, and Sukhaduhkhādhikarana. The fragments from *Nyāyatattva* that have come to our notice and the reference in Visishtadvaita classics to the views of Nathamuni have been collected together and presented here along with a translation in English and brief explanatory notes, where necessary.

ज्ञानरूप परब्रह्म तन्निवर्त्यं मृषात्मकम् ।
अज्ञानं चेत्तिरस्कुर्यात्क. प्रभुस्तन्निवर्तने ॥

ज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति चेद् ज्ञानमज्ञानस्य निवर्तकम् ।
ब्रह्मवत्तत्प्रकाश त्वात्त्वदपिब्रनिवर्तकम् ॥
ज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति विज्ञानं मस्ति चेत्स्यात्प्रमेयता ।
ब्रह्मणोऽननु भूतित्वं त्वदुक्त्यैव प्रसज्यते ॥

Nyāyatattva-quoted in Sri Bhāsya I i. 1

"If ignorance (*ajñāna*) which is illusory and which is to be dispelled by knowledge (*jñāna*) is said to cloud the Supreme Brahman who has consciousness for His essential nature is there anyone competent to dispel *ajñāna* ? Should it be argued that what dispels ignorance is the knowledge that Brahman is of the nature of consciousness (and that Brahman and *ajñāna* may co-exist), (it is replied) that such a knowledge, being non-different from Brahman, cannot, anymore than the latter can, dispel ignorance If it be contended that there may arise a knowledge that Brahman is of the nature of consciousness, then Brahman would be an object of knowledge, and it would follow, from your own account that Brahman is not mere (subjectless, objectless) consciousness"

Against the theory that insentient matter (*pradhāna*), working independently of any conscious control, creates the world, Nathamuni says—

ननु वायु भूरेणूना सङ्घातं करोति उच्यते । कर्तृकरणकर्माणीति त्रीणि कारणानि क्रियाविशिष्टानि । तेषामन्यतमाभावे क्रिया न युज्यते ॥

Nyāyatattva, Pramātrpāda,
Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 225

(" It may be said that) the wind may well account for the combination of particles of earth (i e the wind and other elements may be said to account for creation) Against this view it is urged that three causal factors, namely, the agent (*karta*), the instrument (*karana*) and the object benefitted by the activity (*karma*) are involved in any activity, and that, in the absence of any one of these, no action can take place." Thus, in addition to matter, the existence of a

conscious entity must be presupposed From this one should not jump to the conclusion says Vedanta Desika, that Nathamuni attempted to prove the existence of God by reasoning; but that his aim here is to demonstrate the futility of all arguments to prove that independent prakrti could create the world.

Rejecting the various definitions of knowledge (*jñāna*) offered by other systems of thought as faulty, Nathamuni defines knowledge as follows —

अत्यन्तवेगितात्यन्त सौक्ष्म्य निर्भरता तथा ।
स्वसत्ताकाल भाव्यासिज्ञाने लक्ष्मचतुष्टयम् ॥

Nyāyatattva, Prathamadhikarana
Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 249.

"Jñāna, is exceedingly quick in its movement, extremely subtle and very delicate, when it exists it invariably presents itself" 'Exceedingly quick in its movement, (*atyanta-vegi*) means that with the removal of all the karma that is responsible for the contraction (*samkoca*) of knowledge *jñāna* comes into contact with all the objects of the universe[6] 'Extremely subtle' (*atyanta-sauksmyam*) signifies that the knowledge which in the state of release, establishes contact with all things resides in a small object in the state of Samsara[7] In support of his statement that when knowledge exists, it is never noticed as being unmanifest Yamunacarya cites the authority of Nathamuni[8]

While pointing out that remembrance arises only in the event of there being earlier experience, Nathamuni states that *prakāśa* (manifestation) means "not being remote (*adūratvam*, i e , nearness) from experience, a nearness which is the cause of remembrance (*smrti*) "

अनुभवादूरत्व स्मृतिनिमित्तम्

Nyāyatattva, Prathamadhikarana
Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 250
and also referred to *Siddhitraya*, *Ātmasiddhi*, p 140

The qualification 'the causes of smrti' (smrti nimittam) is purposely included in this definition of *prakāśa,* otherwise, all objects which are presented to experience would have to possess *prakāśa* In actual fact, that is not the case Though several objects are within the focus of attention, all of them cannot be said to be manifested, for, clearly, we are not interested in them all Hence only those objects which fall within the range of experience leading to remembrance can be said to possess prakāśa

In the Pramatrpada, Nathamuni incidentally raises the the question of time and shows that it is open to perception

सर्वे प्रत्ययाः कालोपश्लिष्टा एवहि दृश्यन्ते । तदिति देशकालविशिष्टैव स्मृतिरपि जायमाना प्रागपि कालानुभवं साधयति ।

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana,* p. 86.

"All cognitions are invariably associated with time (*kāla*) memory too which takes the form—'This is that object met with in a certain place at a certain time'—vouches for the previous experience of time " The reality of time, however, cannot be established by mere reasoning Were it so one must contend, says Nathamuni that—

सयोगविभागसङ्ख्या काल.

Nyāyatattva, Samyogadhikarna
Quoted *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 85

'Time is the frequency with which the eyelids come into contact and separate" (i e. time is the number of winking movements) Or one must argue, says he, as follows—

तस्मादेकाश्रयक्रिया सङ्ख्या कालः

Nyāyatattva, Pramātrpāda
Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana,* p 85

" Therefore, time is merely the number of actions associated with a certain, object (e.g the number of times the sun rises and sets)."

That Nathamuni advocated *Yatharthakhyati* in solving epistemological problems is learnt from *Ātmasiddhi*[9] and

from *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa*, Buddhisara, verse ten commencing with the following words

नाथैरुक्ता यथार्था विमतमतिरपि न्यायतत्त्वे

A verse from *Tattva-muktā-kalāpa* says that Ramanuja, following the *Nyāyatattva*, describes the relation between the intellect and the objects cognised by it as a form of samyoga

द्रव्यं प्राग्बुद्धिरुक्ता परमिह विषयैस्सङ्गमादि निरूप्यस्संयोगं भाष्यकाराः प्रथममकथयन्न्यायतत्त्वानुसारात् ।

Tattva-muktā-kalāpa, Adravyasara, st 59

One of the doctrines peculiar to Visishtadvaita is its conception of jnana Jnana is conceived as being both a substance, and a quality— a substance since it is subject to change, a quality, since it is incapable of standing by itself, and since it is an attribute of finite souls and the supreme self Hence it is described as *dharma-chinta-jñāna*' (meaning literally 'attributive jnana') and marked off from substantive jnana Finite souls and the supreme self are jnana in the latter sense That Nathamuni subscribed to this view is learnt from the following passage

तत्रधर्मभूतज्ञानस्य द्रव्यत्व न्यायतत्त्वात्मसिद्धि भाष्यादि सिद्धमनुसरता तन्निष्ठस्मृत्याख्य विकारोत्पादकस्संस्कारोऽपि तन्निष्ठ प्राप्तः अन्तरङ्गत्वादबाडाच्च

Nyāya-parisuddhi, p, 336

"On the view of those who, following Nyayatattva, Atmasiddhi, Sri-Bhasya and the like, maintain that *dharma-bhūta-jñāna* is a substance, impressions (*vāsanas*), leading to remembrance (*smrti*), which is but a modification of *dharma-bhūta-jñāna*, must be said to dwell in dharma-bhuta-jnana itself"

अप्रमाणमूलत्वन्तूभयोरपि नास्ति । व्यभिचाराभावेनानधिगतार्थं प्रमाणमिति विशेषणस्यायुक्तत्वात् । प्रमिते प्रमित्यनुपपत्तिः क्व दृष्टा ? स्मृतौ चेत्, प्रतिज्ञैव दृष्टान्तस्स्यात् ज्ञानान्तरे चेत् ननु (नतु ?) जानामि ।

Nyāyatattva, Caturthadhikarana.
Quoted in *Nyāya-parisuddhi*, pp 305-6.

Discountenancing the view that *anubhava* (presentative cognition) has validity (pramanya), which representative cognition (*smrti*) has no pramanya, Nathamuni says, "Both of us alike maintain that presentative cognition (*anubhava*) and representative cognition (*smrti*) agree in not being based on invalid sources of knowledge There is no point in restricting the term *pramāna* to that which makes known what is hitherto unknown, for (and thereby denying validity to memory), this qualification, 'what is hitherto unknown,' does not serve to ward off any defect that would otherwise afflict the definition. Where is the illustrative example to bear out the contention that valid knowledge cannot arise in respect of what is already familiar ? If you cite *smrti* as an example, (we reply that) it cannot be, since that is the very thesis you have to establish (i e 'Smriti lacks pramanya') If you adduce as example some other kind of knowledge, (we reply) we know of no such knowledge (i e a knowledge other than Smriti, not characterised by novelty and devoid of pramanya) "

As against the Buddhistic doctrine that pleasure and pain are modes of knowledge and the Vaisesika view that they are the special qualities (*viśesa-guna*) of the soul, Yamunacarya advocates the view that pleasure and pain are nothing more than the flourishing (*pauskalya*) and the decaying (*vaikalya*) states of the internal sense (*manas*). In support of the view that pleasure and pain are respectively the tranquil and the disturbed states of the mind (manas), Yamunacarya refers in his *Ātmasiddhi*[10] to the sixth section known as Sukha-duhkhadhikarna in Pramatrpada of *Nyāya-tattva.*

यस्तु सुगतमतावलम्बी विज्ञानाभिन्नहेतुजातया तयोरपि तदन्तर्भावमभिमन्यते,
कणभक्षपक्षाश्रयणेनवा तयोरात्म विशेषगुणत्वं, ताभ्यां सुखदु:खाधिकरण व्याचक्षीत ।

That Nathamuni distinguished between several types of conjunction (*samyoga*) is gathered from the following verse from *Tattva-muktā kalāpa*—

संयोगाद्विधसृष्टिः प्रकृतिपुरुषयो स्ताद्दशैस्तद्विशेषैर्ब्रह्मादि स्तम्बनिष्ठा जगति विषमता यन्त्रभेदादयश्च । अक्षाणामर्थयोगाद्विविधमति रवाद्यन्वया दङ्कुरादिश्शुद्धाशुद्धादियोगान्नियतमपि फलं न्यायतत्त्वेऽस्य घोष. ॥

Adravyasara, verse 55.

"Samyoga is of various kinds The conjunction of Purusa and Prakrti is one variety , it accounts for the creation of the universe and also for the distinction existing between all grades of entities from Brahma to the pillar Machines of all sorts contrived by the ingenuity of man are to be explained by the same kind of conjunction The conjunction of the senses with objects (*vastu*) is responsible for different forms of knowledge The contact (of the seed) with water makes it sprout Contact with objects that are pure, for example the cow, *Kapilā,* bring purity , which contact with impure objects produces impurity"

परस्य स्वोपदेशन्यायेन निश्चितार्थो व्यवहारो वादः

Nyāyatattva, Samyogādhikarana.
Quoted in *Nyāyapariśuddhi,* p 89

" Veda is dialectical discussion carried on, in the manner in which one would instruct one's own pupil with a view to enabling the listener to ascertain the truth " Vada is a serious discussion undertaken, not with a view to scoring an advantage over an adversary, but with the sole aim of discovering the truth of the matter Hence it avoids sophistical tricks, futile objections and other devices of that sort often employed by the *vijigīsu* The argument is never onesided, since it proceeds by way of thesis (*paksa*) and counter-thesis (*prati-paksa*) It may be called *vītarāga-kathā* (dispassionate debate)

स्वपक्षप्रामाण्यपरपक्षाप्रामाण्यनिश्चयार्थो व्यवहारो जल्प· ।
परपक्षाप्रामाण्यमात्रनिश्चयार्थो व्यवहारो वितण्डा ॥

Nyāyatattva, Samyogādhikarana.
Quoted in *Nyāyapariśuddhi,* p. 91.

"Wrangling (*jalpah*) is argument conducted for the purpose of demonstrating the validity of one's own position as also the invalidity of the opponent's contention *Vitanda* is discussion intended solely to expose the futility of the opponents' position."

अिसद्धानैकान्तिकविरुद्धा हेत्वाभासा:

Quoted in *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p 163.

Fallacious reasons (*hetū*) are threefold the unestablished (asiddha), the indeterminate (*anekānta*) and the contrary (*viruddha*).

अज्ञातसन्दिग्धविपरीतास्तित्वोऽसिद्धत्र ।

Quoted in *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, p 169

Unestablished reason (*asiddha*) is of three kinds (i) ignorance of the presence of the *hetu* in the *paksa*, (ii) doubt (regarding its existence in the *paksa*) and (iii) the definitive belief that the *hetu* does not exist in the *paksa* ".

अतिरेकव्यतिरेकभेदेन द्विविधो भेद:

ऐक्यं साकल्येन संयोग· ; तदभावो भेद:

Nyāyatattva, Prameyapāda, Saptamādhikarana, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 358

Difference (*bheda*) is of two kinds (i) atirekam (a quality peculiar to a given object and not found in other objects) and (ii) *vyatireka* (the object itself or its qualities themselves) " Identity (*aikyam*) denotes conjunction where the dividing line between the relata is not found , where, however, the dividing line between the relata is observed there is difference (*bheda*) "

वियोगो न वक्तव्य· ; अत्यन्त सामीप्यं संयोग: ; दूरत्वं वियोग:

Nyayatattva, Prameyapada Saptamadhikarna , quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 361.

"Disjunction (*viyoga*) is not a distinct entity . . Conjunction (*samyoga*) denotes the character of being exceedingly near Disjunction (*viyoga* signifies being distant.)"

यदि गमनपचनादीनां क्षणिकत्वं ज्ञायेत ; नहि ते क्षणिकाः संयोगवियोगविशेषत्वात्तेषाम् । [न्यायतत्त्वे प्रथमाधिकरणे]

गमन नाम देशाद्देशान्तर प्राप्तिः

Nyayatattva, Dvitiyadhikarana , quoted in Nyayasiddhañjana p 366

"It may be objected that activities, such as going and cooking are momentary But it is replied that they are not momentary , since they are only particular forms of conjunction or separation " "Going is merely reaching one place from another "

वयं तु क्रियायाः प्रत्यक्षत्वं ब्रूमः........तस्माद्देशाद्देशान्तरप्राप्तिर्लिङ्गमिति न मन्यामहे ; अपितु तदेव तदिति मन्यामहे कल्पनालाघवात्

Nyāyatattva, Prametrapada , quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 366

" We maintain that actions are perceptible We do not accept your belief that reaching one place from another is the reason (*linga*) for inferring the action of moving On the other hand, we regard the reason itself as being that action , for our view has the merit of economy of thought "

Regarding the origin of the *indriyas* (both the organs of sense and the motor organs) there are two apparently conflicting accounts in the *Nyāyatattva* According to one, they are derived from the elements (*bhautika*), the sense of sight, for example, is a modification of fire-atoms , the organ of hearing of akasa , and so on In the fifth section of Karanapada, Nathamuni says that the respective powers of the eye and the ear are those of light (*āloka*) and sound

(*śabda*) Again in the seventh section of the same pāda he says. —

अन्नस्याति सूक्ष्मं परिणाममिन्द्रियम् ।

" The senses are the extremely subtle modifications of *anna* or earth (*pṛthvī*) " Elsewhere he says —

कर्मेन्द्रियाणामपि अन्नपरिणामत्वात् ।

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 37

" For the reason that even the motor organs are the modifications of earth (*anna* or pṛthvi)" But the other account seeks to derive the *indriyas* from *sātvika-ahamkāra* Vedānta Deśika shows that there is no real conflict between these two views and that what is really meant is while the organs are the products of *sātvika-ahamkāra*, they derive their nourishment (*āpyāyana*) from the elements [11]

In the second adhikarana of Karana pāda, Nāthamuni appears to have inquired into the question of how the eye is in a position to grasp very distant objects, and answered it by suggesting that the rays of light proceeding from the eye (*nāyanaraśmi*) spread very far and come into contact (*samyoga*) with very distant objects [12]

If contact between the eye and the object seen is essential for vision, one must for ever be precluded from seeing one's own face, since the rays of light proceeding from the eye cannot come into contact with the face But one sees one's face in the mirror In the purvapaksa of Bhrantyadhikarana Nathamuni offers the explanation that the rays of light proceeding from the eye to the mirror are deflected by the polished surface of the mirror and turned back upon the face [13]

नखदन्तकेशादिषु स्पर्शानुपलम्भश्च प्राणमान्द्यतारतम्यादिति करणपादाष्टमाधिकरणे प्रोक्तम् ।

नखदन्तरोमकिर्णादीनामपि मन्द्रप्राणाश्रयत्वं न्यायतत्त्वे करणपादाष्टमाधिकरणे प्रपञ्चितम् ।

"Nails, teeth, hair and scars are not altogether devoid of prana, only in these regions prana is found in a small degree."

Nyāyatattva, Karanapada, Astamadhikarana, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 59 and referred to in p 39.

The organ of contact (i e, touch spots) is spread throughout the entire surface of the body, but still, if in certain regions, such as the teeth, nails and hair, contact is not keenly appreciated, the reason is to be sought, says Nathamuni in the eighth section, not in the absence of this organ therein, but in their presence in a limited extent (i e in the presence of fewer touch spots in these regions)

हस्तेन गन्धोपलब्धिर्गजानामेव ।

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 39

"The apprehension of smell with the aid of the trunk (*hasta*) belongs to elephants alone" Speaking of the location of the several *indriyas*, it is pointed out that the organ of vision is located in the eyeball, the organ of taste in the tongue, and the organ of smell in the nostrils But in the case of the elephant, as the trunk serves at once as a hand and as an organ of smell, both these organs must be said to have their abode in the trunk

सर्पाः पादात्कर्मेन्द्रियादृते वक्षसागच्छन्ति । तेषा गतिशक्तिरुरसि—तस्मादुरगास्ते पन्नगाश्च ।

Nyāyatattva, Karanapāda, Astamadhikarana, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 43

"Without the organ of locomotion, snakes move about with the aid of their chest In their case, the capacity to move about resides in the chest That is why they are called *uragas* (i e creatures moving with the aid of *uras*), and *pannaga* (i e those who do not move with the aid of their feet)" What Nāthamuni points out is that though snakes have no feet, they are able to move about with the aid of ribs.

चक्षुषाश्रवणं सर्पाणामेवेति नियम्यते ।

[न्यायतत्त्वे करणपादाष्टमाधिकरणे]

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 37.

"The power of hearing with the organ of vision is restricted only to snakes" In the human body the organ of hearing is situated near the region of the pinna (*karanaśaskuli*) The fact as known to modern physiology is that in snakes the ear drum is absent and the outer end of the columella is attached to the quadrate bone of the skull This arrangement, while making the snake deaf to air-borne sounds, preserves its hearing for the foot-falls of approaching animal-sounds conveyed through the ground and through the snake's body The cobra when it sways to the music of the snake-charmer's pipe is following the rhythmic motion of the performer's body and not the tilt of the tune The same tune played by a hidden musician leaves the cobra indifferent

यथावा मान्धालादीनामास्येन विण्मूत्रविसर्ग. ।

[न्यायतत्त्वे करणपादाष्टमाधिकरणे]

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 43

"For example, in the case of bats and the like the elimination of waste is by way of the face" This erroneous belief seems to have been once widespread

सङ्ख्यान्तर्भूतं परिमाणम् ।

दूरत्वं दैर्ध्यम् ; सामीप्यं ह्रस्वत्वम् ; निर्यग्दूरत्वं स्थौल्यम् ; तिर्यक्सामीप्य कार्श्यम् ; स्वाशस्याग्रे स्वांशस्थितिरार्जवम् ; स्वाशस्य स्वांशस्थितिर्वक्रता ; एकदिक्स्थान्त्यावयवाना विरुद्धदिवस्थान्त्यावयवदूरत्वसामीप्यसाम्यं वृत्तत्वम् ; केवलविरुद्धदिगन्तांशेभ्यः कोणविरुद्ध दिगन्तांशेभ्यः कोविरुद्ध दिगन्ताशाना दूरत्वसामीप्यसाम्यं चतुरश्रत्वम् ।

अनेकव्यासिर्महत्ता ; तदभावो मन्दत्वम् ;

समस्तभावतदात्मा परिमाणम् ।

Nyāyatattva, Prameyapāda, Saptamadhikarna.

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 354.

"Size or dimension (*parımāma*) is included in number. (It is not a separate quality). Length is no other than (the ends of an object) being wide apart. Their nearness constitutes shortness Distance round the circumference and nearness in this respect denote respectively stoutness and leanness Straightness consists in the successive parts of an entity coming at the tail end of the preceding parts, whereas curvedness consists in the parts not being arranged in this manner Being circular consists in the distance between a point at any one extreme end and another at its opposite extreme being the same as the distance between any two opposite points in the circumference. A figure is called a square when (i) the distance between the extreme ends (i e) north to south and east to west are equal (i e when its sides are equal) and (ii) when the diagonals are equal

Bigness signifies occupying vast space, while smallness denotes the opposite The size (of objects) is merely their respective forms (svarupa)."

अधः पतनस्वभावात्मा गुरुत्वम्; तदभावो रुघुत्वम् ।

Nyāyatattva, Prathamapāda, Saptamadhikarna, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 332

"Heaviness (*gurutva*) is the tendency to fall downward (i e gravity), lightness is the absence of this tendency"

विग्वसयोग प्रयुक्त स्पर्शो मृदुः ; निर्विखसयोगप्रयुक्तस्पर्श· कठिन

[न्यायतत्त्वे प्रमेयपादसप्तमाधिकरणे]

Quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 335

"Softness (*mrduh*) is touch caused by contact with particles which are not close to one another Hardness (*katinah*) is touch caused by contact with particles which are close to one another"

दुष्करवियोगस्वभाव सयोगस्पर्शत्वं पिच्छिलत्वम् ; सुकरवियोगस्वभावसंयोगस्पर्शत्व विश्लिष्टत्वम् ।

Nyāyatattva, Prameyapada, Saptamadhikarana, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p. 337.

" Where contact with an object is hard to separate there is viscidity (*picchilatvam*), where, however, contact with an object is easily separated, there is fluidity (*viślistatvam*)."

संयोगकाल सामीप्यं हिवेग:

Nyāyatattva, Prameyapada, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 340

" While dealing with the nature of time (*kāla*), Nathamuni says that when the interval between the release of an arrow from the bow and the arrow striking the target is exceedingly short we have an instance of quickness "

सयोगान्तर्भूता सङ्ख्या ; समस्ततदात्मा सङ्ख्या ।

Nyāyatattva, Prameyapada, Saptamadhikarna, quoted in *Nyāyasiddhāñjana* p 350

" Number (*sankhyā*) is included in conjunction (*samyoga*) Or number is the essence of all things "

NOTES

1 காளம வலம புரியனன நறகாதலடியவாககு
தாளம வழஙகித தமிழ மறையினனிசை தநத
வளளல மூளுநதவநெறி மூடடிய நாதமுனி கழலே
நாளும தொழு தெழுவோா நமககாா நிகா நானிலததே
Rahasya-traya-sara

2 *Vide* note 1.

3. उक्त खलु नाथमुनिभिः वेदान्तानुकूलं न्यायशास्त्रं न्यायतत्त्वाभिधानेन । तच्च परिगृहीत यामुनाचार्यादिभि.

Tattva-muktā-kalāpa, p. 499

4. भगवन्नाथमुनिभिः न्यायतत्त्वसमाह्वया ।
अवधीर्याक्षपादादीन्नबन्धि न्यायपद्धतिः ॥

Nyāyapariśuddhi, p 8

5. न्यायतत्त्वप्रकरणं ह्यात्मसिद्धिः

Nyāyasiddhāñjana, Buddhiparicccheda, p 274.

6 Compare *Nyāyasiddhāñjana*, p 249

7 *Ibid*, p 252

8 " Yathā ca samvıdaḥ prakāśaryabhıcārastathā prapañcıtam prathamādhıkarana ıtı . . " *Sıddhıtraya, Ātmasıddhı,* The Journal of the Annamalaı Unıversıty, Vol VI, No 2, pp 98-99

9 Journal of the Annamalaı Unıversıty, Vol V, No. 1, p. 34

10 *Vıde Sıdddhıtraya Ātmasıddhı,* Journal of the Annamalaı Unıversıty, Vol VI, No 2, p 90 For a fuller dıscussıon see *Nyāyasıddhāñȷana,* Buddhıparıccheda, p 272.

11 " यत्तुकरणपादपञ्चमाधिकरणे नेत्रश्रोत्रादिशक्तीनामालोकशब्दाद्यात्मकत्व-मुक्तम् , यच्च तथैव सप्तमाधिकरणे ' अन्नस्याति सूक्ष्मपरिणाम मिन्द्रियम् ' इत्यादिना ' कर्मेन्द्रियाणामप्यन्नपरिणामत्वात् ' इत्यादिनाच इन्द्रियाणां भौतिकत्वं प्रतीतम् ; तदप्यखिलपाप्यायनाभिप्रायेण निर्वाह्यम् "

Nyāyasıddhāñȷana Buddhiparıccheda, pp 37-8.

12 दूरस्थग्रहणेतु चाक्षुषमहः प्रसरणात्सम्बन्धसिद्धि. तच्च करणपादद्वितीयाधिकरणे प्रपञ्चितम् ।

Nyāyasīddhāñȷana, p 39

13 प्रतिबिम्बग्रहणेतु स्वच्छद्रव्यप्रतिहतस्य नयनमहस· प्रतिस्रोतः प्रसरादिमूलत्कव भ्रान्त्यधिकरणपूर्वपक्षेऽभिहितम् ।

Nyōyasīddhāñȷana, p 39.

" APPAYA DĪKSITA—THE AUTHENTICITY OF HIS QUOTATIONS"

BY

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Modern Tirupati, over whose cultural development my esteemed and revered friend Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Ayyangar so fittingly presides as Director of the newly started Oriental Institute, has had a hoary past, rich with intellectual traditions and achievements For ages, the temporal chieftains, who held sway over the surrounding country dominated by the spiritual eminence of Lord Śrī Venkateśa, have always been famous for their unparalleled patronage of eminent and erudite men of letters Of the galaxy of stars belonging to the sixteenth century in South India who adorned the courts of these chieftains, Appaya Diksita stands out preeminently as a star of the first magnitude.

Appaya Diksita's title to such greatness was easily conceded to him even in his own days by the tributes paid to him by contemporary writers [1]

The great Diksita is the reputed author of more than 104 works representative of all branches of Sanskrit learning His works abound in quotations relevant to his topics, from a vast mass of literary material ranging from ordinary Kavyas to recondite works on Mantra, Purāna, and Darśana literature One has only to realise the state of literary material available in India of the sixteenth century, when the printing press had not been introduced in

any form, when much of the literature was available only in cadjan leaves in far away nooks and corners not ordinarily accessible except to the favoured few and when more was to be learnt only from the lips of teachers and teacher's teachers, to appreciate justly and truly the value of the quotations of so far-flung a character, such as Appaya Dīkṣita treats us to

There is a tendency, on the part of some of our modern Indian scholars to belittle the authenticity of such quotations if perchance they find themselves unable to trace them within their limited sphere of references or find themselves disabled to trace them by their mistaken emendations of texts or unconscious misunderstandings of the same

In pp 4-5 of the Introduction to the Siddhāntalēśa-sangraha of Appaya Dīksita (No 4 of the Publications of the Department of Indian Philosophy of the University of Madras) we find this interesting sentence—" In some cases, Appaya seems either not to have had access to originals or relied on a defective memory " And as an only instance to the point the writer quotes a stanza that occurs in the third pariccheda of the Siddhāntalēśa-Sangraha under the caption " *ityādi vārtikavirodhah* "[2] and adds in his notes thereon in the second volume of his edition of the Siddhānta-lēśa Sangraha that this (*stanza*) is not traceable in the printed edition of the *Brh Vartika* but is found in the *Brahmasiddhi* "

To base an accusation on a single count on the trustworthiness of a well-known writer of established reputation is indeed unscholarly Moreover, students of Indian philosophical texts are surely aware of the appellation " Vārtika " being applied to several texts other than the Brhadāranyaka Vārtika

The term 'vartika' is also applicable to the poetical passages occuring in the Brahmasiddhi though the learned editor of the Brahmasiddhi passes them off as 'Kārikas,' a

nomenclature of which he himself seems to be the author. And we know that some at least of the Vārtikas occuring in the printed edition of Brhadāranyaka vārtika are found bodily in the Brahmasiddhi also (Vide Brahmasiddhi Foreword-pp 10-13) pointing out in our opinion the identity of authorship of both works Indeed a great writer like the author of the Kalpataru would like to characterise even the prose of Bhāmati as vārtika (vide comments on Br Sut II—IV-19)

And in reference to Brhadāranyaka vārtika, it has to be borne in mind that Surēśvara himself has stated that he had composed 12,000 vārtikas with details regarding their distribution throughout his work whereas the printed edition contains only a text which is less by 849 and the loss being distributed over the several sections of the work It cannot be therefore claimed that the absence of a quotation of even the vārtika of Surēśvara can establish the unreliability of the author who quotes it

Indeed, many citations as vārtika, which are clearly Vedantic and which are current in philosophical literature are not traceable in the extant printed editions of the Brhadāranyaka vārtika [3] It is therefore far too much to assume that, because we are unable to find a particular vārtika in the printed edition of the Brhadaranyaka vārtika, the writer is 'unreliable or is subject to fits of defective memory' The conclusion is rather that our ancients had far greater facilities of knowing texts than we, of the present age who seem to be woefully lacking in our source—books in spite of our vaunted progress in printed literature

In his *Sivādvaitanirnaya* Appaya Dīksita quotes long extracts from the Suvarcalāśvētakētūpākhyāna of the Moksadharma portion of the Mahābhārata [4] This upākhyāna is conspicuous by its absence in all known manuscripts of the Mahābhārata, throughout India and elsewhere, so far as our present knowledge of manuscript—material of the Mahābhārata goes This would have been enough ground to con-

demn Appaya Dīksita as an artful manufacturer of quotations And yet, as luck would have it, only one manuscript which alas has since been washed away in the Cauvery, had this Upākhyāna in full and this has been preserved in the Kumbakonam edition of the Mahābhārata by that veteran enthusiast, Pandit T R Krishnacharya The authenticity of the Upākhyana has been further corroborated by the comments of Vādirāja (a predecessor of Appaya Dīksita) thereon, in his famous Laksābharana, one of the early commentaries on the Mahābhārata

Again, even today, there are still unidentified quotations in the Sūtra Bhāsya of the great Śankarāchārya—e g the first quotation beginning with the words "Yathā hyayam jyotirātma ," under Br Sūtra III, ii, 18 It may not be permissible to argue that Śankara is unreliable as his quotation has not yet been identified

Nor is it proper to assume that Appaya Dīksita "took over here and there from Rāmānanda's pupil's work"—(the Brahmavidyābharana of Advaitānanda) on an unproved hypothesis that "Rāmānanda (quoted by Rangarāja, the father of Appaya) is probably identical with the preceptor of Advaitānanda the author of the Brahmavidyābharana" In an article on the *Advaitavidyāmkura* of Rangarāja, published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, for 1935 the learned author permits himself to make the above observations in pp 281 & 282 thereof In the world of Advaita pandits, it is a well-known fact that the author of the Brahmavidyābharana has quoted wholesale without acknowledgment from Appaya's works, and particularly from the Parimala Indeed, Parimala is held in such high esteem that it is the last of the five great standard works[5] of Advaitism 1 Brahmasutra, 2 Śankarabhāsya, 3 Bhāmatī, 4 Kalpataru, 5. Parimala, and to presume that the author of the Parimala "has taken over here and there" from a work of comparatively less renown and authority like the Brahmavidyābharana is to say the least uncharitable Besides, the author of the Brahmavidyābharana is a pupil of Rāmatīrtha

whose Anvayaprakāsikā "shows an acquaintance with Madhusūdana's Advaitasiddhi" And Madhusūdhana lived according to the author of the article above referred to between 1540 and 1633 A D and is acclaimed by all to be an younger contemporary of Appaya Dīksita The confusion is evidently due to the presumption that Rāmānanda quoted by Rangarāja is identical with Ramatīrtha *alias* Rāmānandatīrtha, the preceptor of the author of the Brahmavidyābharana.[6]

It would thus be clear that too much caution cannot be exercised before resorting to 'discoveries' which run counter to accepted traditionalism in matters of *Śāstravicāra,* where the modern student is indeed highly handicapped owing to his lack of depth however much he may boast himself on the possession of an extensive field for research

NOTES

1 See pp 4-5 of the Nalacaritanātaka of Śrī Nīlakanthadīksita

" यत्कृतिबोधाबोधौ विद्वदविद्वद्विभाजकोपाधी । "

Bhattojidīksita.

2 The traditional reading of this passage is "*ityādi vākyavirodhah*" according to Mahamahopādhyāya Yajnaswami Sastrigal and other scholars

3 Brahmānanda Sarasvatī quotes in his Laghucandrika the following·—

तदुक्त वार्तिके

(1) निवृत्तिरात्मा मोहस्य ज्ञातत्वेनोपलक्षित· ।

(2) अविद्यास्तमयो मोक्षः सा च बन्ध उदाहृत· ।

But the above are not traceable in the printed editions of the Bih Vārtika Compare Brahmasiddhi III, 106

4 See pp 91-94 of the Srirangam Sri Vani Vilas Edition

5 Brahmānanda Sarasvatī comments thus on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's phrase 'वेदान्तशास्त्र श्रवणालसानाम्' occurring in the Mangalaśloka of the *Siddhāntabindu*

" शारीरकमीमांसारूपचतुरध्यायी–तद्भाष्य–तदीयटीकावाचस्पत्य–तदीय-टीकाकल्पतरु–तदीयटीका–परिमलरूप–ग्रन्थपञ्चकस्येत्यर्थ. । "

6 The preceptor of the author of the *Brahmavidyābharana* is the well-known Rāmānanda, the author of *Ratnaprabhā,* a commentary on Śankara's Bhāsya and Vivaranopanyāsa, and Rāmānanda flourished in the seventeenth century, probably in its earlier half

SRI CHAITANYA AND HIS SIKSHASTAKA

BY

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The Bengal school of Vaishnavism as we know it today dates from Sri Chaitanya, one of the greatest teachers of Bhakti India has ever known He was born in 1485 A D in Navadvipa the celebrated seat of Navya-Nyaya Till his twentieth year he did not show any special religious propensities, but was widely known only as a brilliant professor of Logic, (Nyaya) to whose *tol* flocked many students from all over the country

Now Nimai (the name by which he was known till he turned Sanyasin) paid a visit to Gaya the well-known place of pilgrimage to perform the Sraddha of his father There he saw the foot-prints of Vishnu, the idol of the temple of Gaya This apparently minor incident marked a turning point in the life of the all-too-critical Nayyayika, for, mysteriously enough, he returned home an ardent devotee of Sri-Krishna, the most perfect avatar of Vishnu

Nimai's devotion to Krishna was not a temporary emotion, it waxed in intensity, depth and force, till at last it became the permanent mood of his soul Obviously the carrying on of his former occupation as a professor of logic was now out of question His *tol* broke up As usual in such cases, manifold attempts were made to arrest the full and free career of his spirit by forcing it to confine itself to the customary, conventional channels of active life in the world Of course they were foredoomed to failure Nimai remained absorbed in the ecstatic contemplation of Lord Krishna In moments of lapses from such high-strung moods, he used to be convulsed with violent paroxysms of anguish and agony, from his heart arose a perpetual cry for

the possession of the Lord His only available relief was found in the company of a few local devotees of Krishna. This small group gradually swelled in number and there came into being a regular Samkirtana party dedicated to the singing and glorification of Lord Krishna's name and lila Under the inspiration and living example of Nimai, the blessed company gave themselves up to the most picturesque dramatisation of the Lord's lila, song and dance being its most prominent features

From such phenomenal and blessed communion, not even the vilest and the most wretched were debarred The inspired leader of the growing group took upon himself to convert all he came in contact with into a new way of life Thus many found themselves, through participation in the mystic Samkirtana, a blessing to humanity at large An authentic tradition has it that two desperate characters of his days in Bengal, Jagai, and Madhai, were converted by Nimai through the power of Samkirtana, and that they remained life-long devotees of Krishna

At this juncture the God-possessed Nimai felt that complete renunciation of the world, his family and all that common man holds dear, was necessary to set the seal of unimpeachable sincerity on his unmixed love for Krishna So he went through the formal ceremony of Sanyasa and came to be styled thenceforth Sri-Krishna Chaitanya the name given to him by his guru Keshava Bharathi

Next commenced the period of Chaitanya's wanderings all over India for six years During this period he visited, among other places, Ahobala Nrisimha math, Tirupathi, Kanchi, Kumbhakonam, Srirangam, (where he performed Chathur-Masya), Madura, Rameshvaram, Kanya-Kumari, Thiruvattar, (whence he got the Brahma Samhita, a treatise on Bhakti which he later on popularised in Northern India), Trivandrum, Varkalai, Sringeri, Udupi, Kolapur, Pandarpur, (from a place near which he obtained a copy of the celebrated Krishna-Karnamrita of Vilva-Mangala) and Nasik Wherever he went, he flooded the place with Bhakti, and,

due to contact with him, many became fervent devotees of Krishna. The marvellous conversion of two of the front-rank scholars of the day, Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, the court-pandit at Puri, and Swami Prakasananda of Benares was but one of the striking episodes of Chaitanya's period of wanderings

The rest of his life-time was spent in Puri All classes of people came to him for spiritual light and solace and he rejected none Rupa and Sanatana, two brothers, ministers of a contemporary Mahommedan ruler, renounced their worldly status and followed the great Acharya of Bhakti They were great Sanskrit scholars and poets, who enriched the literature on Bhakti with many a gifted writing of their own

Sri Chaitanya was a unique blend of the two fundamental and complementary aspects of the supreme godhead typically manifested in Krishna and Radha In his normal State, he faithfully mirrored the multifarious moods of Radha's soul ever thirsting for the vivid vision and intense enjoyment of the Lord But suddenly would come upon him the mood of utter self-identification with the Lord, a state of divine consciousness so perfectly complete and powerful that then none could approach him without instantly feeling its irresistible force and charm

Sri Chaitanya's teachings have been succinctly and with great poetic charm expressed by himself in eight Sanskrit stanzas, celebrated by the entire Vaishnava world over as the Sikshastakam, one of the very few known writings of the Acharya The text has been quoted in the Chaitanya-Charitamritam, one of the most authoritative texts of the school of Sri Chaitanya

'Samkirtanam' or 'Congregational glorification in Song' is the chief means to attain the devotee's ultimate goal of intense devotion to the Lord, hence the first stanza sings the power and potentialities of this chief means

" The Samkirtana of Sri-Krishna is supreme, it cleanses the mirror of the mind, it extinguishes the wild-fire of world-

ly life; it causes the bliss of true human greatness to bloom; it is the life-source of real knowledge, it swells up the ocean of bliss, every syllable of it affords complete relish of nectar, and it purifies the whole soul (of man) "

In the next stanza is described the quality of the divine 'name' to be sung in the Samkirtanam

" Many are the Lord's names, in them His entire power has been conserved, no specific time has been laid down for remembering them Such, O Lord, is Thy grace, while, as my dreadful ill luck would have it, devotion to the divine names has not been engendered in me "

Who is competent to sing the divine names

" The Lord, Hari, has to be glorified by him who is humbler than a blade of grass, and more forbearing than a tree, who is himself never haughty and who willingly honours others " St 3

The ideal devotee's prayer

" I ask not, O Lord of the Universe, for wealth, or kin, or lovely wife, or the gift of poetry, let me, in all my lives, have the most disinterested devotion to Thee O Thou son of Nanda ! mercifully regard me, Thy servant fallen in the sea of sense-life, like unto a speck of dust resting on Thy lotus feet " Sts 4 and 5

The ambition of the devotee

" When, O lord, as I repeat Thy name, shall my eye overflow with tears, my speech get choked, and on my body shall hairs stand on end " St 6

The effect of a break in God-consciousness

" Separation from Govinda has prolonged a moment of my life into an age, has made me weep as copiously as rain in the season of rains, and totally emptied the entire universe " St 7.

The unchangeable attitude of the devotee

" Let Him, my Lord, kick me off as I cling embracingly to His feet, or, if He so choose, break my heart by denying me His vision Let my wayward Lord do just as He will, He and none else, shall be the master of my heart " St 8.

THE GENERAL WILL

BY

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The idealist theory of the State has generally tended to be discredited in recent years It has been held responsible for State absolutism, though it is admitted at least by some critics to have been an attempt, even if "the most complicated and obscure of all," "to base political obligation upon consent alone." This theory even as stated by Bosanquet is not perfect , it cannot be claimed even by idealists to have said the last word , but the criticisms urged seem to fall far short of an understanding of the theory or of the metaphysics underlying it To exhibit this it is proposed to consider here one of the most recent criticisms, contained in *Consent, Freedom and Political Obligation*, a doctorate thesis of J P Plamenatz, published as an Oxford Monograph The book reveals an analytical intellect not ready to be rushed into conclusions by prepossessions or catch-words, though inclined to be a trifle pompous and dogmatic , but the appreciation of the idealist metaphysics is lamentably inadequate

The question of political obligation may be broadly posed in the form " Why should I obey the will of any one other than myself, especially when this other will, whether of an individual or a group is so often in conflict with that which I myself desire ? Why should I not acquire, keep and spend, marry and beget, be active or take my pleasure, as I find it convenient, instead of as I am asked or expected to by the community or the state ? Am I not the most important person for myself to consider ? Why should I defer to others even to my own inconvenience, discomfort and possible frustration ?" The assumption underlying such questions is

that men have or should have the right to direct or govern themselves, that they have a right to be masters of their own fate, that, if in this imperfect world they come up against checks to unfettered action, yet the recognition of and yielding to these limitations should come from their own selves, that obedience should be voluntary, not imposed, and so on The state of perfection, correspondingly, is held to be one of self-rule and self-mastery ; the released one is the svarāt , the ignorant and the foolish, those who follow lesser goods, they are heteronomous, anyarājānah , the true knower, the follower of the highest good, the bhūman, is autonomous Autonomy has thus been held the highest goal, coincident with perfection of wisdom and character And since the lower is valuable, not for its pettiness, but for the measure of the highest that it contains, we have to look for fragments of autonomy even in our imperfect world Other-dependence seems here the rule rather than the exception , yet this subjection cannot be tolerated, much less fostered, by the wise, unless it is at bottom a form of self-subjection Obedience to the state is justifiable only because it is obedience to one's own self It may be that the state does not fully or adequately express our selves at their highest Yet since it is the highest expression that we have, since even the knowledge of our selves would not have arisen but for the conditions of life made possible in and by the state, and since the remedy for the defect noticed is not disorganisation but greater organisation, it follows that there is a duty to obey the state as our own self

The notion of *obeying* one's own self instead of *being* one's own self, and the idea that our selves are at variance with the notion of obedience involve the implication of a higher and a lower, a real and a fleeting, self This is an implication of all moral life, not merely of political obligation Even when we have long past the stages of customary morality and acting out of consideration for praise or blame, we find that there is a genuine conflict in ourselves in any moral situation It may be not merely between blind im-

pulses and reason, between justice and affection or aversion, but between what *seem* equally to be duties, the duty to one's family or clan or group weighed against duty to the state or community, the duty to preserve the home from the invader conflicting with the duty to preserve the sanctity of human nature from being overpowered by bestial passions or acts No genuinely moral being can avoid such conflicts , and the triumph of such a person consists in rising to the situation so as to follow unhesitatingly that which is more universal and more harmonious, placing the community before the group, humanity before the state To do this is really to fulfil ourselves, not to frustrate ourselves , yet what is subjugated or sublimated rather was also our self and seemed to be our true self till the conflict appeared If a person born and bred up as a teetotaller avoids drink, even when invited by another, there is no conflict with himself, but only with something external If such a person is not compelled to drink his freedom not to drink is external and negative freedom If, however, he had felt or had had the opportunity to feel at any time that he could drink, and then withstood the temptation to drink because of what he felt to be his duty to himself, because of family obligation or the need to set an example or the desire to prove to himself the capacity to rise above fleeting temptations, he would have asserted the supremacy of the relatively universal over the relatively particular, and vindicated his positive freedom Positive freedom thus consists not in the avoidance of external restraint but in the overcoming of internal disruption What constrains is not something external, but what is felt to be oneself, though through the struggle and in the victory this is realised not to be one's true self but only a lower phase thereof Similarly in the field of political obligation, the fact that I have peace and protection from marauders constitutes only negative freedom When, however, because of my natural clinging to my acquisitions I feel the income-tax to be monstrous, but do pay it all the same not because of compulsion by the income-tax authorities or the fear of it, but because of my realisation that government must

go on and that it cannot go on without persons in my position contributing financially to it, it is a triumph of my more real over the less real self, of the relatively universal over the relatively particular. And since only the universal can be fully and positively free, as devoid of constraint from without and disruption from within, full universalisation constitutes positive freedom , and in the measure in which we approximate to this we are more and more free Thus in deciding to obey the state rather than follow our personal inclinations we are realising our own universal selves and to that extent tending to be autonomous It may be that particular organisations, because of their finitude, fail to be wholly universal, and thus fail to achieve perfect freedom for themselves or for their individual components This should lead, however, to attempts at better and more perfect organisation, not disorganisation , for with the latter we get back to the fleeting and the particular and the dependent, instead of moving on to the permanent and universal and independent Independence goes not with ignoring conflict but with harmonising , and harmony is a feature not of the particular, but of the universal It is harmony which constitutes individuality, not divisiveness My difference from you in colour or height or capacity may be features of interest , these make the individual in common parlance , they do not however constitute individuality in any true sense , my difference from you does not make me what I am , were it so, my so-called personality would be an endless and indeterminable complication of the differences of myself from the innumerable things of this world, sentient and non-sentient, with no positive content of its own , it would also have to differentiate itself from every instant of time and would thus be but fleeting, perishable and worthless , the truly individual is also the truly universal, that which rises above and harmonises differences, instead of being lost among them as one of them Even in ordinary usage, the man of strong individuality is not he who quarrels with his fellow-men. but he who is able to band them together under his leadership for a common cause , he may in the process

give offence to others , this, however, is not constitutive of his individuality, being but a negative feature consequent on our present finitude In seeking and obeying the universal self therefore we are truly discovering our own individuality And since the state or community is the present embodiment of such individuality, we obey ourselves in obeying the state or community

For the purposes of this discussion, I desire to avoid the question whether the state is the highest form of organisation which can command human loyalty, whether the community is not higher It is undeniable that states as they exist at present are lamentably defective Loyalty to them too often appears to be obedience not to the higher but to the lower self On the other hand, ' community ' seems too vague and amorphous to provide an effective basis for the realisation of individuality However this may be, this particular problem may be ignored for our present interests which are concerned with the problem of autonomy as obedience to one's own higher self which is embodied in a higher organisation than one's ' private ' self , whether this organisation should be the state or the community may be treated as irrelevant for this purpose Hence it is that I speak of the state or community, understanding by ' state ' something much wider than an organisation for providing cannon fodder

In being a good man and a good citizen I am thus not under subjection to an outsider , I am realising my own self through exercising my own will, my *real* will, my *rational* will It is my own, because *I* adopt the obedience as my good, instead of being merely compelled thereto , it is general as compared with desires which are fleeting and particular , it is real, since it expresses my being more fully and truly than the others , it is rational, since it is harmonious, and harmony is the character of reason as distinguished from the passions. The general is also the real, the good and the rational In being any one of these I am also the others Hence in being good or rational I am truly being

my own self. Thus autonomy is squared with political obligation

I have, in the above words, tried to give an all too brief presentation of idealist political theory I trust it has brought out the essentials It differs only in words from the following summary of Mr Plamenatz, which I quote in full for facility of reference later "Bosanquet's general theory may be summed up in the following propositions (1) Self-Government alone is compatible with the moral dignity of the individual (2) It is therefore necessary to reconcile this self-government with his apparent subjection to other persons' wills whenever he is forced to obey the laws of the state (3) This reconciliation of incompatibles, however impossible it may seem at first sight, can be effected as soon as a proper distinction is made between positive and negative freedom (4) Positive freedom requires the absence of restraint by one's lower impulses, and consists in the motivation of the will by rational desires (5) In so far as it is motivated by such desires it may be called *real* and *good*, but in so far as it is motivated by the lower, evil, and irrational impulses, it is not really a will at all, but merely appears to be one (6) The *real will* of one individual is numerically identical with the real wills of all other individuals and is the same as the *general will*, which is an identity manifesting itself in difference and existing only as so manifested (7) This *general will* is expressed in the law, so that it follows that the individual, when he appears to be forced to obey the law against his apparent wish, is really being forced to do what he wishes, and is thus a consenting party to all enforcements of the law "[1]

Mr Plamenatz's main criticism is directed against the third, fourth and fifth of these propositions , and our concern is with these

Unlike Hobhouse, Mr Plamenatz does not hold Bosanquet guilty of confusing *goodness* with *reality* These in

1 *Plamenatz*, p. 39.

their connotation are different, though their denotation is one ; only the good can be real ; " the real, the rational, the good and the free are numerically identical " , but reality *is not the same* as rationality , a necessary connection is assumed between reality and rationality and goodness , this Mr Plamenatz sets out to disprove

It may be questioned at the outset whether any consistent absolutist theory can afford to make the distinction sought to be made out by Mr Plamenatz between connotation and denotation In the case of the finite, it is possible for words of different connotation to have a numerically identical reference 'Lion' and 'king of carnivores', 'the husband of Xanthippe' and 'the wisest man in ancient Greece' have different connotations , but for each pair the denotation is identical This is possible because we conceive entities to *be* and to *possess* certain attributes The attributes possessed constitute the connotation The Absolute, however, being supra-relational, cannot *possess* any attributes , it does not possess reality and goodness and rationality and happiness and so on Apart from its being supra-relational (and consequently above the relation of substance and attribute), it is supposed to be infinite , what attribute or combination of attributes can exhaust its infinitude ? Some ancient Indian philosophers held that Brahman is sarva-pada-vācya, the denotation of all words whatsoever , this is somewhat analogous to holding that reality is the logical subject of every judgment But words and judgments being indefinite in number, this will tend to make the Absolute indefinite in character, if we insist on separating connotation from denotation in the case of the Absolute too and looking for the former in the innumerable words of our vocabulary Rather should we say that connotation and denotation are identical for the Absolute, though both are apparently expressible in finite entities and words, to a more or less limited extent That is why it may be admitted that not merely do all words refer to Brahman, but also that all reality expressed in judgments like 'the pot

is real, the cloth is real ' is the reality of Brahman. Hence it is again that Brahman is said to be reality, consciousness and bliss, not the real or the conscious or the blissful. The reply to Hobhouse's criticism is not to deny the confusion, but to deny that it is a confusion. It is true that reality is goodness, not that reality and goodness are attributes of what is numerically identical Taken in themselves words like ' reality ' and ' goodness ' appear to be non-synonymous , yet these aparyāya-śabdas have an identical reference , their paryavasāya is in the akhanda , the absolutist does not, however, make this an identity of denotation in the midst of difference of connotation . for such identity is characteristic even of affirmative judgments about the finite , the connotations apparently different are shown to culminate rather in the impartite sense which is ' reality ' and ' goodness ' and ' rationality ' and ' freedom ' in the fullest sense of each , and the multiplicity of terms like satya and jñāna is justified not on the ground of their own qualitative difference, but the plurality of what these terms exclude, like anrtatva, jadatva and the like, which being finite are naturally many and different The absolute is the harmony of denotation and connotation, existence and content, the *that* and the *what*

Nor is this a reading of Advaita or Bradleian metaphysics into Bosanquet's doctrine Mr Plamenatz has not understood the teaching of *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, though he refers to that book The following quotations may make the point clearer "The logical universal " is " a living world, complete and acting out of itself This, so far as complete, is the ' individual ', and ultimately must be one only and perfect What is individual, so far as it is so, itself, not merely that it is not somebody else" (*Principle*, p xx) " Individuality " is " the criterion of ultimate value ' Individuality ' we saw to mean logical self-completeness, freedom from incoherence " " The question of ' value ' then is the question of complete and durable satisfaction and it depends on what Plato would call ' amount of reality and trueness ' " (p xxxii) " The

judgment of value can be logically supported, because the objects of our likings and dislikings possess as much of satisfactoriness, which is the same thing with value, as they possess of 'reality and trueness'" (p xxxiii) This last quotation as well as a statement quoted by Mr Plamenatz himself "Degrees of logical stability, or reality, are the standard by which satisfactoriness, worth and the character of being an ultimate end, are to be measured" (*Principle,* p 299) should have shown him that the identity was not merely numerical For when a single entity has many properties, there is no justification for assuming a correspondence among the properties themselves such that the degree of presence of one can be measured by the degree of presence of another The final harmonious possession of several attributes is no guarantee of a gradual and corresponding procession among these from the lowest to the highest Some may be present in full from the start, others may progress in jumps, a third lot may show gradual increase through graded appearances The necessary connection betwen reality and goodness admitted by Mr Plamenatz in Bosanquet's theory is a progressively correlated correspondence, which is explicable solely on the ground of their non-difference, not on the ground of the numerical identity of what is both real and good All the so-called properties of the real mean at bottom just "determinate self-maintenance" viewed from various view-points The difference is neither in reality nor in its attributes, but in the limitations of our approach and view-point It would appear thus that in defending Bosanquet from Hobhouse, Mr Plamenatz does not himself show any too clear an understanding of the former

The fundamental mistake of Mr Plamenatz, as of all critics of idealism, is the equation of existence with reality According to him the proposition 'A is real' is identical with the proposition 'A exists' But nothing can be farther from the truth Not merely in the absolutist's vocabulary, but even in ordinary language, the judgment is

made about dreams that they are unreal , yet dreams undoubtedly exist , the redness of the crystal exists, in the proximity of the China rose but it is not real , shell-silver exists, but it is not real By reality we understand not mere existence, but continued existence, unsublated existence, existence unsublatable because all conditions that may sublate it have been subsumed under itself and transcended, existence dependent for itself on itself and not on what is external, existence which is not determined but is determinate The proposition 'A is real' means more than 'A exists', it means that the existence is permanent, uncontradicted and incontrovertible Existence is quite clearly "only part of the meaning of the word 'reality' "

Even if this be not conceded, argues Mr Plamenatz, "it may still be true that only the real is good" And this possibility is controverted as follows What exists should, according to Bosanquet, not be self-contradictory and should form part of a coherent whole Such properties are necessary "to all existing things", but with this much we may not be able to equate existence with satisfactoriness or desiredness Hence Bosanquet makes things cohere in such a manner that they are manifestations of one individual or universal or Absolute, but for which they would not exist and which itself exists only as expressed in them By this forcible reduction of the multiplicity of existents to the unity of the Absolute, Bosanquet establishes a necessary connection between the real and the good If the individual existents were recognised each to exist in its right, as they undoubtedly do, the divergence between existence and value would be too patent to avoid Hence the existents are treated as being only components of the Absolute, as having that is to say "only relational properties" so that they are nothing apart from the whole Hence the whole alone is real , the whole alone is good , *ergo,* the real alone is good In thus denying all but relational properties to particulars, Bosanquet stultifies himself , for a relatum must be something more than a relation , if particulars had

relational properties alone, they could not have even these. In his anxiety to reach a coherent individual Absolute expressing itself in particulars, Bosanquet has deprived particulars both of particularity and existence, thus cutting off the ground from under his feet "The properties which Bosanquet ascribes to all real things are precisely such that no real things could possibly possess them" Since nothing can exist in Bosanquet's sense, nothing can satisfy desire If, however, there are things that satisfy desire, they need not possess "logical stability", "determinate self-maintenance" and so on Hence there is no necessary connection between reality and goodness

Mr Plamenatz has tried his hand at a piece of dialectics, without, however, having first mastered Absolutist dialectics It will be seen that the confusion between "existence" and "reality" vitiates the whole argument Stability and self-maintenance are required not for the existent but for the real The mirage is not stable, nor does it maintain itself in the sense and to the degree in which water is self-maintaining, the former is sublatable, not the latter, within the limits of ordinary experience, yet the mirage too is existent, else it would not have been immediately experienced, nor would it have caused appetition in the thirsty wayfarer Manifestation as immediate (āparoksya) and causal efficiency (pravrttinimittatā) are possible for the existent, not for the wholly non-existent like the hare's horn or the barren woman's son The mirage is not self-maintaining, since it is caused not by the causes of water (which is the appearance) but by the residual impression of a former experience of water, defects like imperfect vision, desire due to extreme thirst and so on It is not stable since it is sublated on the failure of practical activity (pravrtti) The coherence insisted on by Bosanquet is thus a feature not of all things as existent but of things in so far as they have a claim to reality Now coherence is a relation If we accept coherence as characteristic of the real, we see no way to stop short of the Absolute, since partial coherence is

characteristic of error as well as of truth, the illusory as of the real , and complete coherence takes us to the single system which is both individual and universal Hence if things are real in so far as they are coherent, they seem reduced to the possession of only relational properties. It is true that even in order to have these properties they must be more than merely relational But the Absolutist nowhere denies this, since he admits these things to *exist* and to exist in relation Their existence in a harmonious relation constitutes their reality In so far as they fall short of complete harmony they fail to be wholly real and achieve only a degree of reality When they perfectly cohere they are real through the Absolute of which they are expressions and the Absolute is real through these, its expressions Bosanquet's conditions are no doubt such that no particular entities can as such possess them , but this is not to impeach their being the character of reality To say that " no real things could possibly possess them " is unmeaning , for those conditions or properties constitute what reality means for us, and things are *real* (not merely *exist*) only so far as they possess them in some measure

And it is in just this measure that things are good too We prefer the relatively stable good to the relatively fleeting, the relatively universal (pervasive of more of our life than the present, or of more interests than our own) to the relatively particular, the relatively self-dependent (like intellectual or artistic joys) to the relatively other-dependent (like the pleasure of food and drink), the relatively coherent (like the joy in a truly artistic or logical production) to the relatively incoherent (like rag-time music) Hence it is that the sage is said to find joy in himself, to disport within himself, to be a light unto himself ,

"yo 'ntah-sukho 'ntarāramas tathā 'ntar-jyotir eva sah "

And as Yājñavalkya taught Maitreyi, the self is the object of highest love, since while all else is dear for the sake

of the self, the self is dear for its own sake "Not for the desire of everything, beloved is everything dear, but for the love of the self is everything dear The self, beloved Maitreyī, should be heard about, reflected on and contemplated" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, II, 4, 5) Neither theory nor practical experience justifies the divorce of the real from the good It is true that some existents are not valuable and that some values are not existent It is just this divergence of existence from content that is unintelligible and calls for harmonisation That wherein they are harmonised, the coherent system of these incoherent divergences we call the Absolute

Mr Plamenatz indulges in an elaborate attempt to exhibit the source of the erroneous notion that only the real is good Popular belief connects goodness with harmony and evil with conflict The conflicting is mistaken for the self-contradictory And since the self-contradictory cannot exist, the conflicting, i e evil, cannot also exist "Thus evil must be no more than an *appearance*" In thus exhibiting the error of his opponent, Mr Plamenatz fails to make clear what is wrong with the popular belief connecting goodness with harmony, its only defect seems to be that it is popular, and allied to Socrates' proof in the *Republic* that justice is more profitable than injustice But surely we require something more than an affiliation to Plato to dismiss a belief as erroneous or as the cause of an error As for being self-contradictory there are degrees of this The barren woman's son is a self-contradictory notion, there can be no entity at all to correspond thereto, no such person can exist We may say the same of a hare's horns though here a little caution is necessary since horns may be grafted on to hares by some enterprising breeder, we can say only that as things are there is no such entity The rope-snake too is a contradiction but not in the same sense, the rope-ness and snake-ness are not presented together, it is possible to have a partial presentation of each fused together into an existent with a claim to reality, a claim, however, that is contradicted by further knowledge of the substrate of the appear-

ance (adhisthāna-tattvajñāna). Contradiction in this sense has the same sense as conflict in the example given by Mr Plamenatz, that of France pursuing conflicting policies or aiming at two or more conflicting ends In the latter case the fact of policies or their pursuit is not denied, but the pursuit of such policies constitutes a stultification of the practical reason In the very same way the fact of rope and the fact of snake-appearance are not denied, it is asserted that the acceptance of snake in the rope is a stultification of the theoretical reason There is no difference in principle between the contradiction of theoretical reason and the conflict of practical reason Not even here can Mr Plamenatz establish a confusion, for the real confusion is one made by himself and other critics of his persuasion—between existence and reality

It will not be surprising, in these circumstances, to find that the doctrine of positive freedom has been as little understood, though here too there is an attempt at clever refutation To be rational is to be free, according to Bosanquet, to be at the mercy of sub-rational un-co-ordinated impulses is to be unfree, despite the absence of external restraint in some cases to the working out of these impulses. Not freedom from restraint but freedom from constraint by the lower self constitutes positive freedom Mr Plamenatz's criticism is two-fold Where the lower impulses lead away a man, his self is not restrained, for they "flow from his character just as much as his higher ones" (p 49) Not his will, but his higher impulses are restrained Higher and lower, good and bad, wickedness and virtue are coeval "Wickedness is just as much hampered by virtue, as virtue by wickedness" (p 51).

Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of such a position, it shows no understanding at all of the idealist view According to the latter, the lower impulses flow (i e express themselves unhindered) not from a person's character, but from his lack of it If the 'flowing' means only forming a part, then, they undoubtedly form a part of a man's

character ; but they are so sublimated and transformed therein as to be unrecognizable What the idealist means by character is neither a bare aggregation of impulses, nor bad character, but good character This is in accord with popular usage too where the requirement of a character certificate means a certificate of good character Character means organisation, determinateness Even an evil character has this to a certain extent , but it is so poorly organised as to come into conflict both without and within Hitler's character is so organised that it provokes wars outside and (it is hoped) revolution within The limited measure of success such persons have is due to the measure of organisation achieved among their impulses and the relative disorganisation of what is opposed to them , their failure is due to their lack of complete organisation which alone can be harmonious Where the lower impulses, by which we mean whatever are barely particular, disruptive, separatist, assert themselves in all their strength, we have no character at all , where some of these are subordinated to others, we have a measure of organisation and harmony, and the rudiments of character Where isolationism and separatism have been completely subordinated to the realisation of harmony within and without, there we have real character, the establishment of which is impeded by the periodical assertion of the lower impulses Hence it is that the latter function as a constraint to the former The higher and lower do not merely exist side by side , the higher cannot exist except as subsuming and sublimating the lower Virtue is hampered in its very existence by vice, while it is only the continuance *as vice* that is hampered by virtue Wickedness, separatism, the seeking of the particular good, all these are restraints on character, on the self

Mr Plamenatz scouts the fallacy of the popular usage about being a slave to one's passions , but he would unhesitatingly agree with " the ordinary man " in the belief that lower impulses flow from a man's character " just as much as his higher ones " The exercise of due philosophic cri-

ticism should have shown him that apart from the meaninglessness of the word ' flow ' there is no justification for the judgment of degree involved in the use of words " just as much " Granting that lower impulses are part of a man's character, they are not so just as much as the higher , the lower are transformed, and it is the higher which transform

Mr Plamenatz has a further difficulty. " The good will is free not because it is good, but because good motives are the only ones which really belong to the self " Bosanquet " does not actually confuse goodness and freedom, any more than he confuses goodness and reality " Our first protest must be against the loose use of ' motive ' An impulse does not become a motive until and unless it is adopted as such by a person , and when chosen it is because of the belief that the free exercise of that impulse is wholly, or on the whole, good for that person , hence there is no ' motive ' which is not good If you want to distinguish between good and bad you must stick to the level of impulses *I* may judge *your* actions and motives to be good or bad , but my judgment is necessarily coloured by what I consider good or my ideal of self This does not take away from your motive being good for you when you act, from its being expressive of what you consider your highest or inmost self It is not that if you act from certain motives you are free, but if you act from others you suffer constraint So long as you are not merely impelled, but pause and have the equipment to consider the direction and consequences of your impulses in relation to your own self viewed as harmonious, your motives are so far forth good and your action is also free If you are impelled by external forces, there is no question of freedom at all If the impulsion is from within, from what is called your lower self, there has been no adequate conception or realisation of harmony , what is blind and other-dependent has been given full sway , there is no direction or determinateness , hence your actions are unfree But if you have deliberated at all, it is likely that even the less limited and the less harmonious has been wil-

lingly adopted by you, in your ignorance, as the good. In that case, your action was in a limited sense free ; free because it realised your self as you conceived the self, limited because your conception of self was not adequate. Your motives were good, but not good enough You have achieved a certain degree of freedom and goodness In so far as you are a conscious deliberative being capable of looking before and after, it is true to claim that only good motives belong to the self , for, to repeat, no motive is such unless it is judged to be good, and it is so judged only in relation to the self The abstract classification of motives into good and bad has no justification , hence there is nothing repugnant to logic or common sense in rejecting the so-called bad motives as not really belonging to the self

But this is where Mr Plamenatz seeks to achieve his dialectical triumph The distinction, he says, between positive and negative freedom is said to lie in this—that the restraint whose absence is asserted in the latter is external If, however, even the lower impulses are external to the self, where is the difference between constraint by them and other external restraint ? " The so-called more adequate meaning of freedom now appears in its true light It is the same as that which was formerly thought to be negative " (p 49) But surely there is this difference, is there not, between constraint and restraint, that in the former the constraining force comes from what *appears* to be the self, and is consequently called the lower self ? If you prevent me from working by applying physical force, dragging me away or depriving me of my means of work, it is restraint, almost purely external , I say ' almost ' because but for my being what I am, a physical or moral weakling or both, you would never have had the chance to interfere with me If, however, my work is interfered with because of my desire to have a drink or listen to the radio or play with the children, the interruption is due to what I consider my self, my satisfaction, though in the light of later considerations I realise that the satisfaction sought was fleeting and should not have

been allowed to interfere with the work which is a truer expression of myself The drink or the playing *appears* as part of my own self in a way never possible for your act of physical compulsion If the lower impulses really belonged to the self for good, were of its very nature, the self could never emancipate itself from them without committing suicide , if they did not even appear to belong to it, they would not provide the content for moral deliberation or struggle They are not the self and yet they appear to be the self They are neither the self nor not-self , they are indeterminable, anirvācya , in rising above them lies true freedom

Again, the true meaning of positive freedom contains more in it than the distinction between external and non-external restraint Just as the real is that which is both harmonious and inclusive, avoiding disruption from within or without so the free is that which admits of no constraint whether from within or without The Absolute alone is real , and there is nothing without that, so that the test of reality would appear to fail in one of its aspects, that of non-contradiction from without What the criterion means therefore is non-disruption from what is apparently within or apparently without , and the criterion is not meaningless, since we use it not to judge the Absolute (as we cannot stand outside it to judge it), but to judge the degree of reality of any appearance of the Absolute In the same way, the Absolute or the Individual is alone free , since it has neither inside nor outside, absence of restraint from without or within is difficult to judge except in terms of what is apparently within or apparently without Here again the test is fruitful, since what we judge of is not the Absolute but an appearance of the Absolute, which may have a degree of freedom just as it has a degree of reality And this is the true significance of positive freedom—not the non-external character of the constraint it negatives, but its harmonious character such that there is no restraint from what is apparently external nor constraint from the apparently non-external.

The will expressive of such positive freedom is called the real will or the general will It is real since it is organised, stable, coherent , it is general since it is directed to the non-particular, the universal, the true Individual. This general will, the idealists hold, is most adequately expressed in the state The citizens would not be what they are but for the state, and the state would have no existence but for its expression in the citizens' wills The state is the concrete universal It is universal as expressive of the general will, not particular wills , it is concrete as expressed in the particular citizens

With this doctrine we come to the parting of the ways between Indian and Western idealism The Hindu idealist can subscribe to a doctrine of the general will , but ultimately this will itself is an appearance for him, like the state which is its expression and the concrete universal has no fascination for him, since no language can camouflage the fundamental opposition between identity and difference That which is expressed in the state or in lower forms of social or political organisation is the non-different spirit, which alone is reality, consciousness, bliss Any expression of this spirit falls short of it and is so far forth phenomenal Yet it is *of the spirit*, and since I am Brahman, it is *of me* Hence my obligation to it an obligation arising from non-difference of spirit, not from an identity of the universal spirit working in and through the differences of finite spirits including me On a basis of identity-in-difference, the Absolute which is the concrete universal can alone command complete allegiance , the state is not so universal and will oscillate between claiming to be so absolute and being relegated to the background as possessing only a degree of absoluteness , and it is no wonder if idealist theory in the West, professing, as it does, to justify political obligation, has tended towards state absolutism Indian idealism, however, intolerant even of the absolutism, of Dharma in this land over-ridden by rituals and institutions, is not committed to state absolutism, making it the sole arbiter of right and wrong, good and bad, just and unjust.

It must be confessed, however, that the traditional advaitin with his lordly indifference to vyavahāra has tended to let moral and political considerations take care of themselves, with little thought of their bearing on his metaphysics Hence it is that our political theory seems to vacillate between expediency and a higher morality, without acquiring greater coherence or a better orientation The view of the state as a concrete universal is but a half-way house, but even that is better than any contribution made by Indian idealism to political theory

"The cold, impersonal character of the General Will," says Rao Bahadur Prof K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, "in which the individual wills are absorbed, and which still remains a separate entity, and its metaphysical character, like the *Brahman* of Vedanta, fascinates minds which delight in abstract speculation It suits the Indian tradition superficially, since the Hindu, like the Greek, abhors a condition of political vacuum, statelessness, and holds the state to be necessary for civilised life" (*Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Jubilee Lectures*, 1939, p 32) As the learned Professor rightly observes the attraction for the Indian is only superficial, this is not because of the interest in the preservation of personality since Western idealism sees the true individual in the state, while Indian idealism would seem to attach no value to personality, but because the logical culmination of Indian idealism leads to "the withering away of the state," even as the ritualistic and moralistic obligations wither away and fall off for the jivanmukta The mukta is truly a citizen of the world And since the idealist envisages not particular but universal salvation, no state can set bounds to the loyalties of the liberated That is the condition which Prof Aiyangar speaks of, almost as if it were an unrealisable dream, a state of "a higher humanity than ours, where motives are sublimated and refined, and the sense of reciprocal duty is instinctive and universal" (*Ibid* p 33) This is truly the dream of the advaitin, a dream which he has carefully enshrined, preserving it from the possibility of contamination and realisation alike!

A BRIEF PHILOSOPHY OF EVOLUTION AND HISTORY

BY

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Philosophy aims at a world-view Though the poet has made the statement that " There are more things than your Philosophy dreams of " in Heaven as well as the earth, Philosophy aims at knowing all things that Heaven and Earth comprise of and seeks not merely to know but to make all knowledge composite and thus fall into a view. The stress thus is on the *view* rather than on the world If we could recognize that in all efforts at *viewing* we are really getting out of the world that has to be viewed, we shall be able to understand why Philosophy is bound to be abstractionistic and objective, and why again it is forced to occupy the place of a looker-on rather than be the active force participating and moulding the movement of the world What Philosophy perceives and understands some other force of existence might utilise, but Philosophy cannot by itself be the force that executes or creates or regenerates the world directly It is all the same the only thing that can inspire all coherent activity, all creative harmony and all synthetic effort

The attempts at viewing have been indeed various and many Any significant attempt to study all the types of viewing would reveal profound differentiations due to temperamental predilections, as well as cultural influences A Wellsian speculum is the best that we could at present get at More than that Philosophy that seeks an adjustment of itself to the knowledge of sciences can never aspire Philosophers who plead for an utter change in Educational methods, in

methods of investigation or criticism, in matters absolutely not within the purview of metaphysics are just trying to hoodwink themselves Their efforts are bound to end in blind alleys It is because Philosophers have not been just philosophers—contemplators—they have been unable to fix their attention on the *view*, and have sought to plunge themselves into action, so that they have neither been effective in discovering the vantage point of life nor been effective in acting from the point of certainty This is not a little due to the dichotomous nature of intelligence itself, that at once demands an insight into a situation and secures a response to it This dichotomy has been exaggerated in Philosophy.

Since there are Philosophers not Philosophy as such, we have a constant contradiction between the viewing of the world and the world itself This explains the movements in thought, the constant alternations between contemplators and moralists and more properly politicians In other words, speaking psychologically, we find interruption between the viewing and the acting There is interpolated between perception and action, the desire to perceive the larger reality so as to plan for greater and vaster contingencies that might arise out of the immediate situation The convolutions of the present need further discrimination and looking-into in order that there might be a fuller action and a correcter response This explorative desire to perceive more than the immediate environment is undeveloped in the animal, and even where it is apparently developed as in the food-gathering activities of ants and bees, it is not due to conscious planning , amongst them there is no *interruption* caused by the desire for exploration The desire to perceive the penumbra of experience at any one moment that fades gradually into an unperceivable circumference leads to speculations as to the future It has been remarked that History is primarily of man, for the true nature of history has reference to the future primarily and only reflexively* has it been made into the recording of the past Speculation is born essentially out of the desire to plan for the future that is looming large

before the individual, vaguely and dimly encircling the present. Thus it is found that both History and Time are dependent on our finitude, that is to say, on the desire for seeing more and dealing with more than what is fugitive in our ordinary experience This desire to see more leads to the formation of the desire for exploration and this effectively inspires the effort to investigate the impenetrable frontiers of the Unknown Whole It is the hope of the philosophic spirit that it is in the context of the wider and the whole that our Present gains its fullest measure of reality and significance and value

Philosophy however limits itself to viewing and not to planning, and seeks to know the plan of life rather than to react to the changing conditions But it does react, though it feels that to be a concession to the stress of life, not the truth of its being It raises a contradiction between that which stimulated it to view and that which it was called upon to react to adequately This divorce, this contradiction between perceiving and acting, between seeing and doing, is utterly a fact of methodology, which later found itself confronted with dualism This can be called the *Philosophic Illusion* In reality there can be no disjunction like this However there is no doubt that it occurs Why ?

II

Intelligence in one of its manifestations is curiosity or inquisitiveness Discovery is the one supreme function of intelligence In Philosophy the scientific spirit of adventure the instinct of inquisitiveness coupled with the instinct of exploration, has triumphed over the absolute need of reacting to the environment or rather to a forced adaptation to it It is because inquisitiveness has triumphed over the stress of the immediate and has been able to repudiate its claims on one's attention, there has occurred the emergence into fullness of intelligence itself Thus do we find intelligence mothered by the instinct of exploration or inquisitiveness ; intelligence and inquisitiveness are found to be mutually

supporting one another leading to the extension of the frontiers of understanding and to the appropriation of the extended domain in a measure undreamt of by animal or by 'closed' societies

But the curiosity-instinct that has led to the free experience of intelligence and that has enabled it to operate to an unlimited extent, has always been reminded by the natural and no less imperative instinct to act for the sake of self-preservation This procedure of nature, at once to extend the domain of action through intelligence as perception and to act within that enlarged sphere, reveals the fundamental dichotomy of which we have already spoken It is only when the feeling towards action has been overcome and man has refused to yield to action that there has happened progress

It is usual to assume that there is a swing of the pendulum, or a 'dialectic of opposites' between Being and Non-Being that leads to Becoming or Progress or Change What exactly non-being is has never been clearly defined in any philosophy, but it is presumed that is that which makes progress possible It is also presumed that this becoming is one of progress, an upward movement towards a greater and richer and fuller realisation of the Spiritual Unchanging Reality, the Absolute This view is implicit in all that Hegel wrote

Let us canvass this position carefully If being and non-being are real terms that is to say *positive* terms that annihilate one another, then non-being is the positive opposite of being In other words, non-being refutes and tries to annul the existence of being If it tries to do that, (as it must), then it in its turn operates as existence of being and thus in its very nature it is other than non-existence and because of the sheer contradiction it cannot be non-being but only another or other than the being we know Thus when we are asked to treat being and non-being as real 'polar' opposites, we have perforce to define exactly the status of both being and non-being, and the synthesis or higher change or form of being has

to be clearly stated in concrete situations Whether this type of progress could ever be called synthesis is indeed a vital matter but we shall drop the consideration of that at this place

Here the difficulty of the argument lies in the use of concepts instead of real forces or terms which indicate them A real dialectic, or what Marx calls historical dialectic consists in the opposition of two forces It is indeed true that the dialectic used by Marx is 'inverted' Hegelianism, but he was certainly right in claiming the two opposites of the dialectic to be *real* forces Let us see how Monsier Bergson states his position in his 'Two Sources of Morality and Religion' which is certainly more really a dialectic than Hegel's We have at first one force operating with full vigour and relentlessly, in 'frenzy' so to speak, and then the other force operates or rather begins to operate equally frantically the moment the first has achieved its peak-point Becoming is the description of movement, the passing of one into or displacement of it by another No doubt in this passing or displacing the memory of the previous moment persists and is in fact incorporated into the latter This conservation of the past movement within the present it is that makes becoming, a continuity This synthesis has a place and a meaning Reverting to the consideration of the two-fold nature of intelligence, we find that curiosity enlarges our field of action, enlarges thus the movement of itself at first Then there is the self-protective and preservative activity coming into full play garnering the labours of curiosity Curiosity just recedes into the background when the self-preservative tendency is in action Thus the individual does not annul his knowledge when he is acting, or his acting when he is knowing It is precisely knowledge that sustains the action, and it is the urge towards a completer life It is thus precisely his knowledge that impels the action to be larger, wider and more significant and good This means that the two forces of intelligence are synthesised, and this makes for progress

or real becoming, dynamic and actual and truly historical. Man requires a systematized structure of knowledge, a "closed' world in one sense upon which he could unhesitatingly *rely,* and within the frame-work of which he could unhesitatingly *act*

When Philosophers speak of the 'dialectic of opposites' they forget that they speak not in terms of history but in terms of abstract or to use Croce's phrase 'pseudo-concepts' If Philosophers instead of running after concepts would only learn to think in terms of real forces, then they would understand the profound meaning of the term 'synthesis.' That means that they have to speak in terms of real human forces Progress is synthesis and nothing but that But it is not true to say that it is at an end at any time The field is widening in one sense, and the constructive effort has all the time been employed in coping with this growing world or 'expanding universe' Looked from the objective stand-point we find that progress is always achieved by an ideological compromise, a compromise of ideals, and by an adjustment or process of apportionment Human intelligence has struggled to do the impossible task of achieving two things at once , the result is a compromise as well as a synthesis, a suspension and a recurrence, a periodicity and a regeneration The metaphor of the swing of the pendulum is inadequate to describe this process of acquisition and continuity that is presented in synthesis The opposites cease to be opposites , they appear as the dichotomy of one spirit that pushes on, conserves its gains and advances and moves onward and upward There are however also sometimes leaps into syntheses which were not planned for From a telescopic vision of History we may, as Hegel visualised it, see this as the swing of the pendulum or even as a cycle of eternal recurrence, or the wheel of fate itself But the metaphors of the mechanical swing of the pendulum or the wheel's mechanical circular movement do not, as obviously they cannot, even intimate slightly the leap that happens Progress is always achieved by a leap, a leap into

a new configuration of prior elements It is thus a biological fact of importance, call this leap emergence or creative evolution.

It was Benedetto Croce[*] who pleaded for the giving up of the representation of the dialectic of opposites as the swing of the pendulum or eternal cycle of recurrence at first, for the spiral ascent of spiritual life There is only an apparent return to the starting point, he pointed out, not an actual return , there is striking similarity in the situations. There are delicate differences however There are superficial repetitions of features of the past, but never the whole of the past a fragrant memory and perpetuated continuity linger and only that The opposites in Croce's Philosophy have the abstract nature as in Hegel's, as such their opposition can never be historical Despite Croce's claim it can never explain the difference, the individuality, the uniqueness of the synthesis that is perceived as the novelty or newness about a recurrence History never repeats itself, is not repeated at all, except to the gross mechanical observer Croce's explanations of ugly as opposite of beauty and as having no positive character makes it impossible for it to evolve into beauty or into something richer than the ' present ' beauty In other words, because in Croce's view beauty is positive and ugly is a negation of that positive, the dialectic does not lead to evolution but to preservation, mere continuance or bare persistence in time Seeing this Croce himself seeks evolution in the dialectic of distincts, and not as Hegel or Marx did in the dialectic of opposites alone But this does not rescue his philosophy from the criticism of mere conceptuality Either he has to renounce the dialectical method in favour

* It is one of the most important efforts of people of power of all times to clean up their history and to substitute virtuous performance of which they were never guilty This is history written reflexively for us in the future History thus is many times made to suit the future order.

of Bergson's or he has to accept the dialectic and renounce the positive history of evolution.

The truth is neither Hegel's nor Croce's. Spiral evolution is certainly nearer the truth than the triangle of forces in the synthesis of thesis-antithesis The dialectic of Hegel is as much a mechanical dialectic as Marx's but with this lack that it is not even '*positive*' or realistic A realistic interpretation of evolution requires the taking into consideration every fact of existence including ideas There is a sense in which ideas or concepts do operate as forces in evolution or history That every step forward is registered by a triumph of certain ideas, forces and urges goes without saying Every ideal incorporated in an idea finds its realization through the medium of an intention Every ideal is a desirable end Knowledge of the future, the apprehension of the larger unity of our existence, even the struggles for freedom, liberty and equality, and equity, fraternity and love are at first ideas When they are chosen they become our ideals and ends, and then they become intentions These intentions alone are real forces, vital in nature, purposive and capable of progressive realization

Ideas become chosen when they ingrain themselves into the intelligent activities of the individual These ideas afterwards by being constantly chosen form the ethos, the ethical and social organization of the consciousness and form institutions Organization is the first act of instinct It is nature's defensive reaction against disruption that is caused by change, inventions, creations and explorations and expansions But from the earliest periods of human existence these organizations of instincts have been made to adjust themselves to new creations, new invasions of intelligence That is, all institutions have that fundamental nature of flexibility along with that persistency of unity amidst change Evolution however is never achieved by mere instinct. Intelligence has to rescue itself from the fatal conformity and monotonous repetitiveness that characterise all instinctive reaction.

SECTION V

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

THE ETHICS OF WAR

BY

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"Is war ethically justifiable ?" is a question which has engaged the attention of civilised man from very early days , but till now there is no generally accepted answer People in general are much more sensitive to the wickedness and futility of war to-day than they were even a generation ago. Knowledge of the *horrors* of modern warfare is common property Everyone realises that modern warfare makes no distinction between combatants and non-combatants The science of aerial bombing has advanced so far that, in the twinkling of an eye, it can cause certain death to masses of population and destroy millions worth of property And the *futility* of modern warfare is a theme well-known to every educated man The victors suffer as much as the vanquished If a heavy indemnity is imposed on the vanquished, the collection of it is almost an insuperable task, for reparations in the form of either finished goods or raw materials from the defeated country to the victorious country, result in large-scale unemployment in the latter In the light of these conditions, no thoughtful person or country to-day is anxious to enter upon a war, unless it becomes altogether inevitable.

No one in his senses is prepared to regard war as an absolute right At best it may be a relative right Hegel, in the last century, was indulging in poetic fancy when he pictured war as "the flight of the divine spirit in its outward movement" and as an "irony of the divine idea." It was no exaggeration when thoughtful people said that the origina

tor of the Great War was not the self-important German Kaiser, but the spirit of Hegel in his dusty grave.

The argument that war is inevitable because it is rooted in the fighting instinct of man carries no conviction whatever War-mongers may be surprised to know that the institution of war is not as old as man himself Assuming that man as man has inhabited this planet for millions of years, the fact that warfare has been practised for only six or seven thousand years is a factor of much significance For thousands of years man was able to get on without having recourse to warfare Much of his time was taken up with the subduing of nature, and as for implements with which to fight he had only his fists and teeth He, no doubt, fought with his fellows for the possession of a mate or for other such desirable goods, but that did not lead to wholesale extermination of his fellowmen

Even if it be granted for the sake of argument that there is a fighting instinct in man, psychologists assure us that it need not take the form of organised warfare It can be stemmed and made to run along higher channels—say the fighting of diseases, the conquest of poverty, and the active realisation of the principle of equality In fact, to assume that human nature is fixed and unalterable is to betray a lack of knowledge regarding human nature itself Professor Hocking is right when he says paradoxically that it is *natural* for human beings to be *artificial* The fundamental meaning of education, religion, and democracy is that it is possible to remake human nature Human nature can be so changed that the normal method of adjusting international disputes in the future will be arbitration and not force There was a time when the duel was considered to be an immutable part of human nature But to-day a man who wants to vindicate his honour by duelling is considered an anachronism Likewise, the personal avenging of the murder of a relative or friend has been replaced successfully by the due process of law.

What has happened in man's personal relations may very well happen in the relations between nations, too We, therefore, cannot accept Santayana's statement "To fight is a radical instinct ," and William James is guilty of exaggeration when he says "The plain truth is, people want war They want it anyhow It is the final bouquet of life's, fire-works " He is nearer the truth when he claims that what the world needs is a "moral equivalent for war."

II The Political Aspect

War, let us repeat, is never an absolute right At best it is a relative right In certain circumstances it may be the lesser of two or more evils

Even this position is not universally accepted Pacifists, Quakers, and conscientious objectors refuse to believe that there is such a thing as a "just war " War means to them the shedding of blood—and most often of innocent blood They argue that it is illogical to regard the use of armed forces in warfare as an extension of the use of police force for the preservation of internal order , for, while it is comparatively easy to fix the blame in the case of robbers and murderers in our domestic relations, it is not easy to fix the blame in the case of national and international relations The fixing of war-guilt is a game at which two can play Motives are so much more mixed in the relations between nations than in personal relations

Christian Pacifists, in particular, hold that they are for bidden to fight even under the worst possible provocation They quote with complacency the words of their Master "Resist not evil " "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also " "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword " Jesus Christ Himself was the Prince of Peace

It is urged on the other side that Christ never taught absolute pacifism The injunctions which he gave to his disciples not to use force were not meant to be applied to all

—more specially not to national—relationships They were special injunctions to Christian *missionaries* who were to win their way to the hearts of men by the " rhetoric of invincible meekness " Besides, Jesus Christ, like the men of his day, used hyperboles to drive home great moral truths , therefore, to interpret his sayings literally is to do violence to the general spirit and tenor of His teaching Furthermore, the purpose of Christ's mission was to enunciate *principles* and to give people a certain *spirit* and *attitude* in facing the manifold problems of life It was never to give detailed instructions with regard to every vexed question in life Jesus, for instance, never taught that slavery or drink was wrong It is for His followers to appropriate for themselves the spirit which was in Him and make it operative to the changing conditions of life around them

Non-Pacifists argue that if Christ condemned war without reservation, He would not have been on friendly terms with some military people as He was Soldiers and centurions came to Him and were possibly among His followers Jesus Christ proclaimed a kingdom not of " peace at any price " but of " righteousness at any cost " The New Testament as a whole does not condemn war wholesale Both the Old and New Testaments are full of the imagery of war

The sum and substance of Christ's teaching is love But love does not exclude punishment, especially when it takes the form of discipline God who is the Father of Love is at the same time the maintainer of justice Ultra-pacifism may be a censure on God Himself and a compromise with evil What all this indicates is that war is sometimes " just " and is to be entered upon with " soberness and a sense of responsibility " In certain circumstances, it may be the best or the only means of attaining the end of peace

Non-Pacifists respect the inner convictions of Pacifists with regard to wars in general, but they cannot see eye to eye with them when they condemn even purely defensive wars Pacifists, like other citizens, enjoy the right to life and

property, for the maintenance of which both police force and national arms are necessary Therefore, in a time of national crisis the Pacifists have no right to sabotage the nation either by refusing to take part in war or by carrying on vigorous propaganda against it The Pacifists, it is said, are "idealists in a hurry" and "there is no hurry in the universe" They apply to twentieth century conditions a code of morality which may be practicable in the twenty-first century

In spite of this criticism, it must be said that the Pacifist position is consistent, clear-cut, and absolutely sincere, and is the direction along which sensitive souls are moving more and more The late Dick Sheppard was opposed even to an international defence force, humorously remarking that a bomb hurled with the label "with love from the League of Nations" will be no less devastating than a bomb hurled from less respectable quarters

Refuting the Pacifist argument that we must extend to national ethics the same high moral principles which we apply to our individual relations, reputed writers like B Bosanquet stoutly maintain that individual ethics and national ethics do not belong to the same class The State, he says, is "the guardian of our whole moral world and not a factor in our organised moral world" "The State, as such, certainly cannot be guilty of personal immorality, and it is hard to see how it can commit theft or murder in the sense in which these are moral offences"* In fairness to Bosanquet, however, it must be said that he does not justify every departure of the State from current personal morality. Duties have a meaning only in reference to actual-life situations "Duties are relative to positions, I may not and must not do what you must and may" Self-protection, says another writer, is the first duty of the State Being the custodian of the common interests of all its members, the State cannot set them aside with impunity

While there is considerable justification for the distinction which is sought to be drawn between murder and war,

* The Philosophical Theory of the State, p. 300.

it is not always easy to maintain it in practice Besides, in making such a distinction, Bosanquet and others lay down a dangerous principle which has become the cornerstone of the modern totalitarian State, according to which the State is its own law and there is no category above it.

III The Economic Aspect.

If we cannot accept the absolute Pacifist position for twentieth-century conditions, surrounded as we are by gangster nations which are ready to throw to the winds considerations of justice and humanity for the promotion of their schemes of self-aggrandisement, is it to be supposed that we justify war without any qualifications at all ?

Looking at the history of man through the centuries we find that there has been a steady improvement (in spite of occasional lapses), in the type of reasons advanced to justify war Land-hunger was an important motive of war in the early history of man Most forms of imperialism in modern times belong to this category Among ancient Hindus however we are told on reliable authority, war for the satisfaction of earth-hunger did *not* play a great part Religious thinkers and law-givers among them justified *righteous* warfare According to Manu, the highest *dharma* of the Kshatriya was to fall on the battlefield in his endeavour to protect the state and community

Land-hunger takes different forms to-day It takes the form of subduing backward countries for the sake of exporting raw materials from them, and importing to them finished goods Empires are also valued as furnishing an outlet for surplus capital and surplus of ambitious young men who are keen to carve out a career for themselves All this does not mean that empires to-day necessitate war Diplomacy of various kinds is first tried, and only when that fails, recourse is had to war The "dollar diplomacy" of the United States is too well known to need comment What horrified the world when Italy brutally annexed Abyssinia was not that such things had not been done before,

but that they are not done in that particular manner in the present generation

Mankind has advanced so far that it is difficult to find much enlightened support for the time-honoured argument that the advanced countries of the world have an intrinsic right to exploit the natural resources of backward tracts in the interest of both, using force if necessary. The expropriation of Red Indians in the Americas, the bushmen in Australia, the Maoris in New Zealand, and the Kaffirs in S Africa has been justified by many on the ground that, without such expropriation, these lands would have been in the hands of a few non-progressive tribes, instead of supporting teeming millions as they do to-day Fortunately there are very few such tracts left now, and the disgruntled powers of the world have awakened too late in the day to avail themselves of this argument It is instructive to note that the very nations which used this argument in annexing territory are most loath to see the justice of it when used by the Japanese, Chinese, and Indian people

IV The Moral Aspect

War has been justified by some on the basis of the much-abused doctrine of the struggle for existence, and survival of the fittest Whatever validity this argument may have had in the past in reference to war, it has no validity to-day The civilisation of Rome no doubt was spread by war and conquest, and persuasion possibly could not have achieved the same result But when we take into account present-day conditions, we cannot agree that war always results in the survival of the fittest, let alone the best Modern warfare is not a test of physical strength, courage or manliness It is not even a test of superior intellectual or spiritual qualities A well-known writer of our day assures us that the West has dominated the East not by superior brain-power, but simply by superior development in the art of war and a superior science in manufacturing the weapons of war

It is, therefore, a travesty of truth to say, as Sir Arthur Keith does, that war is "a pruning-hook of nature." Within the nation itself, war does not result in the survival of the fitter stocks War skims the country of the cream of its population The young, the able, and the virile are the first to fall in war Napoleon's crime against humanity was that he "peopled Hades with the elite of Europe" The physical stature of the Frenchman, it is averred, has greatly declined as a result of the many wars in which the Frenchman has had to fight "War-children" tend to be inferior to children born in peaceful times We agree with Dr Inge when he says "The notion that war is good for the virility of a nation is absolutely untrue, at least under modern conditions" An epigram which he quotes with approval from the greek anthology says bluntly that the war-god spares, not the good, but the bad War is dysgenic Writing in 1905, Santayana said "It is war that wastes a nation's wealth, kills its flower, narrows its sympathies, condemns it to be governed by adventurers, and leaves the puny, deformed, and unmanly to breed the next generation To call war the soil of courage and virtue is like calling debauchery the soil of love"

In spite of these forcible words several thinkers even to-day justify war on the supposed ground that it serves to bring out the best qualities of human nature—qualities such as bravery, heroism, fidelity, and self-sacrifice This argument does not make any appeal to us In the first place, it is a reversion to the casuistic argument that the end justifies the means, however ignoble the means may be Secondly, the assumption that some of the finest moral qualities can exhibit themselves only in the stress of war is like that of Charles Lamb's legendary Chinaman that one's hut had to be absolutely burnt down in order that one might have a taste of roast pig Thirdly, even if war brings into bold relief qualities of bravery and heroism, it also brings in its train a great many moral aberrations War brutalises human nature and works against the innate sympathy of man.

" Of all arts," writes a contemporary, " that of war propaganda is the most diabolical " The first casualty in war is truth " War knows no law, and is a stranger to humanitarian feelings " "Rome made a wilderness and called it peace " Can anyone dare to dispute the testimony of the American General Sherman when he says "I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war (the American Civil War) Its glory is all moonshine It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded, who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation War is hell " Modern warfare is no longer a test of bravery or physical strength

War, then, we conclude is not a necessary condition to spur one on to noble activity Nor is it true, that peace breeds softness and fear of death The Scandinavian peoples have not fought national or international wars for many years, yet their moral fibre is as good as that of any other people, if not better To say that without war people will give themselves to the pursuit of comfort, luxury, and pleasure, both physical and mental, is a libel upon man Von Moltke blasphemed when he said "Eternal peace is a dream and not even a beautiful dream, and war is a part of God's world-order " The dictum that the strongest, the most virile, and the most intelligent races have always been warlike, is not supported by sufficient historical evidence

Writing at the beginning of the last war, Henri Bergson claimed that war gave indignation reign in the presence of crime This is sound on the surface, but is really not so On the basis of a similar argument, people have contended against the abolition of capital punishment for nothing can give as much satisfaction to the relatives of a murdered person as the hanging of the murderer! Surely, with increasing moral development, it must be possible to get over such personal feelings Both war and capital punishment can and should be abolished The taking of human life, under the worst of provocations, may be necessary at the present

imperfect stage of man's moral development But there is no reason why it should be so indefinitely

The prevailing opinion among many thoughtful people is that defensive war may be justifiable but certainly not offensive war Even to this view objection has been raised even by Non-Pacifists Sorley, for instance, argues that not every defensive war is justifiable, but only such defensive wars as make for a higher civilisation The victorians had no doubt whatever what "civilisation" meant, viz, the indefinite multiplication of the Victorian type! We who live in 1940 are not so clear in our minds of what it is to be civilised Mere mechanical invention and scientific development do not mean progress, especially when they are devoted to the purposes of war and to other anti-social purposes

Others who object to the distinction between offensive and defensive wars claim that, in certain circumstances, offence may be the best form of defence Why should we wait till a ferocious animal pounces upon us and tries to tear us to pieces before we attempt to slay it? A gangster nation may so bully an inoffensive country that it may fire the first shot, out of sheer desparation, thus giving the gangster nation the chance of pretending to the outside world that it is fighting a war of defence, pure and simple According to some moralists, therefore, "what is technically a measure of offence may be in reality an act of anticipated defence"

The exponents of the above argument claim conversely that if a nation is militarily very weak and has no chance of success at all, it has no right to fight even a defensive war for the sake of prestige, endangering the lives and property of its people This means that Abyssinia and Czecho-Slovakia should have yielded themselves philosophically to the aggressor But what about China and Finland which have been able to stand their ground against heavy odds? It is even possible to argue that a good cause seldom succeeds at the very first attempt Repeated attempts and repeated failures may be necessary before it can succeed.

The trouble with the distinction between offensive and defensive wars is that in most cases it is difficult to draw the line War involves a complexity of factors and a multitude of motives which it is not easy to disentangle From this fact the Pacifists draw the conclusion that all wars should be avoided The commonsense view seems to be that a dispassionate study of the causes and course of a war can give one the assurance that one side is more in the right than the other Applying it to the present European War, it would look as though the allies were more in the right than Germany and Russia —unless the world has been badly fooled by war propaganda As far as one is able to judge, the Allies did not want the war They tried conciliation and the policy of "appeasement" even to the extent of being misinterpreted as being cowardly The war was thrust upon them, and so it would appear that there was no alternative left except to take up the challenge as "a cruel necessity" or a stern duty

Other wars which have been justified are wars which seek to overthrow oppressive foreign rule, wars of redemption of persecuted people, and civil wars fought with a view to unifying and consolidating a country which for the time being is torn to pieces by rival factions Thus the American War of Independence, the Great War which had for *one* of its objects the deliverance of Belgium from Germany, and the American Civil War, are all 'justified ' The trouble with the argument used in this connection is that if these wars had all failed to accomplish the results which they set out to accomplish, posterity might have found it difficult to justify them In other words, in all these cases the rightness or wrongness of a war cannot be determined till the final results are known, and that is possible only many years after the war is over No moral guidance is given to the participants in the war at the time

Mankind has advanced far enough to-day to condemn the so-called religious wars and crusades It seems im-

possible for us to-day to believe that a great churchman of the Middle Ages, St Bernard of Clairveaux could have gone so far as to say " The Christian glories in the death of the infidel for Christ is glorified " Religion should defend itself not by recourse to the "big stick" but by means of argument and persuasion Compulsory religion is no religion at all "Religion in danger" is a meaningless cry The so-called religious people may be in danger but not religion itself So long as a religion possesses truth and vitality, it can be relied upon to look after itself, despite temporary set-backs

Many of our modern wars cannot be strictly called wars of defence or of self-protection. A good many of them are motivated by economic considerations, such as the establishment of "The open door" in trade or the depriving the "satiated" powers of the just or unjust economic privileges which they have been enjoying long Some wars are dictated by considerations of prestige in a world where aggression and the possession of colonies are apt to be regarded as hallmarks of respectability or signs of virility There are still some wars which take the form of a revision of unjust treaties and the disturbance of the *status quo* Thus Germany, utilising what right she may have had to the Sudetan districts of Czecho-Slovakia and Danzig, has annexed the whole of Czecho-Slovakia and a good slice of Poland Russia is engaged to-day in the task of conquering Finland, using arguments similar to those already used by Germany

What commonsense teaches is that revision of treaties and the abandonment of unjust economic privileges must be capable of international settlement But the "dissatiated" or "disgruntled" powers of the world do not seem to believe in it In these circumstances, it is the paramount duty of the "satiated" powers of the world to convince the "disgruntled" powers of their *bona fides* by expressing their earnestness to sit around a table to evolve ways and means by which the legitimate claims of the "satiated" and "unsatiated" powers as well as those of the backward territories of the world are satisfied.

V. *Need for International Control*

For all this the world needs an effective international organization. Up till now the League of Nations has been only "a glory in the heavens" It has had the power to apportion praise or blame without the authority to reward or punish The judge is indeed useless without a policeman In the forcible words of Pascal "justice without force is impotent, force without justice is tyranny Justice without force is a myth because there are always bad men . We must therefore put together justice and force, and therefore so dispose things that whatsoever is just is mighty, and whatsoever is mighty is just" Paraphrasing Pascal, a contemporary writes "To back the brave words there must be an occasional display of hard knocks"

Because of these considerations, thoughtful people in many parts of the world are moving in the direction of a World State with a World Force behind it Writers like Clarence Streit in "Union Now" believe that if the world is to be salvaged from the certain ruin facing it, a federation of the existing democracies is an urgent necessity The door is not closed against other countries But before they are admitted to membership they are asked to surrender what aggressive instincts they may possess and make themselves genuinely democratic Whether Streit's scheme in all its details is workable or not, the world is learning the bitter lesson that the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty is no longer productive of good in our international relations An International Authority backed by an International Force is the next stage in the political development of man That alone can remove fear and give security to the nations of the world

An International Authority is also necessary for the removal of the causes provocative of war Material for future warfare is present so long as there is social and economic injustice, racial discrimination and superciliousness, and the political domination of backward peoples. If these

conditions are to be removed, or at least kept under proper control, an effective International Authority is indispensable Such an Authority should bring under its control all the existing colonies of the various empires and backward areas, with a view to fitting them to become completely self-governing as speedily as possible. Along such lines alone lies future peace and safety.

VI. *Humanising of War*

One final question in considering the ethics of war is that if war cannot be avoided, is it possible to humanise it? In ancient Hindu literature we notice that high ethical standards were laid down for regulating warfare To use invisible arms and poisonous or fire-emitting weapons was considered wrong A person was not to kill his adversary with concealed weapons nor with barbed, poisoned and blazing arrows A chariot warrior was not to kill one on the ground "Also a eunuch, one who prays for life, one who submits, one in sleep, with no armour or arms, a naked man, a visitor, one engaged with another, one whose weapon is broken, one who weeps or who is seriously wounded, one afraid of life or one who flies from the field are forbidden from being attacked in war" There was to be no slaughter of innocents According to Baudhayana, the Ksatriya is not to fight the timid, the intoxicated, the insane, the negligent, the unprepared, women, children, the aged and the Brahmans To this list Gautama adds ambassadors and cows and those who eat grass. Cultivated fields, fruits and flower gardens were not to be devastated Women folk were to be chivalrously treated as mothers and sisters Whether all these regulations were only counsels of perfection or were actually observed, it is difficult to say Mr V R R Dikshitar assures us that wars among ancient Hindus were fought "at any *cost*, but not with any *method*"

According to Vishnu, one of the law-givers, the family of the reigning king should not be extinguished on any account. According to another lawgiver, a bad monarch may

be destroyed, but not his kingdom. The conqueror must show regard to the established customs, usages, and the family laws of that country There is evidence to show that the army was followed by an ambulance corps, with doctors and surgeons to attend to the wounded and dying This philanthropic work was extended even to the wounded soldiers of the enemy ranks

Among the Tamil people, warfare seems to have been waged more ruthlessly They seem to have regarded war as "an effective cure for the evils of peace" They fought aggressive wars and at the end of them ploûghed up the roads and streets with asses and donkeys trying to convert the city into a jungle In the golden age of the Tamils, however, means were used to avert regular warfare. At times a code of chivalry was observed, and distinction was made between combatants and non-combatants As the Tamils passed from the tribal stage to full state life, warfare became more humane

Among early peoples, the Jewish people had a general reputation for clemency Warfare among ancient Greeks was frequent It was "characterized by great severity and cruelty" Those taken on the battlefield were usually put to death or reduced to slavery Aristotle speaks of two classes of slaves—slaves by nature and slaves by convention, the latter being the vanquished in war He justifies it in the latter case if the conquerors are not merely physically but also intellectually superior In later times more humane principles came to prevail Certain rules and customs were observed such as "the inviolability of envoys, the right of asylum, truces for the burial of the dead, and suspension of hostilities during great religious festivals" The Greeks made a great contribution to the adjustment of disputes by arbitration They also sought to maintain peace by means of a balance of power within a system of independent states.

Rome used diplomacy and statecraft as much as force in extending her empire Her theory of international relations did not reach as high a level as that of the Greeks Yet she admired chivalry and magnanimity

In the Middle Ages warfare at times relapsed into primitive ferocity, but was softened on the whole by the law of chivalry, which flourished from the 11th to 16th century. It ordained close seasons during war and rules of mercy Some one has described chivalry as "a curious bastard between war and Christianity"

Grotius, at the beginning of the modern period, endeavoured to bring war and international relations under a codified system of the law of nature and the law of nations, holding simultaneously that war was permitted by the law of nature and reason and was rooted in the universal instincts of men On all hands Grotius is acknowledged to be the father of international law In his Law of War and Peace Grotius insists that "there is among nations a common law in force with respect to and in war"

In the eighteenth century Rousseau made a clearcut distinction between the civilians and armed forces and held that in a war, say between England and Germany, it was wrong to believe that every Englishman was an enemy of every German, and that soldiers were to be considered as enemies only so far as they were engaged in defending the interests of their country and not as individuals

This meant that soldiers should not be killed the moment defeat was acknowledged and arms were laid down The right of conquest which was little more than the right of the strongest did not confer on the victors the right to enslave the conquered A hostile army had no right to ill-treat and rob the civilian population.

The nineteenth and early part of the 20th centuries witnessed development in the humanising of war The Geneva conventions (1864 and 1906) the Declaration of St. Peters-

burg (1868), the Hague Regulations (1899-1907), the Washington conference (1921), etc all tried to humanise and "civilise" war As a result of these, conventions were adopted for the protection of the civilian population, especially of women and children, for the humane treatment of prisoners of war and of the sick and wounded belonging to the enemy Conventions were also laid down regarding the use of explosive bullets, projectiles and explosives from baloons, asphyxiating and deleterious gases, expanding bullets, aerial bombardment, poison gas etc Attempts were made to outlaw submarine warfare, although without success

During the last few years it would appear that there has been a definite set back in the matter of humanising warfare Liquid fire and poison gas were extensively used in Abyssinia before the defenceless people of Abyssinia were introduced to Italy's "mission of civilisation" (Mussolini's own words) Japan has had no scruples in bombing fishing boats and in slaughtering civilian population. Aerial bombardment which is a fundamental part of modern warfare makes the humanising of war an almost impossible task Magnetic mines are in use to-day The indications are all in the direction of wars becoming thoroughly ruthless in their methods, each party to the war trying to win as quick a victory as possible

Judging from the events of the recent past, one must confess regretfully that war, instead of becoming more and more humanised, is becoming more and more brutalised Each of the combatants to-day is fully armed with all the lethal weapons that modern science can invent Once one of the parties to a war has recourse to any of the internationally prohibited weapons of attack, the other party pays back the compliment with compound interest Again, where war fever runs high and it becomes a matter of "touch and go," no nation, however creditable its past history may have been in maintaining international regulations regarding warfare,

will have any scruples in using the most deadly weapons possible, and public opinion will find it difficult to condemn such an action For as Lowes Dickinson observes "every nation considers everything right which may secure it from defeat" and "no rules to restrain the conduct of war will ever be observed if victory seems to depend upon the breach of them"

Thus our discussion leads us to the conclusion that even if war under certain extreme conditions may be a cruel necessity and not to fight may be worse than to fight, the prospects of humanising and civilising warfare are remote, if not entirely absent It may be that the latter considerations, more than any other reason, will drive the nations of the world sooner than later to outlaw war altogether or at least surrender their external sovereignty to an International Authority backed by an International Force If mankind is not to commit suicide, and civilisation is not to perish, wars must be abolished altogether or made as rare as possible, being converted into a police regulation by an International Authority A major war every twenty or twenty-five years means that all we prize in modern civilization will perish before our very eyes and the world will enter upon a new "dark age" out of which it cannot emerge for hundreds of years to come If mankind is to be saved, the Rule of law should be made to prevail everywhere

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND GERMANY

BY

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I

The Great War of 1914-18 disclosed the rise of several new ideas in regard to the violation of the principles and maxims of international law The traditional view and practice in the past had generally been to regard violations of international law by a particular belligerent state as being of no concern to other states which had not been affected directly thereby and were not immediately injured Particularly referring to the German violations of the Hague Conventions in the Great War, it was remarked by a prominent writer, Mon Fauchille, that justice, to say nothing of the interests of neutrals, gave the latter the right and made it their duty to protest against violations of the laws of nations that had been perpetrated With regard to such violations Germany was, of course, the chief offender although other belligerents were by no means entirely guiltless The German Government and all its apologists denied most of the charges of violations committed by the German forces, or pleaded, in extenuation, "the excuse of military necessity and the right of reprisal in defence of those cases which had been admitted " Thus the German office issued a note on June 10, 1916, to the British Government, in the course of which it asserted that the " German army and navy have observed all the principles of international law and of humanity and the authorities have taken care that all violations will be carefully investigated and published " In another note to the American Government, the German Foreign Minister had asserted, in

June 1915, that "Germany had always been tenacious of the principle that war should be conducted against the armed organised forces of the enemy only and that the civil population must be spared as far as possible the measures of war."

The German Government, on the other hand, communicated a note to the Swiss Government charging the Allies with having committed 37 specific violations of International Law This was in reply to the report of the Allied Commission on the responsibility of the authors of the war and on the enforcement of penalties which submitted to the Peace Conference a list of 32 items of crimes and violations of the laws of war committed by Germany and her Allies The list included the torture of civilians and their deportation and internment, the usurpation of sovereignty during military occupation, the compulsory enlistment of soldiers among the inhabitants of occupied territories, attempts to denationalize such inhabitants, the deliberate bombardment of undefended places, the wanton destruction of religious, charitable, educational and historic monuments, the destruction of merchant ships and passenger vessels without warning and without provision for the safety of passengers and crews and also of fishing boats, relief-ships and hospital ships, breaches of rules relating to the Red Cross, the use of deleterious and asphyxiating gases and of explosive and expanding bullets, the misuse of flags of truce, the poisoning of wells and several other acts equally inhuman The report added that this enumeration constituted "the most striking list of crimes that has ever been drawn up to the eternal shame of those who committed them The report further said —"The facts are established They are numerous and so vouched for that their reality admits of no doubt and they cry for justice."

II

The Germans were adamant in their own defence Professor Zitelmann of the University of Bonn, in complete

opposition to Professor Toynbee's 'The German Terror in Belgium," (New York, 1917) maintained that whatever violations of the law had been committed by Germany were justifiable for one reason or another He defended submarine warfare and declared as follows "Legal rules which are inapplicable to new conditions must give way to new regulations *Cessante ratione legis cessat lex ipsa* Technical science and policy may create new conditions which of necessity destroy the framework of the old rules of international law Who would have thought when the old rules governing maritime warfare were formed, of the possibilities of submarine warfare? Had the use of submarines been anticipated, special rules governing their employment would have been devised" Thus, the German submarine warfare was attempted to be justified on, among other grounds, the fact that law is not eternal and unchangeable and must give way on the introduction of new methods and instruments Dr Von Bethmann-Hollwegg, the German Imperial Chancellor, also defended the methods of submarine warfare pursued by the German Government as a measure of just reprisal against Great Britain for her attempt to starve the German people by means of an illegal blockade He said, in the beginning of 1916 "It should not be forgotten that in this war Great Britain set out to starve over 65,000 000 people directly by cutting off their food and indirectly by closing the arteries of their commerce In attempting this it did not refrain from destroying a considerable part of the trade of neutral nations Now it is beginning to dawn on Great Britain that it cannot force us to submission by these methods"

In regard to another matter also, German jurists maintained at that time that they were in the right and that others were in the wrong The Peace Conference of 1919 adopted in principle the recommendations of the Commission on the responsibility of the authors of the war, that the Ex-Kaiser should be tried by a special tribunal of five judges, one being appointed each, by the Governments of

U S A., Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan respectively and that it should be the duty of this international tribunal to guarantee the Ex-Kaiser all the privileges essential to his right of defence and to be guided in the conduct of the trial by the highest motives of the international policy as well as " to vindicate the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality." The Dutch Government in whose territory the Ex-Kaiser had sought an asylum, refused to surrender him on the ground that, according to the laws of the Dutch kingdom and national tradition, Holland had always been regarded as " a refuge for the vanquished in international conflicts, and that the Dutch Government could not recognise an international duty to associate itself with this act of the high international policy of the Powers, and could not betray the faith of those who had confided themselves to their free institutions " It was doubtful, at the time, whether the Peace Conference had accepted the well-established rule that heads of states should be exempt from the jurisdiction of foreign courts and whether the category of heads of states included ex-sovereigns also Perhaps the Peace Conference believed that, since the attempted trial could not be governed by established rules of international law, the Ex-Kaiser should be tried by an international tribunal, specially constituted, on grounds of expediency and of international policy rather than on the basis of any municipal or international law In the case of the trial of Napoleon I, he was regarded as liable to trial by the British courts after his abdication , and we read in Lord Rosebery's book ' Napoleon, the Last Phase ' (1925), that the British admiral who had the custody of the Ex-Emperor was chased round his own fleet throughout an entire day by a lawyer with a writ on account of Napoleon The Congress of Vienna decreed that Napoleon had, as an enemy and a disturber of public tranquillity, rendered himself liable to public vengeance A convention of the victorious states—Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia—declared him to be a prisoner of the signatory powers and entrusted him to the custody of the British Government who

exiled him to St Helena Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Southern Confederacy, was indicted before the Supreme Court of the U.S A , in December 1868 for treason, murders and other barbarities The Ex-Kaiser was to have been tried only for offences against international morality and the sanctity of treaties The tribunal which was to try him was to be an international one Prof Zitelmann wrote on this occasion thus —" This prosecution of the Emperor is an iniquitous thing From the juridical point of view the accusation has nothing to stand on The entire nation was at the back of the Kaiser when we entered the war He had the unanimity of the national conscience The prosecution goes beyond his personality If any one ought to be judged, it is all Germany One cannot separate William II from his people " It was also dangerous, one may hold, to apply the principle of personal responsibility as, when once introduced, it would be difficult to draw a line between those to whom it should be applied and those to whom it should not so apply

A great controversy had previously raged over the execution of nurse Edith Cavell on a charge of concealing and helping British and French soldiers in her house the act had aroused a feeling of horror in all countries and particularly in America The Germans defended her execution on the ground of military necessity , and Herr Zimmermann, then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, thus attempted its defence —"It is undoubtedly a terrible thing that the woman has been executed but consider what would happen to a State—particularly in war—if it left crimes aimed at the safety of its armies to go unpunished because committed by women No criminal code in the world—least of all the laws of war—makes such a distinction, the feminine sex has but one preference according to legal usages namely, that women in a delicate condition may not be executed Otherwise man and woman are equal before the law, and only the degree of guilt makes a difference in the sentence for the crime and its

consequences. I have before me the court's decision in the Cavell case, and can assure you that it was gone into with the utmost thoroughness, and was investigated and cleared up to the smallest details Only the utmost sternness could do away with such activities under the very nose of our authorities, and a government which in such case does not resort to the sternest measures, sins against its most elementary duties towards the safety of its own army"

There was brought forward no public evidence with regard to the nature of the alleged fair trial, and the trial was on a charge of violation of the German Military Penal Code A historian-apologist of this peculiarly German measure brought forward the parallels of the English court's condemnations of Alice Lisle for complicity in the rebellion of Monmouth (1685) and of the Russians and the Americans having hanged women on the charge of being accomplices in the plots for the assassinations of the Tzar Alexander II, (1881) and President Abraham Lincoln, (1865) respectively

III

All these which could be cited as samples of the difficulties that confronted the application of rules of international law, make it abundantly clear that it has suffered a considerable set back The late jurist, W E Hall, foresaw in 1889, when he published the third edition of his famous work 'A Treatise on International Law,' that the next great war would sorely try international law and belligerents would be unscrupulous in their conduct, and would be tempted to do everything that would bring the struggle to a speedy end he added, however, that 'looking back over the last couple of centuries, we see international law at the close of each fifty years in a more solid position than that which it occupied at the beginning of the period Progressively, it has taken firmer hold, it has extended its sphere of operation, it has ceased to trouble itself about trivial formalities, it has more and more dared to grapple in detail with

the fundamental facts in the relations of states The area within which it reigns beyond dispute has in that time been infinitely enlarged, and it has been greatly enlarged within the memory of living men But it would be idle to pretend that this progress has gone on without check In times when wars have been both long and bitter, in moments of revolutionary passion, on occasions when temptation and opportunity of selfishness on the part of neutrals have been great, men have fallen back into disregard of law and even into true lawlessness "

Have we really witnessed an effective consolidation of international law ? Or have the Germans gone one step further in their defence of the violation of the usages respected by other nations by developing a peculiar twist of defence? We have reason to think that the Germans have but developed their old line and tone of thought on a new track altogether Let us examine some of the concepts of international relations and organisations as developed by the National Socialists of Germany during the short period of their dominance and see how far they represent a particular political philosophy in the process of elaboration and development

The National Socialists have been fostering a new doctrine of foreign policy for Germany and, along with it, a new conception of the rightful basis of international relations The general principles of foreign policy that Herr Hitler enunciated in his '*Mein Kampf*' are these "From the lesson of that collapse (1918) it (Germany) may formulate an entirely new orientation for the conduct of its foreign policy Internally reinforced through its new *Weltanschaung*, the German nation may reach a final stabilization of its policy towards the outside world It may end by gaining what England has, what even Russia had, and what France again and again utilized as the ultimate grounds on which she was able to base correct decisions for her own interests, namely, A Political Testament "

This Political Testament of the German Nation ought to lay down the following rules, which will be always valid for its conduct towards the outside world :

" Never permit two Continental Powers to arise in Europe Should any attempt be made to organize a second military Power on the German frontier, by the creation of a state which may become a Military Power, with the prospect of an aggression against Germany in view, such an event confers on Germany not only the right but the duty to prevent by every means, including military means, the creation of such a State and to crush it, if created See to it that the strength of our nation does not rest on colonial foundations but on those of our own native territory to come, and that it is in a position to give every descendant of our race a piece of ground and soil that he can call his own Never forget that the most sacred of all rights in this world is man's right to the earth which he wishes to cultivate for himself and that the holiest of all sacrifices is that of the blood poured out for it "

IV

Connected with this enunciation of German foreign policy, the National Socialists have been actively developing a new doctrine of international relations which can be said to be based on the philosophy of Racialism that has been so much advanced in the last generation by writers like Gobineau Houston Steward Chamberlain and Alfred Rosenberg This new conception would reject the assumption of an abstract universal law valid for every one and would declare that law should be "that which is useful for the people " and that the law enforced by the state should aim at the preservation of the people and all other laws which go against the interests of the people should not at all be regarded as constituting *real law* Since the interests of the people should form the supreme consideration for the state, and since, on this basic assumption, even portions of the municipal law existing in the state can be justifiably

rejected as not being in conformity with this ideal, international law can be and has been more easily twisted, as being rules concerning the external relations of the German people and therefore necessarily bound to subserve the supreme interests of the people The interests of the people would justify the National State to go beyond any norm by which its sovereign will might be bound Thus the principles and features of international treaties by which Germany has been hitherto regarding itself as being bound, should be examined in relation to their validity and essential justice from the point of view of the interests and aims of the German people Such examination should precede the acceptance of the binding nature of these rules which after all are not definite in the German sense, and can be interpreted with a certain amount of latitude Therefore one should endeavour to understand to what extent these interpretations can go and whether the so-called supreme interests of the German people will allow of the participation on terms of perfect equality in the community of states by the Germans on a basis of equality The political and binding character of international law would therefore have to be rationally rejected by the German mind since there cannot exist any other force for the validity of an international treaty than its conformity with German interests and its safeguarding or promoting the vitality of the German people Thus National Socialist lawyers make much of the Nordic-Germanic legal consciousness which should be the main criterion for judging the binding force of treaties, not to speak of civil rights and obligations They put forward a new theory that the international mind should be freed from legal regulations and should be dominated by " moral concepts like honour, respect and mutual confidence," which alone can effectively solve all problems arising " among proud and free nations " One consequence of this assumption is that the notions of honour and chivalry which are so much brought into prominence in this connection can only do much to promote a new warefare. Another consequential idea that has been

receiving attention at the hands of German publicists is that the racial theory of law will naturally result in the formation of different regional communities corresponding to different groups with the idea of an international regionalism and that thus the existence of international law as a source of valid jurisdiction could be easily denied The equality of states accepted by the German mind is regarded only as relative and not absolute, because the concrete value of the race is represented by natural superiority or inferiority , and the notion of equality of race would therefore only justify an inequality of states containing superior and inferior races Some of these ideas have been fairly well developed already They strike at the roots of the present concepts of international law and state relations Thus Professor J Herz would stress the opportunistic character of German international jurisprudence as displayed at present and as already revealed in Dr Schecher's book 'Germany's Exterior Public Law' which sets forth the consequences of National Socialists' world outlook for the legal order of German foreign relations He postulates —" The racial foundation of international law begins with the idea of racially delimited peoples, each of which shall embrace all the members of the same people and none but them The national state which is ' racially satiated ' is the ideal of international law and international order Where there exist minorities or parts of different nationalities settled amidst others, the just solution is the multinational state with nationalities equally participating in government and enjoying the right of cultural connection with the conational state " (The Political Science Quarterly, Vol LIV, p 543)

Thus has national Socialism warped the fabric of international jurisprudence already so radically affected in the epoch of the Great War by German jurists and publicists

SOVEREIGNTY IN EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY*

BY

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The Prophet of Islām (may peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him) breathed his last at Madīna in the month of Rabī'ul-awwal in the year 11 A H (632 A D). He did not nominate a successor It would be idle to speculate why he did not appoint the man who should take up and carry on his work Perhaps he realised the strength of Arab tribal feeling, which recognised no hereditary principle, and left the members entirely free to select their own leader Thus the necessity was upon the Muslims of Arabia to choose a leader to take the place of the Prophet of Allāh and thus to fix for all time what was to be the nature of the Muslim state

The old free spirit of the Arabs was too strong, and as in the Pre-Islamic age, the tribes had chosen from time to time their chiefs, so it was now fixed that in Islām the leader was to be elected by the people But whenever there is an election, there are always parties, and this was no exception There were roughly four *parties* *The Muhājirs* They were the early believers, who had suffered with the Prophet at Makka, accompanied him to Madīna and had fought at his side through all the campaigns The Muhājirs belonged generally to the tribe of *qurays̱h,* whose supremacy was ad-

*Considerations of space have made us confine ourselves to the treatment of succession to sovereignty and leave to a future occasion the discussion of questions like limitations to the exercise of sovereign power

initted throughout Arabia on account of their guardianship of the *ka'ba*

The Ansār. These were the residents of Madīna who had invited the Prophet to live among them The Ansār belonged to the two tribes, the Aws, and KHazraj.

Then, there was the party of recent converts who had only embraced Islām at the last moment when Makka was captured by the Prophet in 628 A D They were the aristocratic party of Makka and had fought the new faith to the last. When these embraced Islām they were regarded by the others with more than suspicion Their principal family was descended from 'Umayya and was therefore called Umayyads.

Lastly there was growing up a party that might be best described as legitimists Their theory was that the leadership belonged to the leader, not because he was elected to it by the community, but because it was his right He was appointed to it by Allāh as the Prophet had been This idea did not develop immediately, but somewhat later, all the same it developed very rapidly as time and circumstances were such as to force it on Of these parties the last two were not sufficiently strong in the beginning to make their presence felt

As soon as the news of the Prophet's death reached the ears of the most faithful and earliest followers, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar, they immediately took action to elect a successor In the meanwhile some one from among the Ansār came with the news that the Banū KHazraj, the most numerous tribe in Madina that supported the Prophet, were holding a meeting in the THaqīfa Banī Sā'ida, a place used as a council hall, and discussing the election of a successor to the Prophet. It was a critical moment The unity of the Faith was at stake A divided power would fall to pieces and all might be lost The sovereignty of Islām demanded an undivided Caliphate. So Abū Bakr and 'Umar accompanied by Abū 'Ubayda. another leading chief, hurried to the spot

with a view to nip the trouble in the bud On the way two friendly citizens coming from the excited assembly warned them of the risk they ran in entering it They did not pay any heed and hastened on. In the meanwhile the men of Madīna were bent upon an independent course "We have sheltered this nest of strangers" they cried, "It is by our good swords they have been able to plant the Faith The ruler of Madīna shall be from amongst ourselves." They had already fixed their choice on Sa'd ibn'Ubāda, leader of the Banū KHazraj Abū Bakr and his friends were just in time, for had the Ansār elected Sa'd and taken pledge the solidarity of Islām would have been shattered to pieces 'Umar was about to speak, when Abū Bakr, calm and firm, anticipated him thus "Every word," said he, "Which you, men of Madīna, have uttered in your praise is true, and more than true, but in noble birth and influence the *quraysh* are paramount, and to none but them will Arabia yield obedience" "Then" cried they, "let there be one chief amongst you and one from amongst us" "Away with you!" exclaimed 'Umar, "Two cannot stand together" Then high words ensued After much discussion, the Ansār came round to the view point of Abū Bakr One of them stepping forward and said ' For the pleasure of Allāh and in obedience to His will alone have we been sacrificing life and property and now that the best interests of Islām so require, we submit to the election of a successor from among the *quraysh* Just as we stood by the Prophet, even so do we pledge to stand by his successor" And saying thus he took hold of Abū Bakr's hand and swore allegiance to him According to some reports, the first to do so were 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda, and thereafter the Ansār batch after batch, came forward to make the pledge at the hand of Abū Bakr Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda was the solitary exception Acknowledged thus by the men of Madina there could be no doubt of Abū Bakr's acceptance by the Muhājirs He was not only one of themselves but the Prophet, when he lay on his sick bed, appointed Abū Bakr to take his place at the daily prayers, and had in a manner already indicated him as his successor

But 'Alī is said to have refrained from doing homage for six months The authenticity of this report is doubtful. There are other reports which say that he took the oath the same day It appears that 'Alī and Zubayr were not present at the time of doing homage Abū Bakr sent for them from their homes, and remonstrated with them for their staying away which might lead to a split in the camp of Islām Thereupon both made the formal pledge, accepting Abū Bakr as the KHalīfa It is just possible that Abū Bakr's verdict against Fātima in the dispute over the Prophet's inheritance might have offended 'Alī as it did the noble lady herself and the slight misunderstanding between 'Alī and the KHalīfa might have lent a handle to the report that 'Alī did not do homage to Abū Bakr But when Madīna was attacked by hostile forces within a couple of months after the Prophet's death, 'Alī and Zubayr stood loyal by Abū Bakr and actually participated in the defence operations under the KHalīfa's orders This fact will suffice to give the lie to all such reports

Abū Bakr was a person distinguished by piety and his affection for and close intimacy with the Prophet He was two years younger than the Prophet, and was one of the earliest believers The election of Abū Bakr did not pass off without a struggle in which elements that later came to absolute schism and revolution are plainly visible The scene, as it can be put together from the different accounts, is suggestive of the methods of modern politics As soon as it was announced that the Prophet who had held together all those clashing interests was really dead, a convention was called by the leaders of the people There the strife ran so high between the Ansār and Muhājirs that they almost came to blows Suddenly in the tumult, one of the Ansār, or according to another report, 'Umar, 'rushed the convention' by solemnly giving to Abū Bakr the hand of fealty The accomplished fact was recognised—as it has always been in Islām—and on the next day the general mass of the people swore allegiance to the first KHalīfa, literally successor of Muḥammad the Prophet

With regard to this election it is necessary to note two things If the idea of hereditary succession had existed then, Abū Bakr could not have been elected as K͟Halīfa, and none was more entitled to it than 'Alī, the husband of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet Secondly, when 'Umar and others did homage to Abū Bakr immediately after the demise of the Prophet, the devolution of authority did not become complete till it was ratified by the homage next day of the whole Muslim community, for, according to Arabian notions, the leader of a nation, like the chieftain of a tribe, is the head and representative of his people and the nomination remains invalid till confirmed by their homage

On the death of Abū Bakr in 13 A H (634 A D) there followed 'Umar. His election passed off quietly. He had been nominated by Abū Bakr and nothing remained for the people but to confirm that nomination. Thus there entered a fresh principle, or rather a precedent, besides that of simple election A certain right was recognised in the K͟Halīfa to nominate his successor, provided he chose one suitable and eligible in other respects Abū Bakr did not nominate one of his own sons but the man who had been his right hand and who, he knew, could best build up the state. His foresight was proved by later events, and 'Umar proved the second founder of Islām by his genius as a ruler and an organiser During his reign Damascus and Jerusalem were taken, Persia crushed in the great battles of al-Qadisiya and Nahawand, and Egypt conquered. He was also the organiser of the Muslim state

When 'Umar had received a mortal wound at the hand of an assassin he did not die on the spot, but had sufficient time to make arrangements for the appointment of his successor He nominated a body of electors, consisting of the most important Companions of the Prophet, namely, 'Alī, 'Ut͟hmān, Zubayr, Talha, Sa'd, and 'Abdu'l-Rahmān ibn 'Awf With these he associated his son 'Abdullāh who was only to take part in the deliberations 'Umar enjoined strict-

ly on his son not to stand as a candidate, though he was asked to give his casting vote in case of an equal division. This is, perhaps, the strongest proof to show that the idea of the hereditary monarchy did not exist then

'Uthmān was elected as the third KHalīfa in 644 A D When 'Uthmān fell under the daggers of conspirators in 655 A D 'Alī was chosen as the KHalīfa The election of these four KHalīfas shows that there was neither any question of hereditary succession nor was the choice of either of these KHalīfas influenced by considerations of relationship

In 661 A D. the office of the Caliphate passed into the hands of Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty Mu'āwiya was the first who attempted to establish the hereditary Caliphate But the elective principle was so firmly planted among the Arabs that Mu'āwiya and his successors of the Umayyad dynasty could not altogether disregard or over-ride it

Mu'āwiya nominated his son Yazīd as his successor, and deputations from the chief cities in the empire came to Damascus, and took the oath of allegiance to Yazīd When Syria and 'Irāq had thus paid homage to the heir apparent the KHalīfa took his son with him to the holy cities of Makka and Madīna and compelled the citizens there to accept this innovation, though in the face of considerable opposition The precedent thus established by Mu'āwiya was generally followed in later times throughout the 'Abbāsid period also The reigning KHalīfa proclaimed as his successor the most competent of his sons, or his favourite son if affection or prejudice influenced his choice or the best qualified of his kinsmen. The oath of allegiance was then taken to this prince as heir apparent, first in the capital and then throughout the other cities of the empire But the direct succession of father and son was little exemplified in actual practice We have the most clear and convincing proof of this in the fact that of the fourteen rulers of the Umayyad dynasty only four had their sons as successors Similarly of the first twenty-

four rulers of the house of the 'Abbās covering a period of more than two centuries only six were succeeded by sons

The old Arabian idea of seniority was in constant conflict with the zeal of the father to appoint his son as his successor There are many instances which show the tenacity of the old Arabian right of election and the root it had taken among the people 'Abdu'l-Malik (685 A D) proposed the election of and homage to his two sons by a plebiscite of the whole nation He instructed the governors to bring the whole weight of official influence to bear upon the people. In accordance with the order of the KHalīfa, the governor of Makka summoned the people, but one of the jurists Sa'īd ibn Musayb declined to elect a successor during the life time of a reigning sovereign The governor even intimidated him but Sa'īd held fast to his view The governor reported the matter to 'Abdu'l-Malik who censured the governor thus " Either you should have immediately beheaded the man or let him alone " The latter course was adopted and the jurist was left alone

Thus the history of the earlier Caliphate shows that election by the people or nomination of a successor by the reigning sovereign confirmed by the homage of the people was regarded as the only valid title to the throne Election and homage were looked upon as a sacred tie linking the sovereign to the people

But when the power of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate had sunk into insignificance it became more common for son to succeed his father, though throughout the whole period, political theory maintained that the office was elective, and in the opinion of the Sunni legists, the Caliphate was always an elective office, and they accordingly lay down rules as to the qualifications of the electors Even up to modern times there are survivals, under the Ottomon Sultanate, of this ancient form of the institution.

FINANCES OF LOCAL BOARDS IN MADRAS.

BY

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Tax Sources—District Boards in Madras are mainly financed by the land cess which is collected by the Government at the rate of one and a half anna in the rupee of the annual rental value of all agricultural land The annual rental value is taken to be the amount payable to Government either as assessment lease amount, or royalty for the land, together with any water-rate payable for irrigation Even in the case of land which does not pay the full rate, the theoretical annual rental is calculated for purposes of levying the land cess The District collectors are responsible for fixing the rental and collecting the cess, while the amount collected is paid to the District Boards direct by the Government without any deduction being made for the cost of collection

The Boards can also levy a profession tax and a house-tax But the levy of the house-tax is limited to the areas where the tax was levied before 1st April 1930 The Boards have the power to specify the local limits of the area in which, the rate at which, the date from which and the period for which, either of these taxes, may be levied But very few District Boards have imposed these taxes and the general tendency has been to discontinue their levy even in places where they were previously in force.

The finances of District Boards are inelastic Till the year 1920, land cess, tolls on roads and house-tax in restricted areas were the only sources of revenue, besides a liberal dole of grants-in-aid The Act of 1920 provided for the imposition of a profession tax, a tax on companies and a pil-

grim tax. In the Amendment Act of 1930, the tax on Companies was merged in the profession tax. But the Boards have been reluctant to levy the profession tax which is being discontinued even in places where it had been previously imposed, with Government sanction which has so far been readily accorded The tax was levied only by six Boards in the year 1936-37, yielding the aggregate the negligible sum of Rs 88 000 In 1937-38 only seven Boards levied the tax yielding Rs 91,590 Though several Boards attempted to levy the tax, yet, owing to the lack of proper outdoor staff on an adequate scale for assessment and collection, and the dependence of the Boards on an unwilling body of village officers, profession tax has lost its value as a form of taxation and failed in several cases The levy and collection of this tax in non-panchayat areas, with no efficient machinery for assessment and collection, was found not worth the trouble The pilgrim tax, as in case of municipalities, has to be spent on sanitation, etc , in connection with pilgrim traffic and it plays, therefore, no significant part in the general finances of District Boards

In the year 1931 tolls, which formed till then an important source of tax revenue to the District Boards next only to land cess, were abolished and replaced by grants from the receipts under the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act Though at the time of the passing of the Act, it was expected that the compensation out of the proceeds of the Act on motor vehicles would approximate to receipts from tolls, in actual practice, however, the allotment made from the income of the Motor Vehicles Tax has given the Boards much smaller revenues than from tolls In 1931 the Boards were collecting a sum of Rs 41 50 lakhs from tolls, but in 1932 they only received a sum of Rs 15 80 lakhs from the proceeds of the Motor Vehicles Tax Although there has been a marked increase in the compensation paid from the Motor Vehicles Taxation Act in the period 1935-37, the figures being Rs. 24 92 lakhs for 1935-36 and Rs. 27 49 lakhs for 1936-37, the finances of the Boards have not yet recovered from the blow of 1932

Non-Tax Revenue—In regard to non-tax revenues also, there is not much hope for the Boards In the Act of 1920, a long list of dangerous and offensive trades was drawn up and included, and the taking of licences from the concerned Board was required before anyone carried on the trade or established industries or factories Licence for plying motor vehicles for hire was also insisted on But, of late, Government have been impressing on the local Boards not to look upon licences as a source of revenue, as they were supposed to partake the nature of taxes And with the passing of the Traffic Contract Act, the power of the District Boards to levy licence fees on motor vehicles plying for hire has been taken away and they are to be given compensation in lieu of this income It remains to be seen if the compensation will be at least as much as the Boards were deriving from licence fees

In a few districts the income from markets and bus-stands forms a lucrative source Tree planting also affords another good source But notwithstanding the issue of periodical circulars both by the Government of India and the Provincial Government calling on the Boards to carry out avenue planting on a systematic basis, aboriculture has not yet received such attention as it deserves Railways are owned by a few Boards, but the attempt has been to vest their management and ownership in the Government. Only one Board that of Coimbatore—has so far undertaken the running of bus-services

All these disturbing factors both in the tax and non-tax sources have tended to upset the financial balance of most of the Boards and land cess has, as a result, become the all-important source of local finance in the rural areas It is therefore necessary, to examine the system of the levy of land cess

Land Cess—As stated at the outset, land cess is theoretically based on the annual rental value of agricultural land and is linked up with the land revenue system in force.

The assessment is on the land and is made by the Settlement Department, and is usually fixed for a period of thirty years But the annual rental has very little relation to the actual rental value of the land Annual rental value, as understood by economists, means "the balance left when the expenses of production are deducted from the gross value of the produce raised from land" If the expenses of production are to include (besides the theoretical wages of the peasant, the cost of manure, the upkeep of bulls and depreciation on their lives and the levies of the machinery employed) the cost of subsistence of the peasants plus a small margin of surplus, the annual rental value may be looked upon as an ideal basis of taxation and it is in this light that it is looked at by all students of public finance But neither of these accepted principles is followed by Government officers in making settlements "Assessment is on the land and does not depend on the description of the produce or on the caste or circumstances of the person who holds the land" In the first place, the grain value is determined with reference to the most suitable food grain that can be grown in that particular type of land and not with reference to any commercial crop that the cultivator may actually grow Secondly, the conversion of the grain value into money value is made on the basis of the average price of the twenty preceding non-famine years and may not often bear any relation to the current market prices Thus the assessment has very little relation to the real rental value of the land

Since land cess is indissolubly connected with the land revenue policy of the Government, the system which is favourable to the cultivator undoubtedly affects the income of the Boards, because only when the periodical settlements raise the annual rental could the income of the Boards from the cess also be raised But the present trend is all towards granting remissions and fixing the annual rental at a lower level—which only shows that our peasants are too poor to bear even this assessment which, according to strict econo-

mic theory and the practice obtaining in other countries, is too liberal. Naturally these relief measures affect the income of the Boards adversely Neither is it possible for the District Boards to undertake the determination of the annual rental value independently of the Settlement Department as they have no agency of their own and cannot afford to maintain one.

Even assuming that practical considerations preclude any possibility of an attempt to determine the annual rental value and that the present basis should continue, the system has been found objectionable from two points of view — (a) the burden on the cultivator and (b) the revenues of the Boards In the ryotwari area, the assessment is based on the rental value, while in the Zamindari area it is based on the rent paid to the Zamindar by the tenants It is notorious that the rent levied by the Zamindar is disproportionately high when compared with a similiar holding in the ryotwari area The tenant of the Zamindar is thus doubly stung He has not only to pay a high rent, but in consequence of this high payment, he has to pay a heavier cess Until and unless the assessment of all land is on a uniform basis, this inequality and injustice will persist The second criticism is the uniformity of rate The poorest cultivator has to pay the cess at the same rate as the wealthy cultivator This procedure is opposed to the principle of all taxation—ability to pay The burden on a poor cultivator of a levy of 18 pies in the rupee is infinitely greater than it is on the wealthy cultivator Whereas in municipal areas holdings below a certain annual value is exempt, in rural areas the grant of such relief is not permissible The principle of progression must be introduced by increasing the rate with increased assessments This will increase the income from cess to some extent Above all, the Boards must be given the option to raise the rate of land-cess according as their requirements warrant

In short, the main objection to land-cess as at present levied is the abnormally long period for which the cess

revenue remains stationary. Even where there has been a perceptible increase in the annual rental value, the Boards have to remain content with the cess based on lower values prevailing at the time of assessment Again, the income of the Boards has come to be closely associated with the land revenue policy of the Government The present trend has been to reduce the burden of land revenue and the Boards are gradually feeling the brunt of these relief measures of Government In England, when agricultural relief came to stay, Government compensated the local bodies by increasing the grants-in-aid This was possible because England is not an agricultural country, and the exchequer there is not mainly dependent on land revenue as in our country Liberal grants-in-aid are not possible in Madras, as the Government itself is mainly dependent on the land revenue as its main source of revenue, and with the policy of prohibition, even the grants previously in force may be stopped in the absence of a suitable alternative to the income from excise which has to be foregone Thus we are forced to arrive at the conclusion that the present basis of land cess, however imperfect, must continue, unless a derating of agricultural land is made as in England which is, however, not possible under the existing conditions of Provincial finance

Grants-in-aid —Grants-in-aid from the Government towards services entrusted to the Boards—which are semi-national in character such as education, public health, roads, —form an important feature of their financial system The grants were not substantial till 1905-6, since when a real advance was made owing to the generosity of the Imperial Government which in that year and the year following, had vast surpluses and the Madras Government was put in possession of large funds for distribution among the local bodies In 1873-74 the grants had formed 27 per cent of the total income of the Boards, falling down to 0 9 per cent of the receipts in 1880-81, and then rising to 4 per cent by 1901-02 or ranging from 2 to 3 lakhs of rupees In 1905-06 the grants amounted to Rs 26.5 lakhs and rose to Rs. 76 lakhs

in 1913-14. From that year on, Government made recurring grants in aid of the general resources and in 1920 they supplemented their grants by a mileage grant for the maintenance of trunk roads. A supplemental grant for specially poorer Boards and a special grant to Boards levying land cess in excess of one anna in the rupee were added In 1915 Government had also offered to pay half the initial and recurring cost of new hospitals and dispensaries. Special grants for the improvement of village roads, construction of new bridges and culverts, provision of wells, improvements to medical buildings and provision of water-supply were annually made but these allotments depended on the state of Provincial finances

In 1920 the Government of Madras appointed a committee to examine the financial relations that should subsist between them and the local bodies In accordance with the committee's recommendations, Government laid down as their future policy (1) that ordinarily grants should be made for specific purposes, and not in aid of general resources of local bodies, (2) that grants-in-aid to local bodies should be confined to semi-national services which would be determined by the Government, (3) that the aid might take the shape of central administration of a service or part of a service, also to be determined by the Government, (in which case the whole cost of such administration would be borne by the Provincial Government) or of a payment to the local body of the cost or part of the cost of administering the service, (4) that exception to the general rule restricting grants for specific services should be made in case of poor Boards and of pilgrim centres and sanitaria, (5) that grants for capital expenditure should be met out of loan funds, and (6) that grants should be made on the post-payment system.

In pursuance of these principles, Government earmarked the general resources grant for the maintenance of second class roads after deducting therefrom a portion to cover the cost of the District Health Service formed in 1923, and agreed to continue to make grants for trunk roads on a

mileage basis and to make the incidence of charges for construction and maintenance of bridges and crossways follow those of the roads on which they were situated They also agreed that a share of the charges in respect of medical institutions other than those at district headquarters should be met from the provincial funds that no grants for minor sanitary works should be paid to local Boards, that Government should contribute towards rural water-supply schemes and that the recovery of the cost of vaccine supplied to local bodies should be relieved of the charges of veterinary institutions They relieved the District Boards of the burden of maintaining District Board Engineers and provincialised the service in 1923 They also took over medical institutions at taluk headquarters and gave subsidies for rural dispensaries in order to enable the Boards to extend medical relief in rural areas They distribute quinine free in highly malarious districts In regard to secondary education, they continued the grants for specific secondary schools It was considered that collegiate or secondary education was not the prime duty of the local Boards

The Financial Relations Committee recommended that the local Boards might be empowered to levy a surcharge at a rate not exceeding one anna in the rupee on Abkari revenue The Government did not accept this recommendation, nor were they prepared to give practical effect to the rule inserted in the Local Boards Act of 1920 that the Government might transfer annually to the District Board a share of the excise revenue collected in the district

In the years after 1920, Government increased the grants to the Boards from Rs 81 lakhs to Rs 147 lakhs in 1932-33, and Rs 132 lakhs in 1935-36 In the last mentioned year, the grants amounted to nearly 40 per cent of their total income.

The present policy of the Government in regard to grants, based on the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee, is that "no grants are to be sanctioned, except on a clear understanding that the Government are

at liberty to reduce or withdraw them, if the services for which they were intended were not efficiently administered" This, together with the uniform administration of half grants irrespective of the financial position of the Boards, has resulted in concentrating disbursement on areas which are well-off at the expense of poorer areas which are not able to take advantage of Government subsidies for effecting improvements There must be a certain elasticity in the distribution of grants and the peculiar or special need of each locality must be taken into account and grants increased accordingly This has been the trend of development elsewhere to-day, especially in England and Australia

Provincialization —Government have from time to time taken over duties or services provisionally undertaken by local bodies This process of provincialization is resorted to not merely to give relief to the local Boards, but also to improve the standard of efficiency of the services taken over The provincialization of District Board Engineering Services, inspection of schools by Deputy Inspectors and educational supervisors, the establishment and maintenance of institutions for the training of teachers and medical practitioners, the care of lunatics, the maintenance of veterinary institutions and district and taluk headquarter hospitals, maintenance of district health service and inspectors and taking up measures for the suppression of plague, may be cited as instances of such provincialization Exemption from the obligation to pay contributions in respect of services rendered by the Provincial Government, as in the case of the cost of the staff of local fund auditors and the cost of supply of vaccine lymph, constitutes another method of giving relief to the Boards Rural water-supply has now been provincialized, but panchayats with a population of over 5,000 or those which have an annual income of Rs 3,000 have been excluded from the scope of the scheme and are expected to finance their water-supply schemes with the aid of Government grants.

Income and Expenditure.—There are now 31 District Boards in the Presidency and on 30-6-1938 there were 435 Major Panchayats and 5865 Minor Panchayats. The total ordinary running charges of the service and expenditure on works of District Boards in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 385 lakhs The expenditure met from provincial grants amounted to Rs 132 lakhs. The expenditure incurred by Major Panchayat Boards aggregated nearly Rs 30 lakhs and their income in the same year was Rs 34 lakhs Information regarding Minor panchayats is not readily available According to statistics recently obtained from the District Panchayat Officers, it is seen that Minor panchayats had accumulated a sum of Rs 17 4 lakhs by the end of 1937.

The District Boards maintained 34,595 miles of roads, of which 3086 were trunk roads The expenditure on trunk roads amounted to Rs 20 18 lakhs against which District Boards earned a total government grant of Rs 18 23 lakhs The expenditure on second class roads was Rs 43 80 lakhs and a sum of Rs 14 6 lakhs was met from Government grant The total expenditure under the head of communications was Rs 150 lakhs The compensation from the proceeds of the Motor Vehicles Taxation amounted to Rs 25 lakhs The income from ferries yielded Rs 3 37 lakhs The net expenditure on communications in 1935-36 from District Board funds amounted to nearly Rs. 47 lakhs The Government have since 1937 required the District Boards to spend on certain roads classified as marketing roads an amount equivalent to the maximum grant allotted for second class roads or twice that grant on the maintenance of marketing and other second class roads put together

Education tax, which is a surcharge up to 25 per cent of the land cess, was levied during the year in all District Boards except Nellore It yielded Rs 15 87 lakhs The Boards maintained 17,350 elementary schools, of which 14,456 were for boys and 2,894 were for girls They maintained 65 hospitals and 829 dispensaries of western medicine, 237 dispensaries of Indian medicine and one homeopathic dispensary.

The receipts under remunerative enterprises totalled Rs 35 40 lakhs under the ordinary account and Rs 22 42 lakhs under the capital account Tree-planting yielded a total revenue of Rs 2 55 lakhs, and expenditure incurred thereon amounted to Rs 78 lakhs Less than 60 per cent of the total mileage of roads possesses avenues The Town Planning Act was in force in 41 panchayat areas and the town planning activities engaged the attention of a few panchayat boards also Electric lighting schemes have been undertaken by a few panchayat boards in the Chingleput District and they are proving remunerative

Government also undertake to give loans to local bodies for capital works and for covering deficits in revenues caused by extraordinary circumstances The outstanding debt of local Boards stood in the year 1935-36 at Rs 72 593 lakhs of which Rs 58 46 lakhs were due to Government If the Boards have not taken a bolder policy in the matter of financing from borrowed funds of capital works which will benefit more than one generation, the fault lies wholly with the Boards who have been averse to develop their resources to a sufficient extent to enable them to repay the borrowed capital

Prior to 1923, the Government Treasury allowed overdrafts to District and Taluk Boards, but as the Boards developed a large tendency to overdraw their credit, the position was re-examined by Government who defined the system of banking, accounting and audit The funds of District Boards are lodged in the Treasury generally and since 1923 the Treasury acts merely as a banker Panchayat Boards bank with the Treasury, Co-operative Society or post office Savings Bank

Audit and Accounts —The accounts of the local Boards are audited by the Examiner of Local Fund Accounts and his assistants, and their cost is entirely met by the Government The Examiner has been empowered to surcharge on the person or persons responsible, the amount of loss that

may be caused by neglect or misconduct Arrangements have been made from 1937 to have the accounts of all Minor Panchayats regularly audited by District Panchayat Officers and their assistants, and the Inspector of Local Boards reviews them An improvement was noticed in the general condition of the maintenance of accounts of District Boards but a deterioration is noticeable in the case of ex-unions It is hoped to bring the condition of accounts of these Boards to a satisfactory standard in course of time The Surcharge Rules constitute a wholesome check over any tendency, on the part of local authorities, to cause loss to the Board funds

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

BY

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The problem of industrial finance, important as it has always been since the Industrial Commission surveyed the field in 1918, has once again been brought to the forefront on account of another war which finds India in the same state of unreadiness as she was during the last war There is to-day, however, greater realisation of the opportunities to industrial expansion which the war has opened up and of the need to avail of them But of practical action there seems to be little in evidence either on the side of Government or of private industrialists On the other hand, the industrial reorganisation and expansion contemplated by the National Planning Committee implies a consideration of the methods of industrial financing proper to such expansion In one way or another, therefore, whether as a result of the need for industrial development on account of the natural protection afforded by the war or on account of the more permanent schemes of expansion outlined by the Planning Committee, the question of industrial finance has to be fully examined if the hopes of the country are not to be thwarted

The first consideration that will have to be borne in mind is that finance cannot be entirely dissociated from industrial organisation and management, and experience has shown that too often the so-called inadequacy of financial facilities is often a cloak to cover the defects of management Not even the most efficient banking and financial organisation can help an industrialist whose estimates of his financial requirements are grossly faulty and therefore starts his

business on an utterly inadequate financial plan or whose judgment of the profitability of his venture is hopelessly untrustworthy. For example, out of the large number of applications received from small and medium sized businesses for assistance from the Government of Madras, 90 per cent are so unsound in themselves that they do not deserve the slightest financial aid Again the short though limited experience of the Tata Industrial Bank clearly revealed the fact that its willingness to assist industries financially and to underwrite the shares of new companies was limited by "the want of sound new propositions" The existence of profitable opportunities is a necessary condition of industrial financing and as long as these are lacking, finance cannot create them The view expressed long ago by the Industrial Commission that " the difficulty in raising capital for industries is mainly the measure, even in India, not of the insufficiency or inaccessibility of money, but of the opinion which its possessors hold of the industrial propositions put before them" remains still true

Secondly, the notion that it is the duty of the ordinary deposit banks to provide the whole of the working capital of a business and if possible even a portion of the block capital has persisted to this day and is partly responsible for the systematic under-capitalisation in many industries Too often the initial paid-up capital has been insufficient for the fixed expenditure required and quite inadequate for the minimum working capital which is in reality in the nature of permanent capital and, therefore, must be raised in the form of permanent finance by way either of shares or debentures Without a change in the whole spirit and the structure of commercial banking in India, it would be impossible for banks to attempt to finance the long-term needs of industry Even in Germany or in other countries of Europe where banking is of the mixed type, doing both commercial and industrial financing, the banks serve only as a temporary intermediary between the industrial company and the pub-

lic and finance the long-term needs only in the hope that ultimately the public could be persuaded to take up the shares and debentures guaranteed by the banks. But the defects of such a system have been apparent during the last depression and everywhere there is a feeling that commercial banks are taking too much risk in investing the public's deposits in industrial undertakings, and legislation has been attempted in some countries in Europe with a view to restricting the powers of commercial banks in respect of industrial financing Hence industrialists in India will do well not to rest their hopes on the possibility of bringing about a change in the banking structure of India so as to make it correspond to the mixed system of banking as in Europe

Since the ordinary banks in India do not cater to the long-term requirements of industry, there has been a tendency, in all discussions on the subject, to concentrate attention on proposals for the establishment of institutions which would provide industries with long-term capital to the exclusion of the perhaps more important problem of a well-organised system of commercial banking Contrary to the widely held opinion that because deposit banks do not grant long-term credit nor give advances against the security of buildings and plant they are of no consequence to industrial finance, the present writer holds the view that in the consolidation and development of a sound money and banking organisation with all that it implies lies the key to the solution of a large part of the problem of industrial finance

There are those who hold the view that India does not abound in untapped banking facilities and that the scope for further extension is somewhat limited When it is remembered that nearly 85 per cent of the towns in India are not served by a bank, that industries suffer from lack of remittance facilities, and that several small industries in Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces, and Madras etc depend upon moneylenders for all the short-term capital they need,

it is clear that an extension of banking on modern lines is the most urgent need of the hour The most serious handicap to medium sized industrial units is the high cost of capital, and the mobilisation of money through the extension of banking facilities would have the effect of bringing about a reduction in the rate of interest, not so much on the capital supplied by joint-stock banks themselves as on that part of the capital now provided at an exorbitant rate by the indigenous banker and moneylender The smaller collieries and tea estates have had to borrow at rates of interest varying from 18 to 36 per cent It is true that increased deposits are conditioned by an increase in the incomes and the savings habit of the people But the position is undoubtedly improving The closing of the former avenues to employment of the public's resources in the form of loans for consumption and of private moneylending has diverted resources to banking deposits The regulation of money-lending, the fixing of the rates of interest on agricultural loans which most provinces have now adopted, and the restrictions imposed generally on usurious lending will have the effect of cheapening the credit available to industry and agriculture alike Savings may increasingly be expected to take the form of banking deposits But no permanent reduction in the rate of interest on borrowings can be secured unless the indigenous bankers who play such a large part in the financing of agriculture and small industries are brought within the ambit of the money market and are linked up with the Reserve Bank on a regular and well-defined basis The conditions proposed by the Reserve Bank to ensure this end are rather stringent and should be relaxed if the full benefit of the reorganised indigenous banking system is to accrue to the industrialist.

The establishment of the Reserve Bank of India in 1935 marks an important stage in the banking organisation of the country Prior to its establishment there was divided control of the currency and credit conditions of the country.

Government controlled the currency, and credit was controlled if at all by the Imperial Bank of India. Not only was there a lack of co-ordination between the two but often occasions arose when Government carried on their money market operations without reference to the conditions of credit available to industry The new Reserve Bank of India may certainly be expected to obviate such defects in the old system But experience of the working of the Reserve Bank during the last three years has already indicated certain short-comings in the Act which need to be rectified. There has been a definite misunderstanding between the Reserve Bank and the joint-stock banks as to the circumstances when the former may be expected to come to the aid of the latter and as to the quality of the paper that will be regarded by the Reserve Bank as eligible for rediscount These misunderstandings should be set right, and one of the main purposes of the creation of the Reserve Bank, namely that the Reserve Bank should be "the lender in the last resort," should not be lost sight of

The development of trade bills the lack of which is responsible both for the rigidity of bank credit and for the unwillingness of the Reserve Bank to grant rediscounting facilities should be the pre-occupation of the Reserve Bank The stamp duty on bills should be reduced and public warehouses should be built whose warrants might be utilised as collateral security, thus dispensing with the necessity of handing over the goods to the banker—an act which Indian industrialist considers derogatory In these and various other ways the conditions of granting short-term credit to industry should be liberalised

So much has been said above of the provision of short-term financial facilities to industry, for in India the problem of industrial finance has often been regarded as only concerned with the provision of fixed and long-term capital and not equally with that of providing the circulating or revolving credits which industry requires in no less degree Indeed in India the latter aspect of the question is even more import-

ant that the former, because while perhaps no country has solved successfully the problem of supplying long-term finance to industry, most advanced industrial countries have on the whole successfully evolved a system of providing circulating capital to industry on easy terms India has still to solve this part of the problem.

II

The other part of the problem arises from the fact that industry requires block capital besides a part of the permanent working capital needed by it This must ultimately come from the savings of the public, for obviously if the public would not invest either because of their unwillingness or of their inability, no institution can help in the matter Banks or other financial agencies of different kinds can only act as intermediaries for short periods between the stage of planning the business and its ultimate ownership in the hands of the investing public There is undoubtedly a variety of practice in the methods and machinery of the long-term capital market In Britain, Scandinavia, and Latin America the banks devote themselves almost entirely to deposit banking, and leave investment or industrial banking to separate specialised institutions The banks in the continent of Europe—in Germany and more especially in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Belgium, etc —and in U S A have followed a different policy by which both kinds of banking have been undertaken by the deposit banks, and the system was more the result of certain special circumstances than one of inevitability That there are shortcomings in the first system and grave dangers in the second was clearly revealed during the recent economic depression The British system of extreme specialisation of functions led to a lack of knowledge on the part of banks of the needs of industry British banks were also unwillingly forced to become permanent creditors of large sections of British industry because their funds got tied up in the industry and the "frozen" credits took a long time to become mobile.

During this period the banks were compelled to become partners, however unwillingly, in the industry But this "forced" contact was not felt to be an unmixed evil It came to be recognised that there was need for close co-operation between industry and finance and that " the most beneficial kind of relationship was one where bankers and financial leaders were able to, by their confidential and continuous relationship with industrialists, not only to supplement the information at the disposal of the industrialists but also to give aid of very great value in all financial problems " This service to the extent to which commercial banks were unable to render it was recommended to be performed by a special company specially to be established by the industrialists and bankers in co-operation In conformity with the above recommendation of the Macmillan Committee, an industrial bank was established a few years ago The United Dominions Trust organised a company called Credit for Industry, Ltd with a large paid-up capital and with resources to be augmented by further capital and debentures It would grant loans up to £50,000 for periods running from two to twenty years It will cater particularly to the smaller and medium sized concerns but it will not finance new inventions or acquire existing business units Other financial institutions are also likely to be established The gap found to exist in the machinery for financing the long-term needs of British industries has now been sought to be filled up by private institutions formed by bankers acting in collaboration with industrialists

The continental system of mixed banking carried with it always some lurking dangers But Germany was able by a careful management of its investments and deposits to avoid the dangers for a long time The proportion of long-term deposits to total deposits was very high in German banks and so also was the proportion of " own " resources to total deposits They were careful in effecting a proper distribution of their assets among a considerable number of industries and were anxious to place the industrial securi-

ties with the public as quickly as possible and not to hold them in their own hands. Contrary to the common belief, lasting participation in industrial enterprises has not been part of the general policy of German credit banks, although there have been occasions when securities remained with them on account of the difficulty of placing them in the open market But the post-war period brought about a great change in the situation The German banks gradually reduced their percentage of industrial securities portfolio, and indeed they were less tied to industry than the British deposit Banks But even to-day there is more intimate co-operation and understanding between German banks and industry than there exists in Great Britain and the essential character of mixed banking system is still preserved But since the credit banks want to be in a more liquid position than before, they want to abstain from locking up their funds in risky enterprises or in ventures where the risks of immobile capital have appeared to them great They have therefore assisted in the formation of special financing companies in collaboration with industrialists In other countries in Europe where there was closer association between banking and industry the dangers of such relationship led on the one hand to similar developments and on the other to legislation restricting the powers of the banks to carry on industrial banking In France, for example, the deposit banks have established subsidiary companies for long-term industrial finance In Italy similar influences are seen at work The mixed banking business of Italian banks is giving place to a division of functions There has been a tendency away from universal banking to deposit banking Banks have attempted to divest themselves of direct industrial participation On the amalgamation of Credit Italiano with the Banco Nationale de Credit in 1930, it was decided to restrict the former to short-term deposit banking and to use the latter for long-term industrial financing Through this device it was possible to secure the advantages to industry of the mixed system " without exposing the depositor to any greater risks than he remains under the English sys-

tem." In U S A. too the large banks of New York, Chicago, etc. have constituted special companies as subsidiary securities companies through which their investment business is transacted The dangers of mixed banking were clearly seen when the American banking system collapsed in 1933, and adjustments are being made to reduce the dangers of industrial banking by the deposit banks.

In Belgium where the system of mixed banking had apparently taken firm root, the recent depression has effected a radical change Apart from voluntary readjustments, legislation has been introduced by Government By a series of decrees passed in 1934 banks were required to give up their long-term industrial activities and reorganise along deposit banking lines Existing banks have now given up their industrial banking activities and have split themselves into two distinct concerns with a view to separating their industrial banking and deposit banking activities

These examples have been cited to show that there is no finality in the banking structure of different countries, that the adaptation of banking to changed industrial structure is desirable and inevitable and that no extreme view regarding the desirability or otherwise of specialisation or integration of banking functions can hold good for all time The only permanent factor is the need for an effective machinery to advise the public in regard to industrial securities, to raise the capital from the public in various forms in the manner most convenient to them and to the industry and to be in intimate touch with the needs and difficulties of industry

III

By whom and in what manner have these services been done, if at all, in India? Clearly not by the joint-stock banks which have been ineffective even as purveyors of revolving credits Managing Agents have been performing with varying degrees of efficiency all those services which in other countries are done by banks, issue houses, and financial companies. Unfortunately their services were available only

in respect of some major industries and large-scale business units Medium sized businesses were not able to find a financial institution which would supply their needs Again the association of management and financing which the managing agency system has entailed has given the agents great power which has generally been abused The cream of industrial profits was taken away by the managing agents leaving to the investor only a very inadequate return Hence the free flow of capital to industries was generally dammed and dependence on the managing agents for industrial finance became more and more pronounced

In cases where managing agents did not raise capital from the public, the task was undertaken by individuals of varying degrees of ability and integrity, not always with happy results These men were lacking in business or financial experience and the capital which they put into the business together with what they were able to raise from the public was so inadequate that within a short time the businesses collapsed The loss incurred by the public scared away investment even in more profitable enterprises The investing public in India are left with no guide or adviser to aid them in their industrial investment On the other hand even sound propositions are unable to command enough capital There have been several cases in recent years where the promoters of the most promising electric and other companies have failed to raise sufficient capital or to get the capital underwritten by any financial company Thus there is a definite gap in India in the banking and financial machinery which must be filled so as to enable new businesses to be started and financed smoothly and to provide them with sufficient long-term credit

In so far as the problem is one of scarcity of industrial capital, time and economic progress can alone solve it National income must increase and savings must be directed more and more to industry and agriculture But in respect of the capital available for industry the reform of the Company Law in 1936 should contribute not a little to inspire

confidence in the investor who can now be reasonably certain that he will not be defrauded with impunity Legislation cannot by itself make people honest, but by punishing dishonesty and fraud, it can go a long way to check the worst abuses that have crept into industrial management and that have scared away the shy investor

But the problem of assisting industry at moments when the capital market is unfavourable for the flotation of a public issue and of carrying on the financial burden till the moment is ripe for a public issue still remains The Indian Central Banking Committee has suggested one important solution It is that banks in India should carry on mixed banking of the German type and do for Indian industry what German banks have done for German industry But the more recent trends of industrial finance in the world have revealed the defects of that system The integrity of the deposit banking system may be jeopardised by any radical departure from the tradition and practice of the Indian banks Nor are all banks in a sufficiently strong position to undertake these increased functions which require great financial strength and exceptional qualities of management Hence the only institutions that can attempt this experiment are the Imperial Bank and one or two other banks By cultivating a more sympathetic attitude to industry, by greater contact with it and by advancing funds temporarily or by taking up debentures, as the German banks do until they are ready for issue to the public, they can do a great deal to help industry in raising permanent capital The present system by which industry depends so largely on managing agents directly or indirectly and on deposits from the public which are liable to recall at any moment should be altered

Indian opinion has often expressed itself overwhelmingly in favour of the establishment of an industrial bank with Government assistance It is too late in the day to argue that Governments should have nothing to do with industrial bank-

ing or that it should not afford financial aid to competitive industry But the establishment of a State-owned or State-aided industrial bank may not only fail to solve the problem but may affect harmfully industrial development. This is because these institutions unless organised by industrialists or by bankers or by both in collaboration will be seriously deficient in banking and industrial experience and Investments are likely to be so unprofitable that the banks may become bankrupt The moral and psychological effects of the failure of state-owened and state-aided institutions are likely to be so serious that we should hesitate before recommending such a course

Further, so far as large-scale competitive industries are concerned they do not suffer from lack of industrial capital. During the recent depression a case could have been made out for rendering them financial assistance to enable them to carry on their schemes of reorganisation and rationalisation In normal times there is not the same need for financial aid from Government So far as long-term capital and capital for extension is concerned, India should voluntarily organise, as other countries have done, special financial companies which will serve those purposes. Government might afford assistance by agreeing to take up some debentures The initiative must come from the banks and industrialists and Government might co-operate in making their efforts a success

The case is, however, different when we come to the role of the State in the financing of certain industries which Governments for some reason or other have to promote and manage All public utility industries, basic chemical and engineering industries, certain other industries which are essential from the point of view of defence should be publicly owned and managed. For the financing of such concerns an institution organised by Government is absolutely necessary The question whether such a financial corporation should be an All-India one or provincial has to be decided in the light of all circumstances Industries on national scale must

have an all-India financing agency But considering the vastness of the country and its political structure provincial institutions will be more suitable They should raise a large initial capital from the public on the guarantee of a small rate of dividend and must depend on debentures for the rest of their resources. On their boards must be appointed a few able merchants and industrialists who would be able to supply a variety of experience

To these financial corporations must also be entrusted the task of financing the needs of small and medium sized industries. A special section must be attached thereto which will be concerned with the requirements of the smaller local industries Experience of the working of the State Aid to Industries Act has brought to light one of the serious shortcomings in its working It is the lack of a competent body to assess the credit-worthiness of the applicants for assistance The proposed financial corporation in the province may be expected to have better knowledge and experience than the present Advisory Board to the Director of Industries and will apply sound tests to applicants for financial aid

The problems of cottage industries belong to an altogether different class More even than from financial handicaps they suffer from lack of knowledge, experienced management, deficient marketing A combined marketing and financial organisation established by Government and managed by an expert body of co-operators, businessmen and some Government nominees will alone solve their difficulties State assistance to these cottage industries stands on a different footing and is fully justified considering their great social and economic potentialities.

SOME ASPECTS OF CENTRAL BANKING INSTITUTIONS

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I Introduction

The establishment of a Central Bank in a country is a *sine qua non* of the development of banking facilities in that country and of all round advancement of economic conditions It mobilises on a national scale the immense resources of the country which would otherwise be mobilised merely on parochial, crude and wasteful lines, unrelated to the needs of industry, commerce and agriculture The power of note issue by a central agency and the control of the commercial banks by the same body would result in a sound and elastic currency and credit system It will extend necessary and adequate facilities to banks and provide currency so as to balance supply and demand for the legal tender in the country and regulate and exercise discipline over the other banking institutions This would engender confidence in the public regarding the wholesome business of banks The Central Bank is the lender at last resort or the ultimate provider of emergency currency By rediscounting approved bills or granting advances on approved promissory notes of commercial banks, it can bring about either expansion or contraction of currency required to maintain stable monetary conditions It will come to the rescue of small banks when there is a pressure upon them and would arrest the failure of sound banking establishments The policy of loans and advances of a central bank would remove the inequality of interest rates in different parts of the country

The mobility of funds from one part of the country to another and from one industry to another would be ensured. The bank rate and discount policy and other instruments of credit control will result in proper credit expansion, stable foreign exchanges, regulation of gold movements and maintenance of a reasonably stable price level In short, the central bank of a country will administer the national reserves in the wider public interests of the country In this essay it is proposed to examine some of the salient features of the Bank of England, the Federal Reserve System of America and the Reserve Bank of India.

II Constitution of Central Banks.

The constitution of the important central banks of the world falls into three categories—(a) Pure Shareholders' Banks, (b) Pure State owned Banks, (c) Banks of mixed ownership It is unnecessary here to go into the merits and demerits of a pure shareholders' bank or a state bank Suffice it to say that the best type is a quasi state bank, the capital of which is owned partly by the shareholders and partly by the state The control may be exerted by mercantile directors elected by the shareholders and directors nominated by the Government Even in this type of bank there is room for political interference. But the main advantage of a quasi-state-bank is that it avoids the domination of sectional interests and in a politically subject country checks the domination of outside interests But where a managing board of a central bank is composed of fearless and independent persons it is unnecessary to be sticklers for shareholders' type of banks or state owned banks or quasi state banks

The Bank of England.—The Bank of England is a pure shareholders' bank the capital of which was provided by public subscription. The affairs of the Bank are carried on by a court of Directors consisting of twentyfour members, a Governor and a Deputy Governor eleced nominally at a stock-holders' meeting The directors are reelected indefi-

nitely and the court of Directors, since of late, could co-opt new directors even from foreign countries According to this convention it is possible to get experts on the Board The Governor and the Deputy Governor were elected formerly for a period of two years only and could be re-elected for a year more But since the present Governor is holding office for a long period on account of his efficiency and dynamic personality, it is impossible to determine on what basis the future Governor will be chosen Mr Sayers suggests " that the Governor will be chosen by the Court of Directors, but that they will take care to make a choice which will not be distasteful to the Government of the day " As for the term of office it is necessary that a retiring age should be fixed

Regarding the allocation of profits to shareholders the Central Bank should neither unduly increase dividends nor demonstrate that it has incurred losses " It must be above suspicion of having incurred losses and it must be above suspicion of having sought profits ! " This means that by manipulating the reserves or by secret adjustments with Government a stable dividend should be maintained

The Federal Reserve System—The Federal Reserve Act of America has provided for twelve regional banks, the aim being to secure the advantages of central banking without creating a Central Bank It is only to achieve at least some degree of control that the Board of Governors has been appointed with general supervisory powers over the regional banks The main motive that actuated the framers of the Act to establish twelve regional banks is to utilise the intimate knowledge and interest of the officers in the problems of their area Against a single central bank it was argued that it would be dominated by a group of metropolitans from New York But a serious drawback of the regional system is that when a national credit policy is on the anvil during an emergency the Reserve Banks do not see eye to eye with one another or agree with the Board of Governors. Instances of such insubordination and quarrels are

legion in the history of the Federal Reserve System. A single central bank with branches in important commercial centres as in the case of the Indian Reserve Bank would have ensured a uniform credit policy

The capital of the Federal Reserve Banks was subscribed by the member banks in their regions Each member bank was required to purchase an amount of stock equal to 6% of its capital and surplus Changes in stockholdings were made to conform to changes in the capital and surplus The stock which was freed as a result of a bank leaving the system or reducing its capital must be redeemed by the Reserve Bank. Bankers of the Federal Reserve System made every effort to build the membership of the system by showing special concessions to state banks But coaxing the state banks to join the system by unwarranted concessions is not conducive to the development of a satisfactory banking system The stock of the Reserve Bank should be held by the public and the facilities which the reserve system offers should be available to all banks alike

The control of the operation of a Federal Reserve Bank is vested in a board of nine directors divided into three classes The board is constituted on a wise principle Three directors representing the public interest are chosen by the Board of Governors and the remaining six are chosen by the three different types of member banks classified according to size The directors of the Reserve Bank select the officers and fix the rates of discount every fourteen days The management of the Federal Reserve Bank has been vested in a Governor or President as he is called, one or more deputy governors and a staff of officers and employers The President is to be chosen for a period of five years subject to the approval of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System One of the directors chosen by the Board of Governors will be the ex-officio chairman of the board While the president is the responsible head of the bank the ex-officio chairman is concerned with the public interest

and is the liaison between the Board of Governors and the Federal Reserve Bank.

The Board of Governors consists of seven members appointed by the President subject to the approval of the Senate for a period of fourteen years. In selecting the members of the Board the President is expected to have " due regard to a fair representation of the financial, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests and geographical divisions of the country " As the Board is appointed by the President there is every possibility of party politics coming into play in the Board Though the long tenure of office of the directors is likely to prevent such a situation from arising, yet the conflict of interests between the majority in a Board belonging to a party, and the chairman and the vice-chairman who are appointed for a period of four years by the President whose party allegiance is opposed to the majority of the members, will lead to a serious deadlock in the exercise of the administrative functions of the Board Moreover, the Board has been so frequently overshadowed by the Treasury and the New York banking interests that it has never built up vigorous leadership Men of first-rate ability would come in only when the Board is given strong and clearly defined powers and is independent of party politics

One of the important functions of the Board is that of co-ordinating the activities of the twelve reserve banks and maintaining a centralised control over the banking system The Board can compel anyone of the twelve reserve banks to rediscount paper for any other By the Act of 1935 a Federal Reserve Open Market Committee was created consisting of the Board of Governors and the five representatives of the twelve reserve banks The Committee is responsible for the regulations which govern the open market transaction and the direction of actual operations The Board of Directors also control credit by changing the percentage of the reserves of member banks and regulating the rate of discount. Besides, it has power to issue or withhold

notes of the Federal Reserve Banks The Board can curtail abuses of credit. It has full jurisdiction over all dealings and relationships between the Federal Reserve banks and the foreign banking institutions.

A Federal Advisory Council of twelve members representing the twelve Federal Reserve Banks has conferences with the Board and expresses opinion regarding matters submitted to it by the Board but it has never seriously affected the Federal Reserve policies

In conclusion it must be said that there is room for the play of much political influence in the Board of Governors The only way to obviate this difficulty is to make the Board a permanent body independent of the Government A maximum age limit must be prescribed for retirement and new members of the Board should be chosen before the retiring persons vacate their offices

The Reserve Bank of India —The suggestion of a state-owned bank for India was rejected on the ground that it would lead to unnecessary political interference But the constitution as it exists at present is not free from such political influence Moreover, any legislation concerning the currency and exchange policy depends on the caprice of the Governor-General who has the interests of the British capitalists in the formulation of such policies

Each share is worth Rs. 100 and no individual is ordinarily to hold more than five shares But share concentration is possible in the hands of the rich capitalists of either Bombay or Calcutta for there is no maximum limit up to which shares could be held in those areas. Transfer of shares or benami shareholding renders concentration possible The limitation of the voting power to ten votes, to a certain extent, prevents undue influence on the Board by those holding large blocks of shares. Companies registered under the Indian Companies Act or the Co-operative Societies Act can become shareholders Although the foreign

exchange banks or any company incorporated under the Act of Parliament can hold shares, it has been wisely enacted that no bank officer except one attached to a co-operative bank can become a director of the Reserve Bank. Justice is sought to be secured by allotting shares on a geographical basis according to the importance of the areas The insistence on purchasing shares on the part of nominated directors has to be decried for the aim of nominating directors is to utilise the knowledge of experts

The Central Board of Directors consists of 16 members The Governor and the Deputy Governor who are full time officers will be selected by the Governor General in Council from out of a panel put forward by the Central Board It will be well worth the readers' while, in this connection, to compare the mode of election of the Governor of the Bank of England with the selection of the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India A proper method would have been the reversal of the position For when a country is politically subordinate the selection of the Governor by the head of the administration would not be in the national interests The purpose of nomination of four directors by the Governor-General-in-Council is explained in the report of the London Committee—" In view of the fact that in the particular circumstance of India election may fail to secure the representation of some important elements in the economic life of the country, such as agricultural interests, we recommend that a minority of the Board should be nominated . it being understood that this power would be exercised to redress any such deficiencies " Eight directors are to be elected by the different local boards A Government official may be nominated in addition to the four nominated non-official directors

Each local board has to elect five directors from amongst the shareholders Three directors are to be nominated by the Government from among the shareholders' register for the representation of agricultural, co-operative or

other important territorial economic interests. The local boards are mainly advisory in character and will play a valuable part in the scrutiny of commercial paper even as the discount committees of the Bank of Belgium and the Bank of Japan do Thus the Central Board of Directors which is partly elected and partly nominated is better than the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System which is entirely the creature of the President.

But the claim by some writers that the Reserve Bank of India is quite independent of the state is a myth. One impressive example of how the independence of the Reserve Bank ought not to be tampered with is the fixing of the exchange ratio of the Rupee itself at an arbitary level between 1s 5 49/64d and 1s 6 3/61d against the popular cry for a lower ratio Monetary autonomy is not vested in the sovereign legislature of this country and the introduction of any currency and exchange policy depends on the discretion of the Governor-General, according to section 153 of the Government of India Act of 1935 The result is that our currency and exchange policy would never run counter to British Imperialism and British Capitalists even if it deterimentally affects the national economy True that " excessive Government influence is sedulously avoided in the Act" But the ultimate control of any policy by the Governor-General results in the subordination of the Reserve Bank of India to the Bank of England and the British Treasury The principles underlying the constitution of the Reserve Bank of India are good if taken absolutely but the soil on which it is planted is not fertile A politically independent country like the United States of America or Great Britain offers the most favourable ground for the growth to its full stature of a Central Bank based on such principles

III. Regulation of Note issue

The basis of power of the Central Bank is that it is the ultimate source of cash, for it controls the supply of currency In England regulation of the amount of bankers'

deposits with the Central Bank gives the power to control member banks. Bankers' deposits have a connection with the issue of notes for the till money with the commercial banks is increased or decreased according to bankers' deposits Hence the control of note issue by the Central Bank gives it a peculiar position An ideal note issue system should infuse full confidence in the holder of the note, should ensure convertibility into whatever is the standard money of the country, should bring about elasticity and serve the best interests of business and, above all, guard against undue expansion or contraction of the note.

The Bank of England

The note issue of England is based on the fixed fiduciary principle, and the latest modification of the original Act of 1844 is by the Currency and Bank Notes Act of 1928 The Bank was allowed to issue £260 millions against securities and an indefinite amount against gold backing The fiduciary limit may be increased or lowered by the sanction of the treasury for succesive periods of six months but, in all, not exceeding two years, at the end of which period the consent of Parliament should be secured This is a distinct advance over the old arrangement and has made the system less rigid For in an emergency the Bank can increase the note-issue and ask Parliament afterwards to sanction this breach of law Though England went off the gold standard, the issue against gold in the vaults of the Bank of England is regulated according to the old ratio—i e , £3-17-10½ per standard ounce of gold But the notes of the Bank of England ceased to be convertible into gold and the paper pound was at a sharp discount in terms of gold The result is that, while actually the gold in the vaults of the Bank of England represents greater value than the actual notes issued on it for the sake of convenience, the legal price of gold is still maintained in the issue of notes on gold backing

The Banking Department of the Bank has a reserve of unused notes and without transgressing the fiduciary limit

it can increase or decrease circulation of note-issue to that level When there is a contractionist movement the unused notes of the Banking Department will increase and the Treasury will have no place in the regulation of the note-issue. But when there is an expansionist movement, the Treasury has the ' whip-hand ' and the Bank is subjected to the Treasury

The division of the Central Bank into two departments —the Issue and the Banking Departments and entrusting with the former the issue of notes—is crude and unscientific and should be abolished The amalgamation of the two departments would enable the Bank not only to furnish the public with a simple consolidated statement but also to place at the disposal of the public the total gold held by the Central Bank

The Federal Reserve System

The Federal Reserve Banks of America have the exclusive right to issue notes The Federal Reserve Act provides for the issue of two types of currency by the Federal Reserve Bank—the Federal Reserve note based upon the commercial paper rediscounted for member banks and the Federal Reserve Bank note identical in character with the national bank note Little use was made of the latter until they were retired in 1935 During an emergency Federal Reserve Bank notes were issued But there is no justification for the issue of such notes when there is an elastic system of currency

Originally the Federal Reserve notes were elastic, for a Reserve Bank could issue them only by depositing with the Federal Reserve agent rediscounted paper and banker's acceptances to the extent of 100% of the amount of notes received In addition the Reserve Bank was required to maintain a 40% reserve in gold But in 1917 Congress provided that the gold backing might be anywhere between 40 to 100% Further any gold owned by the bank whether in its vaults, on deposit with the agent or in the gold settlement fund with the Treasury could be counted as backing for

notes. This destroyed a good deal of elasticity in note-issue The Glass-Steagall Act of 1932 laid down that the backing of the Federal Reserve notes over 40% in gold could be in the form of United States bonds, instead of gold or commercial paper. This provision was being renewed year after year until in 1935 the President increased the time prescribed to two years Thus the fine principle of elasticity based on the short term obligations of commercial, industrial and agricultural interests has given place to the unscientific but far safer inelastic system of note-issue backed by Government bonds

The Reserve Bank of India.

The Reserve Bank of India has the power of issuing notes As in the case of the Bank of England the Issue Department is separated from the Banking Department But unlike the fiduciary issue of the Bank of England the system of note-issue adopted is the proportional reserve system The Reserve Bank has to maintain 2/5th of the note issued, in the shape of the gold bullion, coin and sterling securities, the total value of which should at no time be less than Rs 40 crores The valuation of the gold coin and bullion is to be fixed at 8 47512 grains of fine gold per rupee This is to avoid, as in the case of the gold backing of the Bank of England note, a changing reserve The remaining assets can be held in rupee coins, rupee securities and eligible commercial paper The rupee securities should at no time exceed ¼ of the total amount of assets or 50 crores of rupees, which-ever amount is greater, or with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council an increase of Rs 10 crores over that sum A sum equal to 17/20 of the total gold holding of the Reserve Bank of India shall be retained in India

The criterion of Central Reserve Banking is the building of sound and liquid assets As bank notes are an index of legitimate trading, industrial and agricultural activity, they ought to be created in response to due and legitimate demands with provision for prompt retirement of the notes.

Amassing of a gold minimum proportion that is stipulated and the keeping of gold and silver securities above the legal figure are not signs of adequate banking strength.

Another reform that is needed is the consolidation of the two departments. The result will be the economising of gold. While the policy of all the countries in the world is to reduce the legal requirements of gold in the proportional or percentage method of legislation, the method followed in India is contrary to that general trend.

IV Control of Credit

The Central Banks generally exercising control over the volume and terms of credit in a country have the power of influencing the quantity of output and employment and consequently the income of the individuals. Alteration of the credit structure is brought about in various ways in different countries. The measures taken are both active and passive. Besides the Bank Rate and its concomitant, open market operations, the other instrument of credit control which is very effective is the variation in the commercial bank reserve ratio. Open market operations have the power of changing both the quantity and quality of the assets of the commercial banks and the mechanism of credit structure reacts in different ways in such cases.

The Bank of England

While the Bank of England was solely responsible for the stability of credit structure in an economy where there was free flow of gold, after the departure from the gold standard, the responsibility for the stability of the structure has been shared by the Exchange Equalization Fund. The Bank concerns itself with the regulation of credit in the domestic market and the Exchange Equalization Fund acts as an insulator to the internal credit system against external disturbances by manipulating the exchanges and thus maintaining the stability of the pound.

In its control of credit the Bank of England depends upon two important weapons—the Bank Rate which in turn is made effective by the open market operations. The Bank Rate is effective only when the 'market is in the Bank'—*i e.*, only when the discount market goes to borrow from the Bank of England which is the lender at the last resort when commercial banks fail to lend to the discount market The Bank Rate is always higher than the market rate It is 'the penalty rate' When the Bank rate rises, the discount rate in the market tends to move up towards the Bank Rate Thus when 'the market is in the Bank', the Bank can make effective any Bank Rate and successfully control short term rates of interest which are quoted in the discount market The Bank can also force the discount market to turn to it by selling securities in the open market to mop up' all funds in the market At the same time, to provide increase in cash, it will buy Government securities

Central banks can increase or decrease the minimum cash reserves of Commercial banks maintained with them and thus control the credit of member banks In England the cash ratio of commercial banks is determined by custom and at the will of commercial banks Buying treasury bills in the market or the purchase of gold bullion from merchants also affects the bankers' deposits of commercial banks and the credit structure

The Central Bank from its position as a banker of the Government has to face serious disadvantages owing to the inequality of total receipts and total disbursements of Government which affect the public deposits and consequently the bankers' deposits and the credit structure So, in conjunction with the Treasury, the Bank manipulates with the treasury bills to offset such disadvantages Thus the treasury bill system is useful in "insulating the general credit structure from the ebbs and flows of Government funds" Thus technically equipped a Central Bank can pursue whatever Bank Rate policy it chooses

The Federal Reserve System —In the Federal Reserve System there are general provisions for control of credit such as reserve requirements, rules for eligibility of paper, disciplinary control over offending banks etc. Some of the more important instruments of credit may be studied here.

Like the Bank of England a Federal Reserve Bank is the lender at the last resort Member banks are required to maintain certain minimum reserves with their respective Federal Reserve Banks In order to expand deposit loans it is necessary to increase the size of their reserve deposits But unlike the English Banking System the member banks borrow directly from the Federal Reserve Bank Of course the Federal Reserve Bank, like the Bank of England, has every right to fix its own price In America as in England there have grown certain banking traditions Borrowing by one bank from another is considered a sign of weakness So the main aim of the member banks is to avoid indebtedness with the Reserve Bank When member banks find themselves indebted to Reserve Banks they rush to contract their loans even though the discount rate may be very low Again a rise in the discount rate cannot bring about a contraction of credit because the increased cost of borrowing does not affect the increased volume of credit In the stock market boom even a high increase in the rediscount rate had very little effect on the call loan rates which were very high An increase in the indebtedness of member banks results in a contractionist movement which results in a sharp increase in discount rates The Bank Rate has to follow this rate instead of leading it So changes in the discount rate are not always successful with all bankers

The development of open-market operations has a great influence upon the credit structure of the Federal Reserve System It has been the practice in America that when the Reserve System wants to contract or expand credit, there has not been generally in the first instance a raising or lowering of discount rate but only the selling or buying of securities and eligible papers in the market A changed position in the

indebtedness of member banks leads to a contractionist or expansionist movement resulting in a change in the market rate of interest. The official rediscount rate is raised or lowered even as the interest rates in the country vary It will be interesting to note that while in England the open-market operations are used generally to make an existing Bank Rate effective, in America the open market operations are used to initiate the movement in market rates generally The result is that while in the former case the general structure of bankers' rates is governed by the official rate, in the latter the official rate is governed by the market rate

If, however, the general condition of the market is such that there is no inclination to borrow, open-market operations will not result in an expansion of credit Even though the rediscount rates are reduced considerably there will be no effect on business Thus instead of affecting the total reserve credit outstanding as a result of open market operations, there has been, sometimes, only a change in the assets *e g*, the holding of more government securities and less eligible commercial bills But the one advantage of open market operations over rediscount rate is that while the former takes the initiative in affecting credit, the latter depends on the member banks to rediscount the papers with the Federal Reserve Banks Open market operations and the allied weapon of discount rates are successful when there are only mild disturbing factors in the country but in case of major disturbances like the Wall Street Crash of 1929 these weapons are absolutely useless in the control of credit

The Board of Governors has relied for controlling credit in some emergencies, upon their power of moral suasion and admonitions of member banks through letters, publications and personal visits But there will arise in some cases differences of opinion between a Federal Reserve Bank and the Board of Governors Thus this weapon of credit control is " only a transitory expedient given only momentary attention by many banks."

A more potent instrument of control of credit is the provision of the Reserve Act of 1933 which definitely lays down that accommodation should not be granted to member banks if their policies were inconsistent with sound credit conditions Each Reserve Bank is expected to study the nature of the loans and advances of member banks before rediscount facilities are afforded to them When a recalcitrant member bank fails to heed the advice of the Reserve Bank or the Board in the matter of loans and advances, the rediscounting privileges to that member may be curtailed Even though a Reserve Bank may not like to curtail the facilities for the member bank the Board as the final authority may prescribe the conditions under which credit is to be extended and may suspend the members from the use of Reserve Bank credit The Act of 1933 also laid down the percentage of capital and surplus which a member bank could lend on stocks and bonds Member banks which transgress the rules may forfeit credit facilities available under the Reserve System

Coupled with the power of the Board described in the last paragraph is the power vested in it of changing the reserve requirements of member banks with the Federal Reserve Banks The member banks were required by law formerly to maintain 3% against time deposits, and 7%, 10% or 13% against demand deposits according to the size and geographical position of banks This is the minimum legal ratio but the bank can increase the reserves to any level above this minimum The fact that if an increase in the reserves remained unutilised, loss of profits would result, led to the general belief that no banks would unduly increase their reserves to more than the legal ratio But a continuous flow of gold into America in recent years has exploded that belief by producing an increase in the supply of bank cash As the demand for commercial loans was at a low ebb and as the banks were unwilling to stuff their portfolios with Government securities, they preferred to allow their cash ratios with the Reserve Banks to increase far above the legal minima The result was the preparation of the ground to

precipitate an enormous inflation To prevent such a contingency from arising, the Bank Act of 1935 empowered the Federal Reserve Board to vary any or all the legal ratios between the former levels and the new maximum fixed This maximum was twice those of the usual levels Thus the variation of reserve ratios is a far more dependable and effective check for possible expansion of credit than open market operations.

The Reserve Bank of India—The difficulty of controlling credit in a country like India or China may be appreciated if we consider the peculiarities which distinguish the banking system in these backward countries from the highly developed systems in other countries In the first place the banking habit in India is very little developed Cash forms the greater part of the supply of money The market in India means rates on customers' loans made under cash credit system So changes in the supply of money can be brought about only by variations in the supply of cash Changes in the banking system will, to a limited extent, cause disturbances in prices but such changes will not be violent or prolonged unless they are supported by changes in the supply of cash Since the very few number of banks are concentrated in big trading centres the banking habit has generally developed in the traders But in the numerous villages of India the banking habit has developed so little that there is only the presence of trading contacts but no banking contacts between the banking centres and the villages The result is that when cash gets into the hands of the unsophisticated villager, it is hoarded. So a central banking policy in India to control credit and currency will be of little avail The mechanism of the credit structure is not delicate This also explains the severe restrictions on the liquidity of the assets of the scheduled banks

There is no call money or short money market in India The divisions between the various credit agencies—the Indian Joint Stock Banks, the uncontrolled indigenous bankers about whom there are no reliable statistics, the

foreign exchange banks, the co-operative credit institutions which supply both short and long term credit but which are in the majority of cases working on unsound lines, the numerous moneylenders both professional and non-professional and quasi-financial institutions such as finance companies and insurance companies—are so many and so difficult to overcome that it is impossible to speak of a market of the kind needed for contact between a central bank and the commercial banks The *hundis* which are the only inland trade bills are not very common In fact, they are fast dying out The bazaar rate for *hundis* is governed by the Imperial Bank *Hundi* rate The necessary co-ordination is to be brought about between these various credit agencies, whose rates of interest vary from 100% to 40%, by the official bank rate ! The Reserve Bank of India cannot occupy the position of being lender at the last resort even as the Bank of England or the Federal Reserve System does That is due to the absence of a good bill market If we examine the Reserve Bank of India's assets it will clarify the position

(December 7th, 1939) *Banking Department*

Assets —

Notes	Rs
(*a*) Legal Tender in India	11,30,31,000
(*b*) Legal Tender in Burma only	2,00,000
Rupee coin	6,03,000
Subsidiary coin	5,54,000
Bills purchased and discounted—	
(*a*) Internal	.
(*b*) External	
(*c*) Government Treasury Bills	4,59,99,000
Balances held abroad*	16,57,21,000
Loans and advances to Governments	3,62,00,000
Other loans and advances	50,000
Investments	6,92,74,000
Other Assets	3,55,41,000
Total	46,71,73,000

*Includes Cash and Short term securities.

The central banks' assets are mainly composed of legal tender notes, rupee coins, Government treasury bills, loans and advances to Government and balances held abroad which are composed of cash and short term securities Bills purchased and discounted either internal or external are nil The item 'other loans and advances' represent only Rs 50,000 out of the total assets of Rs 46½ crores This item may not include entirely loans and advances to commercial banks The control of commercial and other banks by the central bank depends on the bills purchased or rediscounted or the loans and advance to those institutions For only then can the central bank impose whatever interest rate it chooses and so influence those institutions to lend to the public. But commercial banks and other institutions in India are not indebted to the Reserve Bank and hence the impossibility of our Central Bank controlling credit through these banking institutions

But the provisions of Reserve Bank permit it to discount or purchase bills of exchange and promissory notes drawn and payable in India, which arise out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions—the condition here being that they must bear two or more good signatures one of which must be that of a "scheduled bank and that they must mature within 90 days from the date of purchase or rediscount exclusive of the days of grace" Bills or pronotes drawn or issued for the purpose of financing agricultural operations or marketing of crops, and maturing within nine months from the date of purchase or rediscount exclusive of the days of grace, could be dealt with by it The Reserve Bank can purchase, sell or rediscount Treasury bills drawn in the United Kingdom maturing within 90 days from the date of purchase The Reserve Bank can buy and sell government securities of India and of the United Kingdom maturing within a period of ten years But these rules for rediscounting and open market operations are intended to operate when the banking system in the country develops and with it a short term money market So it is not necessary at present to go

into the merits of these rules. While elaborate rules for rediscounting bills have been framed it is curious to find the absence of an open market investment committee to guide this type of banking business The American principle of holding deposits of scheduled banks at the rate of 5% of demand deposits and 2% of time deposits has no immediate effect of controlling credit except that it affords an opportunity for the Reserve Bank to build up national banking reserves.

Thus in the absence of short money markets the central bank can regulate the cash basis by its operations in gold and foreign exchange But in the former case the central bank has no control because the cash created by the purchase of gold depends on the international balance of payments But in the latter case when the central bank intervenes to put a check on the movements in the foreign exchange rates, the cash basis can be actively controlled Here account must be taken of the extreme variations of the balance of payments especially in an agricultural country like India, and a ' drought reserve ', as it is called in Australia, should be developed to accumulate in fat years reserves which could be parted with in lean years

V *Conclusion*

There are many other functions of the Central Bank, chief among them being the granting of loans and advances In the United States of America and in India the problem of giving credit, both long term and short term, to the agriculturists will necessitate a separate essay by itself Suffice it to say that in India the policy of the Reserve Bank in the matter of rediscounting agricultural paper is not encouraging

Both England and America, where the banking system has made far greater strides of development than in any other countries in the world, stand quite in contrast to India where we have a Reserve Bank which, while possessing the outwardly fine structure of an advanced type of central

bank, is in its practical working totally bereft of the life and spirit of a centralised system In those two countries the volume of credit and currency are governed by many indices the least important, of late, being gold in the vaults of the banks There is collaboration between monetary authorities. Exchange Equalisation Funds and such other insulatory practices coupled with the substitution of flexibility and variability for rigidity and fixed limits mark the new developments in those advanced countries But in India the absence of a sound banking habit and of a short term money market makes any such practice in central banking impossible But the establishment of a Reserve Bank with all the powers of credit control, it is hoped, would secure the development of a bill market, and bring with it other benefits of central bank credit control The proper development of the Reserve Bank could be facilitated by banking legislation to reform the uncontrolled indigenous bankers and money-lenders in the country and to standardise the *hundi* Moreover the linking of the rupee with sterling should be given up and the Reserve Bank should suggest a new monetary system. The needs of India and Indians should be the primary consideration in any policy adopted by the Reserve Bank "To be dragged after the chariot wheel of the Bank of England and be dictated by the exigencies of the British Treasury seems indeed derogatory to the dignity of the country" Stabilisation of internal prices and short term stabilisation of exchanges should be the aim of the Reserve Bank

HISTORY OF TOLERATION

BY

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Under the old Roman Empire Christians who were persecuted always pleaded the right of freedom to worship for the individual citizen But the moment Christianity became powerful and had the support of the Emperor it advocated the very policy which the Pagan Emperors used against it. From St Augustine downwards every one of the clergy quoting the word of Christ ' compell them to come in ', justified persecution on the ground that it was for the good of those who are persecuted The assertion that there is only salvation through Christianity and the people who sin against God by misguided and perverted notions by not accepting Christ as the only mediator must be punished, was put forth by the Roman priests. Under this, great men like Bruno Gullelio, Servitus and others were persecuted The Reformation though it was a protest against the then existing corruption of the Roman church was in no way helpful to the theory of toleration Like the primitive Christians, these protestant sects when they became powerful in any locality persecuted others One can trace the cause of this intolerance not in the open profession of correcting the misguided individuals but to jealousies, suspicions and fear of losing their power.

The plea for toleration had always come from those who were persecuted , and even here one will find that it was not unlimited but restricted with conditions Of those who were the champions of toleration in the 17th century, the outstanding figures are Roger Williams, Milton, Harrington, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza and William Pen.

Roger Williams was banished from the colony of Massachusets for refusing to conform to the standard belief and practice set by the ministers of church in the Colony. In his " Bloody tenant of persecution " published in 1644 one can trace the effect of this To him the church was only a group of individuals united for a purpose which has no concern for the Civil Magistrate The governmental authorities should not interfere in the belief and worship of men so long as the laws for maintenance of peace and order were not infringed by them He would tolerate Jews, Turks, and even Catholics for whom he had the profoundest hatred He would advocate toleration to all because it was enjoined by God and was expedient politically and socially In all this one could trace the plea of an independent man voicing forth the feeling of his sect afraid of Presbyterian domination

The next figure that attracts one's attention is Milton, poet of revolution and prophet of liberty, whose whole wrath on the suppression of free publication during the Protectorate was exhibited in his Areopagetica To Milton, the individual should be let alone because he is endowed with reason Denial of opportunity to choose by proscription was in itself to destroy manhood He pleaded for opportunity for each man to work out his own good and emphasised religious toleration on the basis of utility To him man should be free to have intercourse and communion with God, and Truth will prevail unless human reason is a delusion and a snare. He attacked Calvinism by his condemnation of sterotyped dresses and rigid and austere codes and protested against uniformity in conduct, thought and expression as not only unattainable but wholly undesirable His whole protest was against the rigid Puritan tyranny of the period and against Calvinistic iniquities.

It looks very incongruous when William Pen in his plea for toleration praised the noble way in which Calvinists have suffered for truth forgetting all the time how the very same sect was brutal in its persecution not only of those who openly disagreed with them but of others also who disregarded

the rules framed by the elders Pen in his " Great case of liberty of conscience once more debated and defended " has maintained that imposition restraint and persecution for matters of conscience directly, invades divine prerogative and divests Almighty of a due right proper to none beside himself He further argued that right to persecution means claim to infallibility and the whole Protestant religion was the outcome of this very denial to the Pope Among those who advocated toleration Pen is singular because he put it into practice more thoroughly in his colony, where even Catholics were tolerated and exhorted his people not to be carried away by any fear of Papists' plot To Pen the aim of every government is peace, plenty and unity , and persecution is a negation of all these three Peace is broken when people are persecuted Poverty is the result of destruction of families and unity is impossible if unanimity of opinion is aimed at To him natural affection will be destroyed and true religion will be subverted if men are required to profess not because they believe but because they are compelled to accept

On the other hand the plea put forth by Harrington is singular He argued that complete political liberty includes religious liberty and is the outcome of democracy Without liberty of conscience there could be no perfection and hence no security for Democracy To Harrington Liberty of Conscience is the only check against future absolutism But like others he set forth limitations He would not tolerate Jews, Papists and Idolators because Jews will never mix with nations and Papists owed allegiance to a foreign potentate

Hobbes' plea for toleration was based on his idea to secure freedom of enquiry not in the interest of cultivation of true religion but in the interest of physical science in which he was very much interested But he was true to his logic and gave absolute authority to the sovereign to crush freedom of opinion To him persecution is legitimate So prolific in discard is freedom of opinion, he said, that the

great end of civil life is ever in peril without the strict supervision of speech He did not believe in an universal church , but to him meetings of religious worship without the previous sanction of the sovereign were unlawful assemblies He would not separate religious and temporal spheres and said they were mere words brought into the world to make men see double and mistake their lawful sovereign Yet true to his rationalistic spirit he advocated toleration as an expediency so long as it did not endanger civil authority

On the Continent Spinoza pleaded for toleration He, a Jew, an outcast of his race, lived with some of his Protestant friends who were themselves under the ban of the Dutch ecclesiastical order To him, liberty is the supreme end of all States and his ideal State should promote a rational rather than beastial life in men , and liberty consisted in life according to reason and not according to passion The individual, to give up his thought, to be controlled by his sovereign, is impossible, to confine his speeches to what the sovereign commands is hardly more possible. And finally he urged that freedom of thought and expression are essential to the preservation and welfare of the Commonwealth.

Coming to Locke, the greatest exponent of toleration and one whose letter on toleration was the bible of the later age One finds how restricted is the toleration that he advocated His arguments will take one further than he went To him toleration is agreeable to the Gospel of Jesus and to genuine reason of mankind The care of the soul was never committed on to the civil magistrate by God, because he never gave any such authority over others to anybody A true and saving religion consists in inward persuation of the mind without which nothing can be possible In another place he urged " No violence nor injury to be offered him whether he be christian or pagan, nay we must not content with bare justice. Charity, bounty and liberality must be added ; this the gospel enjoins , this reason directs , this the natural fellowship we are born into require us." How noble are those words and yet how impracticable they were, is

seen by the fact that Locke himself advocated persecution of the Catholics He would persecute them because they themselves were so intolerant and they were dangerous to the civil liberty of the State.

The struggle of Locke with himself is seen throughout his work He was advocating unbounded freedom of conscience and yet restricted it in practice In another passage he says, " If a Roman Catholic believes that to be really the body of Christ which another man calls bread he does no injury thereby to his neighbour If a Jew does not believe in the New Testament to be the word of God, he does not thereby alter anything in men's civil rights If a heathen doubts both the Testaments he is not therefore to be punished as a pernicious citizen " How noble is the passage and how alien is it to his preaching of persecution of Catholics and Mahomedans !

Why all these people, though pleading for toleration, would not extend it to everybody ? Is it because they accepted persecution as legitimate and pleaded for toleration as expedient in certain cases or because toleration is to be qualified according to individual conditions ? Are we to-day anymore tolerant than the people of the Seventeenth Century and is our method of persecution more bearable than the old ? Sir James Stephen says, " Modern religious struggles conducted by discussion, legislation and by social intolerance is to religious persecution, what modern war is to ancient war " If we are really tolerant in the religious sphere, is it because we have accepted the fundamental principle that there should be absolute freedom which is always followed by equality or because our interests have shifted from religion to other spheres ? The last war showed that the spirit of persecution was not dead and is always lying dormant to be roused by some cause to work its havoc The last war was said to be a war waged to end war and to make the world safe for democracy and the right of every nation to self-determination Can anybody say from the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, that the signatories to the treaty believ-

ed in achieving that end by the imposition of reparation and the remapping of Europe which they forced down the throat of the vanquished. The problem of minorities which has sprung up in Europe, the Arab-Jewish question in Palestine, have proved that the talk of self-determination was not seriously meant to be put into practice Throughout history one could see that fear of being annihilated had been the motive of persecution Under the guise of self-preservation whole continents are being aggrandised, the children of the soil disinherited by foreign exploiters Under the pretext of preserving civilization Christians are forbidden to worship God in the so-called Christian churches Fine speeches on liberty are made while it is being denied to others In the name of civilizing natives preposterous tales are spread and ancient civilizations are misrepresented What is the difference between the plea of persecution which the zealous Christians gave for reforming heretics and the plea of white-man's burden to the coloured races Perhaps the former is the honest belief and the latter is utter hypocrisy

But for religious persecution the history of the world might have been written in a different way England would have been quite different from what she is Can we say that persecution in the past has retarded human progress, and are we to-day free from intolerance and advancing very rapidly? Are we anywhere nearer the millennium than our ancestors? In the past we burnt people for conscience , at present we use other methods towards those whom we fear Throughout one can trace that jealousy and fear were the causes of oppression Christians oppressed Pagans and in turn oppressed themselves when divided into sects And now they will oppress others if the others happen to belong to a race different from theirs In the name of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity people were guillotined in France and slaughtered in Russia In the name of Nationalism Jews in Palestine would demand greater rights than the Arabs because several centuries ago they happened to have lived there and now are utterly alien to the country and its environments. And in

India Muslims and Hindus are at grips each trying to outwit the other If we take the Hindu-Muslim question in India we could clearly see that jealousy, fear and economic motives stand in the way of that honourable compromise which would bring about contentment and happiness to this unhappy land

Harrington's theory, that democracy will bring freedom, is falsified by the existing conditions European idea of democracy resembles that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, who when they talked of freedom excluded slaves just as Europeans excluded others Christianity preaches self-sacrifice while Christians practise self-aggrandisement. Muhammadanism is said to be a democratic religion and it is found to be one of the most intolerant of religions to-day The accusations against the Catholics of the Seventeenth Century could very well be brought against the Pan-Islamism of to-day The suggestion of Mahomedan provinces by Sir Mahomed Iqbal savours of theocracy which is the negation of all democratic principles The principle of White Australia has no more moral background than the right of America to interfere in South American affairs in the name of peace and order The rights claimed by the South African Whites are based on a theory of superiority which is the negation of the principle of Toleration This differs in no way from the idea of race purity as preached and practised by Hitler

Coming nearer home the history of Toleration in India has many dark spots which mar the glory of Ancient India, whose civilisation and culture are nearer to those noble principles on which alone toleration can be based The theocratic background of her civilisation was responsible for the development of a system of society where superiority is based on birth This is responsible for some of those incidents in Ramayana and Mahabaratha which give us examples of a kind of intolerance found nowhere and which helped in the perpetuation of the dominance of one single class over the rest

The world moves on Everybody preaches toleration but none practises it Only we show intolerance in different spheres at different times Till the 17th Century it was in the religious sphere Next in the sphere of race and the trend of the future seems to be in the sphere more vital to humanity , the sphere of bread and butter the sphere through which Germany wants to establish a new kind of domination over the rest of the world The spirit of intolerance in the Economic sphere is responsible for the war which is waging now , and no one knows whither humanity will be led by this conflagration.

RECENT TRENDS OF LAND REVENUE REFORM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MADRAS

BY

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There is perhaps no other problem in the rural economy of India which has provoked so long and so bitter a controversy as that of the taxation of land British authorities in India had more than a century ago given up their faith in the Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue with zamindars. Seventy years back when agricultural prices were steadily rising they gave up the idea of a permanent settlement with ryots, which had been promised time and again in the past by a number of statesmen The theory as well as practice of the ryotwari system of settlement and periodical resettlement began to be elevated to the level of a science Official faith in it seemed to grow in proportion to the opposition by representatives of tax-payers to the system and its vagaries Most of the latter had pinned their faith in a sort of permanent settlement in ryotwari areas too with a low flat rate on all lands, while they were prepared for an additional levy in times of emergencies

The last ten years have witnessed a great change in the attitude of the very administrators who had been prone to treat the land revenue as a light levy more than justified by the continuous rise in prices of produce The faith of people's leaders in a permanent tax has also been considerably shaken, partly perhaps due to the greater responsibility they have had to shoulder in constituting the new Governments of provinces The cumulative effect of the collapse in prices in 1930 and the continued depression since then revealed the utter unsoundness of a system of taxation which

took into account only the prices of the previous twenty years and made no allowance for a future fall in prices Remissions have been given in Madras in a grudging way, not commensurate with, nor directly dependent on, fall in prices

A more generous policy has been adopted in the Punjab—in Lyallpur resettlement first and in Lahore next—whereby remissions from 'standard rates' were guaranteed automatically every year in proportion to the fall in current prices from the prices adopted for commutation in working out the standard rates But it was assured that no additional demand would be made above the rates settled if there was any rise in prices over the commutation price adopted Even this policy has been criticised for not taking into account the comparative inelasticity of costs of cultivation in a period of falling prices and consequently inflating net assets on which are based resettlement or standard rates

Marjoribanks Committee Report

The Government of Madras in May 1937—the Interim Ministry just before the Congress party accepted office—appointed a Committee composed of four Civilians and three Non-officials, with Sir N Marjoribanks as Chairman, to suggest ways of lightening the land revenue burden in the ryotwari areas in the Presidency but prescribed the limit of total relief to Rs 75 lakhs The more heroic step the Government took was to put a stop to all resettlement operations The Committee accepted the latter decision and recommended a return to the scale of assessment of the pre-war year 1913-14 in all districts, with slight modifications in water-rates in deltaic areas and garden rates in the West Coast This was to be the basic rate of assessment, but the Committee said that it could be raised when the Government felt a great need for further expenditure, or lowered when other sources of revenue were available or when prices of produce fell very low

Three strong criticisms were levelled at these recommendations of the Committee, and they were not given

effect to, especially as there was a change in the Ministry· (1) The acceptance of the 1913-14 rates ignored the plight of districts which had been resettled on a high standard previous to that year But the Committee felt that previous years' prices were not such as to involve any great inequality, especially if the modifications suggested were given effect to (2) The element of uncertainty and the risk of a rise in rates when the national emergency demanded it would render the adoption of the suggested scale nearly as unpopular as the periodical resettlement—though the Committee laid down that changes should be neither violent nor frequent (3) The third criticism is more fundamental No distinction was made between the very poor and well-to-do ryots, all were expected to pay the same rates and have them raised or lowered without exception, which was simply perpetuating the old theory that land revenue was a tax in rem and not on persons The Committee brushed aside the idea of income-tax on agriculture, on the score that it was not 'practical politics,' as there were far too many small holders who would go scot free with any limit of exemption prescribed, while the official investigation of income would cause an amount of worry and annoyance

Darling Committee Report

It is worth while comparing what a similar committee appointed by the Government of the Punjab recommended in their report in 1939, which has in the main been accepted by that Government This Committee presided over by Sir M Darling came also to the conclusion that it was not practicable to apply the principles of income-tax to the assessment of land-revenue Over 70 per cent of the landholders of the Punjab pay each a revenue of Rs 10 or less, while full 50 per cent pay less than Rs 2 each It was out of the question to exempt such a large number from payment of any tax. Apart from its effect on the finances of the Province, the Committee argued that " the ownership of land in the Punjab carried with it important privileges and it is

only reasonable that those who enjoy these privileges should pay something to the community, because the privileges derive their very existence from the community" Any such exemption it was feared would also lead to further partition and fragmentation of holdings The Committee, however, recommended, as a temporary measure, a reduction of 50 per cent for those who paid a land-revenue of Rs 10 and less, and a reduction of Rs. 5 for those who paid more than Rs 10 and less than Rs 25 Permanent relief to the extent of 25 per cent reduction in kist was recommended for *cultivating* landholders of at least four years' standing paying a revenue of Rs 25 and less

Though the income-tax idea did not find favour in its entirety, the Committee suggested the levy of a temporary sur-charge of 6¼ to 25 per cent on a graduated scale on all large landholders paying a kist of over Rs 250 per annum. This was expected to yield a revenue of Rs 5 lakhs per annum A more constructive suggestion was the constitution of a fund of Rs 10 lakhs to start with for financing schemes to promote the agriculturist's income and his standard of living Thus the Darling Committee's recommendations are more substantial on the positive as well as the negative side from the point of view of smaller ryots, while to the bigger landholders has been applied the principle, if not the regular form, of income-tax

Conditions may not be the same in Madras as in the Punjab, though both are essentially ryotwari provinces with large areas under irrigation But the four important principles laid down in the Punjab are worth following in Madras too, with necessary modifications (1) Immediate, though temporary, relief ranging from 20 to 50 per cent for all small holders paying less than Rs 25 of kist, (2) permanent relief of 25 per cent for all small cultivating ryots, (3) guarantee of remissions in years when prices fall below a standard rate with an assurance that there will be no enhancement in years of rising prices; and (4) surcharge of 6¼ to 25 per cent on landholders paying a kist of over Rs 250

Relief in Ryotwari Areas in Madras?

The Congress Ministry in Madras did not commit themselves to any definite policy of land revenue reform in the ryotwari areas The Revenue Minister, in speaking on a resolution of Prof P J Thomas in the Legislative Council in August 1938 urging the need for an enquiry into and revision of land revenue policy, admitted the urgency and the need for relief and stated that the Government were seriously considering several proposals for an equitable distribution of the burden among several districts, they were trying "to grapple with the whole situation in order to give relief to the long-suffering ryots in the best possible way," to evolve some method of relief which, he was careful to add, would not deprive the Government of their revenue He said that the Marjoribanks Committee's recommendation that the rates of 1914 might be taken as the starting point for application of relief could not be given effect to as the Government had received strong protests from districts settled previously The new Punjab system of remissions according to fall in prices, the Minister assured, was also 'being examined by competent hands,' though he said conditions in Madras were not the same The Government were anxious that "the reform of land-revenue should not be delayed indefinitely and that the Government should not be compelled to say at the time of the next budget that they were not yet ready with definite proposals" The 1939 Budget did not, however reveal any plans of the Government on the subject of land-revenue reform in ryotwari areas

Prakasam Committee Report on Madras Estates

Meanwhile was published a document of extraordinary importance for zamindari areas, the Report of the Madras Estates Land Act Enquiry Committee over which the Revenue Minister, the Hon Mr T Prakasam, himself had presided. The Committee came to the conclusion after an elaborate examination of old records that while the Permanent Settlement of 1802 undoubtedly gave the zamindar

fixity of tenure and of peishkush payable to the Government, the Patta Regulation, which was simultaneously passed, by requiring him to enter into *specific* agreements as regards rents etc so as to confer on them greater security, really fixed the rents payable by them to the zamindar for ever These the zamindar could not enhance on any account His only source of legitimate additional income, the Committee held, was the extension of the area of cultivation by reclamation of waste lands, on which too he could not charge any rents he liked The zamindar had now to give up the illegal enhancements of rent made in the course of at least half a century

This interpretation by the Committee of the old Permanent Settlement has been subjected in the legislatures and outside to vigorous criticism in the light of several official records, the decisions of courts of law and the series of tenancy laws enacted The latter proceeded on the understanding that the zamindari ryot whatever other right he had, did not enjoy fixity of rent and in order to protect him from arbitrary enhancement of rent restricted the zamindar's right to raise it periodically, more or less on the lines of resettlement in ryotwari areas Even if the zamindar could, according to the findings of the Committee, be compelled to go back to the rates of 1802, when rents were mostly paid in kind, could he be now compelled to take the equivalent of the kind rents commuted in terms of prices prevailing just prior to the settlement? Fixity of rent should apply to kind rent as well as money rent if really 'rent was fixed perpetually and unalterably' That the rights of ryots were not so definitely laid down is clear from the following remark of the Committee "If only the Government had not given jurisdiction to courts to decide those disputes, but on the other hand declared in unequivocal and unambiguous terms the unalterable character of the rent in the same manner in which the peishkush has been fixed, there would have been no trouble at all."

Repeal or Alteration of the Permanent Settlement

The legislature has undoubtedly the right to change the law, to set right a wrong and to set aside prescriptive rights by payment of compensation. The Government of India Act permits this, only, a bill affecting Permanent Settlement will have to get the assent of the Governor, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, which is not likely to be withheld if the bill had 'an overwhelming volume of public support' For the Joint Parliamentary Committee, on whose report the Act is based, had no desire to place "beyond the legal competence of an Indian ministry responsible to an Indian legislature, which is to be charged *inter alia* with the duty of regulating the land revenue system of the Province, to alter the enactments embodying the Permanent Settlement, which enactments despite the promise of permanence which they contain are legally subject (like any other Indian enactment) to repeal or alteration" If the Committee had suggested the repeal or alteration of the Zamindari system, there would have been less occasion for a controversy, so long and so mystifying There was indeed an amazing degree of agreement among several critics of the report of the Committee that the Zamindari system had long outlived its utility to the State, while it was almost always an annoyance to the ryots Suggestions were made to do away with the system and make the whole Province ryotwari, so that the State could deal directly and fairly with all ryots, and incidentally enhance its revenue But if such a proposal were accepted, there would no doubt be divergent views on the need for, and the degree of compensation to be paid to vested interests which have been permitted to grow in the course of a century and more The system, however, is bound to go, the sooner the difficulties are faced, the better We do not yet have in Madras the serious complications that are to be found in Bengal by the rise of a series of intermediate tenure-holders with rights of their own, whose capital value cannot be ascertained with ease

Bihar Scheme for Liquidation of Zamindaris

In this connection it is worthwhile referring to a scheme proposed by Dr Syed Mahmud, the Development Minister of Bihar in the Congress Ministry, for the practical liquidation of the Zamindari system, which he believes is "an impediment in the way of any plan of an all-round material progress for the agriculturists of the Province" His proposal is that the Government should acquire the Zamindari rights on a voluntary basis at first, and if experience dictates on a compulsory basis later, on payment of "reasonable compensation" which he puts at fifteen times the annual net *income of the estates, after carrying out a reduction* by 25 per cent of the existing rentals as already undertaken by the Government There is no need to pay cash, as bonds can be issued bearing interest at 3 per cent The Government will incur only a little more expenditure on collection After payment of interest and contribution to sinking fund for the redemption of bonds, the Government will secure an annual additional income of one crore of rupees, while after the bonds are redeemed the gain will be Rs 3 or 4 crores more A greater and quicker gain would be reaped by ryots, between whom and the State will no longer stand "a huge parasitic organisation."

We do not know whether the party, if it comes back to power, will take up the question and push it through the legislature But if legislation is to be merely permissive, it is doubtful whether the big zamindars will care to avail themselves of the offer made, as they will surely stand to lose a good slice of their existing income Acquisition will have to be made compulsorily before long and the purchase price pitched at a lower level, say, 10 times the annual net income, which is by no means an unreasonable, if not an attractive compensation

Nature and Effects of Proposed Relief in Madras Estates

To come back to Madras, whatever be the legal position or the political situation, there are few economists who will

champion the permanent settlement of revenue, in whatever way it may be interpreted They cannot consider the Permanent Settlement sacro-sanct, they can be no more in love with the permanence of rents than with that of peishkush or revenue Relief to a degree unexpected and unasked for by ryots, many of whom do not cultivate land or supervise its cultivation, but are only rent-receivers—some by virtue of recent purchase of by foreclosure—can have little ethical or economic support We have no means of knowing the exact number of such non-cultivating ryots or middlemen The Committee themselves aver "*much of the land* having gone out of the hands of cultivators into the hands of creditors such cultivators (are) compelled to obtain leases, as sub-tenants, even for higher rents, knowing there will be no margin left for them ultimately" In the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the draft Bill, it is stated that on account of increase of rents and debts, the ryots "*in many cases* were obliged to surrender in favour of their creditors" The Andhra Zamin Ryots' Association submitted in a memorandum "The average of lands escaping into the hands of non-agriculturists would be greater in the Zamindaris" An idea of the high rents that undertenants pay to the ryots compared with what the latter have to pay to the Zamindar may be had from the extracts given from reports of Collectors

If in spite of opposition from different quarters, the Government will proceed to enact the bill proposed, the question arises how far such a measure will affect the revenue position of the Government If rents are to be reverted to the 1802 basis of prices, the relief in most cases will be so striking as to excite naturally the envy of neighbouring ryotwari ryots, who will then have a much more legitimate grievance against the exactions imposed in the resettlements It will not be practical politics to give such relief in ryotwari area, though the need for some lightening of the burden is on all hands admitted The Revenue Minister let us note, wanted to give them relief 'without depriv-

ing the Government of its revenue' Will this mean that a part of the relief that the ryots get in Zamindari area will be diverted to the Government's coffers? There was a significant hint—one might read in it an unmistakable trend of financial policy that may follow such relief—given by the Prime Minister. "Let nobody imagine that the 1802 basis affects the Government, it is a limitation of rights imposed only on the Zamindar." He said "The State has got the right to the revenue, to the increased revenue; to the enhancement that has taken place during these many years That increased revenue is somehow or other the incohate property of the State, it is a dangerous thing to cut it down and go back to 1802 How can a State acting in modern times, work on the moderate revenue of 1802?" So, according to this view, the charge that Government would be robbing Paul and paying Peter will fail. Perhaps it will be to the ultimate good of all if the rates all over the Presidency are governed by the same principles, even immediately the gain is bound to be appreciated by the vast majority of ryots in Zamindaris who asked for nothing more than a reduction of their rates to the level of the ryotwari areas The Zamindars will have to surrender much of their net incomes, and some of them may be driven to relinquish their estates even as 380 were said to have done in the past Perhaps those will continue who have brought under cultivation a lot of waste lands during the latter half of the last century

Bigger Landholders comparatively lightly taxed in India

Whenever the question of an agricultural income-tax is mooted as a partial corrective of the regressive land tax in India, the Zamindars with large net incomes—i e, differences between rentals collected on the one hand and peishkush, collection and other charges paid on the other hand—are the foremost, if not the only ones thought of. If the bill drafted by the Committee in Madras is passed, they will no longer figure so prominently in the new levy There are, however, large ryots both in Zamindari areas, as already referred to, and in ryotwari areas, whose incomes may be

legitimately subjected to an income-tax on a graduated scale. A Special Enquiry into Indebtedness in the Madras Presidency revealed a marked rise in the number of ryotwari pattadars paying over Rs 250 each, as kist, they exceeded 11,000 in 1930, and the depression should have accelerated the tendency "for the small holder to make way gradually for the larger landholder who seldom cultivates the land himself" They may be paying a comparatively high tax on land, but they are let off lightly when compared with landowners in most countries as they are exempted from a progressive income-tax In a conservative country like Great Britain, the bigger estates have had in addition to pay death duties or inheritance taxes to such an extent that it led to the break-up of a number of them, while 33 per cent of the farmers have become owner occupiers This, in spite of the reputation of the landlords in Britain for improving the land, and equipping it, for initiating experiments and encouraging the tenantry and providing amenities for agricultural labourers Almost every European country, especially after the last war, has been deliberately following a policy of creating smaller, but economic, holdings at the expense of the bigger estates

In India appeals have been made again and again, from the days of the Permanent Settlement, to Zamindars and other landlords for taking the lead in agricultural improvements even as the British landlords did in the 18th and 19th centuries While it must be admitted that large areas of waste lands have been reclaimed and brought under cultivation by a number of Zamindars there is little that most of them could claim by way of improvement of crops or of animal husbandry Indeed only an infinitely small fraction of the total area under their jurisdiction—*Sir* or home-farm land—is farmed by the Zamindars or their agents The larger ryots in zamindari or ryotwari area are not much better, for most of them lease out their lands to a large number of petty tenants who have no means or incentive to improve cultivation There need be little compunction, therefore, in imposing taxes on these bigger

landlords or landholders In the few cases where improvements have been effected, and the tenantry are better treated and helped with adequate means of cultivation, a liberal allowance may be granted in estimating their assessable income The principle has been recognised in the revision of rates of land revenue in the old temporary settled estates of North India and in the newly settled estates in Sunderbans in Bengal

Agricultural Income-Tax in Bihar and Assam

In the matter of taxing agricultural incomes on a graduated scale, over and above the land revenue, it is Bihar that has given the lead to other Provinces The Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax Act (1938) provides for a number of deductions from the income of a landlord or landholder before it can be assessed "The assessable income of an agriculturist will be determined after deducting expenses incurred for producing the income, such as sums paid as revenue and rent, collection expenses upto 10 per cent of the gross income, expenses incurred on maintenance of the capital assets of cultivation, transport charges, maintenance of cattle and implements, interest paid on mortgages insurance premia not exceeding one-sixth of gross income" In cases of inability to produce accounts, the income for purposes of levying income-tax will be presumed to be six times the rent of kist paid to the Government The annual yield of the new tax was estimated at Rs 40 lakhs a year It would be much more, if the taxable limit had not been fixed at Rs 5,000, but at Rs 2,000 (the general income-tax level on non-agricultural incomes with less purchasing power in urban areas) or at least at Rs 3,000, as in Assam, in view of the land revenue already payable by all

The Assam Agricultural Income-Tax Act (1939) exempts incomes below Rs 3,000 per year The rate fixed is higher than in Bihar, on the lower brackets of income upto Rs 100,000 The rate of tax is liable to alternation every year, though it shall never exceed that of the central tax

The Act was passed in the face of powerful opposition of the European tea planters who contended that they were already paying land revenue to the Provincial Government, and a tax on 40 per cent of their income from the tea industry to the Central Government, and that they would be subjected to double taxation as they remitted their earnings to the United Kingdom It must be said in fairness to them that while they objected to the rate of taxation (which was higher than in Bihar), to the taxing of their entire income (i e, including that assessed by the Central Government) and to the absence of relief from double taxation, they had no objection to the principle of the tax on agricultural incomes Their leader said "We believe the exemption of agricultural income from taxation in the past was based upon unsound and fallacious reasoning" The Finance Minister pointed to the profits made by the tea industry in the past 30 years, which were all taken away to the United Kingdom, which might well afford to give relief now The attitude of the permanently settled estate holders was more unreasonable, as they claimed immunity from the tax legally The Minister would not budge and he told them "The landlords hardly pay a pice per acre as land revenue, while they make as much as a rupee out of that acre"

The Case for Agricultural Income-tax in Madras

Here then are examples which Madras might follow, though a different exemption level and scale of taxation might be adopted We have had little evidence of any idea or plan on the part of the Congress Government in Madras to tax higher agricultural incomes on a progressive scale One of the criticisms of the Madras Debt Relief legislation was that it sought to relieve all agricultural debtors (except big jenmies and zamindars) irrespective of the amount of their incomes from land and their capacity to repay debts, while other Provinces imposed or contemplated a limit of income of the borrower beyond which no relief would be given It was then expected that the incomes of bigger ryots in the Presidency would be subjected to an income-tax,

though the Ministry made no such commitment. They were more keen on shifting the burden of taxation from the country to the town than on discriminating between the rich and the poor in rural areas The sales tax was imposed on this ground and it was expected to bring in a large revenue mounting to a few crores, which would make up for the steadily growing loss of revenue from excise due to the extension of the policy of prohibition from district to district So far the sales tax has brought in less than Rs. 80 lakhs, it is said The need for tapping other sources of revenue like the bigger agricultural incomes is still there especially as the burden of the land revenue on the poorer holders needs to be lightened There is no reason why the yield from an agricultural income-tax should be considered negligible if not only the bigger ryots in ryotwari areas but also the zamindars, however weakened some of them may become by the contemplated legislation, and the bigger ryots in the zamindari areas are included It is not the yield alone that matters, the satisfaction that more capable shoulders will bear a legitimately heavier burden is no small psychological gain in public finance The fear of any disruption of optimum economic units in farming as a reaction to such taxation is groundless as almost all the estates have been all along sub-divided into small, too small, cultivation units Indeed it would be an economic gain if some of the bigger holders who are not able to look after their lands in wet areas or who keep considerable tracts in dry areas without cultivation in anticipation of rise in land values, were taxed on all their holdings as though they were fairly cultivated and consequently were obliged to transfer them or make better use of them

It is easy to exaggerate the administrative difficulty in estimating the total income of an agriculturist and his cultivation expenses But Sir Walter Layton thought this difficulty was not peculiar to India "With the elaborate machinery for the maintenance of land records and for the administration and collection of land revenue at his disposal,

the Indian Collector is probably in a better position to estimate agricultural profits than the assessor in other countries" The number of bigger holders is after all limited and their agricultural income should be pretty well known to the local revenue staff. At any rate it cannot be more difficult of assessment than that of sales tax involving numerous cases and more numerous transactions Land leases are becoming more common and figures of rentals may be got without difficulty. In the case of valuable commercial crops, costs of cultivation and yields are noted by growers themselves More would be induced to keep accounts as a result of taxation Enquiries of land mortgage and other co-operative banks, Agricultural and Co-operative Departments, and investigations conducted by Universities, Boards of Economic Enquiry and the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are all bound to be of great value in checking returns Indeed an elaboration of these intensive enquiries might help to lay down formulae for a more equitable distribution of the land revenue burden even among smaller ryots There is no reason why we should stick on to the outworn system of assessing all lands growing a variety of crops on the basis of the yield of standard crops, paddy or particular millets, while an increasing proportion of lands is devoted to more valuable commercial crops on the basis of whose costs and yields a more discriminating system of assessment may be adopted If only the Government make up their mind and formulate a comprehensive land revenue policy, the administrative difficulty may melt away

Recent discussion has revealed a growing volume of support to the ending rather than mending of the Permanent Settlement The zamindars themselves are not unaware of the increasing unpopularity of the system, though they are not to blame for all its failure They cannot be expected to pass a self-denying ordinance, they should be bought off by reasonable compensation for the interests that have been, rightly or wrongly, allowed to grow for such a long period Uniformity of revenue system will mean less

cost to the State and make for social harmony The Ryotwari system, which has been shining by contrast, itself needs drastic revision The assessment should be based on the prices of the immediate rather than the distant past, it should vary with the value of the crops grown, commercial crops in particular, rather than be fixed in relation to one crop only, it should cease to press so heavily on the small holder but it should not let off so lightly the bigger holders Is it beyond the wit of statesmen to devise an adequate administrative machinery for working such a system?

RURAL AND URBAN ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

BY

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I propose to outline here a scheme that may not come to full realisation for some decades more. But it seems to me that we must take early and quick steps in that direction Life is a balancing of proximate and ultimate ideals Proximate ideals have to be vitalised by the ultimate ideals, and ultimate ideals have to be brought down to the earth by being yoked to proximate ideals. If we forget the ultimate ideals we will not have the sense of the direction or the goal If we forget the proximate ideal, the glory of the goal will dazzle our vision and disable us from seeing the way

I am not concerned with the proximate ideals in other countries The patriotic thinkers and active workers there are envisaging and solving the national problems there A dictator tries to solve them in one land, a Parliament tries to solve it in another land Though the ultimate goal of humanity is one, each country has got its own special immediate problems and will set about their solution in its own way. Meet it is that I set down our problems and my suggestions for their solution

Till now, strangely enough, social reform was thought of and talked about in terms of foreign travel, caste, disabilities, and martial freedom, and not, as in other countries, in terms of better housing, higher wages, better conditions of work, etc Now, however, a new orientation is seen Further, the importance of political freedom as vitally bearing on a higher social life has been grasped by our countrymen The past Great War and the present Greater War have hit our country hard, and the epidemic of unemployment is spread-

ing everywhere The peasants and workers have also waked up and are becoming conscious of their rights

It is, therefore, quite necessary that we should envisage clearly, and work strenuously for, the next step forward The fighting down of the dragon of communalism is only a negative good Unless the evil spirit of communalism goes, the expected and desired angels cannot come in at all But its exorcism is but of negative value We have to make clear to ourselves what are our immediate positive next steps forward, though never allowing the ultimate values of human life to vanish out of our ken.

The most immediate and vital and universally needed next step is rural reconstruction This phrase has been soiled by too much use and does not connote anything clear and definite today Co-operative credit was brought in thirty years ago but it has not had its necessary co-workers and is hence an almost spent force to-day We must simultaneously lessen the rural debt, increase rural thrift and augment the rural income The population of our villages is growing fast but the standard of life is still primitive and joyless and unrefined and low, and there has been no increase in production or income commensurate with the growth of the rural population The villager has to possess self-reliance and strength and initiative No rural or urban economic survey of India has been undertaken till now We have to evolve a scheme which will enable the villager to get more income from his land, to improve his methods of production so as to enable him to meet foreign competition, to increase the number of his subsidiary occupations and industries, and to familiarise him with the concept of a higher standard of life The village panchayats must be served by educated young men who will carry out the ideas of the leaders of the nation in the above directions and must be helped by the Government with all the resources of the public revenues to realise such aims The village headman must be its functionary and servant and not a Government nominee bossing over the village panchayats with a superiority complex Such village pancha-

yats must be federated aright by central associations which will co-ordinate and control and direct their activities Each family must contribute a fair share of work and wealth to make the village panchayat's work at rural uplift a real and marked success The well-to-do men of the village must deem it a matter of pride to take the lead and bring the scheme to fruition Each family should keep a family income register wherein the income from all sources will be entered In the same way there should be a village income register By comparing the annual totals we can see whether the village is growing in prosperity or not I would even make it necessary for a graduate to serve for six months in a village before winning his degree It is the duty of the rich and educated people to educate the villagers in rural economics so as to teach them to increase their income and lessen their expenditure

In this connection we must have a living faith in the newly born power of electrical energy to act as the beneficient angel in bringing about the transformation India has specialised in hydro-electric schemes and is in a position to supply cheap power at the very door of the villager Each group of villages can establish a suitable local industry by which all those villages can gain The electrical power can be used to start various small cottage industries on the basis of mechanical power These will go along with small industries worked by manual power What is needed is a well-thought-out scheme We need also patriotic workers to broadcast the scheme and help in the realisation of the scheme We must find out what industries can be specially pursued in the slack seasons of agriculture

We have also to bestow attention on agricultural marketing, because it is here that the villager is exposed to exploitations of all sorts The Royal Commission on Agriculture has stated "No systematic survey of the conditions under which agricultural produce is marked in India has been made in any Province" The Commission has recommended the making of rural surveys with special regard

to marketing facilities But that work has not yet been done. Many middlemen intervene between the rural producer and the export merchant The existing methods of storage of grain are wasteful and inefficient The forward contracts relating to such stored produce are demoralising to a degree. The ignorant villager is exploited by the *Bania* and by the *Mandi* merchant and others till the agents of the exporting firms complete the chapter The cultivator's vision is limited by the *mandi* or the *shandy* He has to be helped by better organisation and by better transport facilities. It is only now that co-operative sale societies are being started Radhakamal Mukerjee says well " What may be done is the consolidation of middlemen or the telescoping of a series of private dealers each of whom has been playing his part in the movement of agricultural produce to the consumer by a co-operative organisation "

Rural thrift should go along with the augmentation of the rural income Here again the richer villagers, who are now victims of ostentation and are themselves steeped in debt, must reform themselves and then show the way to others It is more easy to earn than to save The village marriages and funerals should become less expensive and wasteful than they are today

But all these results depend on the liquidation of rural illiteracy Not even a fringe of the problem of universal and free and compulsory elementary education has been touched as yet Japan began with that reform and has hence forged ahead In Japan nearly 60 per cent of the local taxes is spent on the rural schools Today we think of elementary education in terms of the three R's But what is of real importance is the imparting of national culture and modern knowledge We particularly want night classes, reading rooms, rural libraries, travelling schools, radios, cinemas, magic lantern exhibitions, lectures by broadcasting and by itinerant lecturers, adult education, agricultural schools, vocational training model farms, etc

It is equally important to tackle the problems of urban labour. Though the Indian people are not massed in huge cities as in the west, we are beginning to feel the prick of labour problems in our cities Till now Indian labour was unorganised and helpless and was being ruthlessly exploited It is only now that it is becoming organised and articulate. Trade unions in India are as yet in their infancy Labour legislation is just now beginning to make itself felt It will be a pity if labour leaders merely follow the methods of this or that foreign country and do not understand the genius of India or the trend of humanity as a whole Some of the Indian labour leaders advocate general strikes and direct action and civil war Socialism and Syndicalism and Communism are yet on their trial on the west and are distinctly unsuited to the Indian ideals of life here and hereafter It will be one of the most difficult tasks of the new Indian democracy to make Capital recognise its obligations and to hold Labour in leash

While I am yet on the question of urban life and labour in India today, I must make a passing reference to certain new trends in Indian urban economic life There is a tendency to ape the west all round and to cut away from the old moorings There is on the one side a reversion to small industries worked by manual power and on the other side a rush towards the establishment of huge plant in big factories for the sake of large scale production It is not at all sensible to neutralise and nullify our efforts by such contradictory endeavours Our leaders must put their heads together and settle the respective provinces of man power and machine power Further, if the western nations go in for factories for making all sorts of useless and poisonous luxuries, is it necessary that we also should rush along the same road ? In all these respects we must preserve our sane and balanced outlook on life for which we have been famous and which has been kept alive even when younger civilizations poisoned by luxury and materialism degenerated and vanished from the face of the earth.

I regret also to note the new-born tendency to multiply insurance companies and banks in large numbers in a spirit of mutual hostility and competition While European Banks federate and amalgamate, we are intensifying in our economic life also our fissiparous tendency in social life The country is full of mushroom banks and mushroom insurance companies and mushroom industries Many companies have their floatation in one year and sink in the next year Mutual trust and complete unity and thorough loyalty are of the essence of such ventures Let us not forget that every short-lived bank or insurance company or industry is a stab at the heart of mother India

I shall now say a few words about the widespread middle class unemployment which has become such a menacing feature of our national life in recent times This new trouble will never be solved unless the universities and the Government and the public co-operate and help to solve the problem The universities must come out of their ancient shells and start new technological courses and fit pupils for practical life instead of fitting them with outworn ideas and mere literary education The Government must start a large number of industries by means of State aid and absorb the young man trained in new knowledge by the universities hereafter After making such industrial ventures successful, the Government can hand them over to private companies while yet keeping a watchful paternal eye over their functioning The public must be fired by a spirit of *swadeshi* and patriotism and help such young men and industrial ventures by buying their manufactures in preference to foreign ones Further, a very large percentage of educated young men can be located in new agricultural colonies and must be drafted into the work of the uplift of our villages. Our young men have to become employable and employed instead of being unemployable and unemployed as they are today Sir T B Sapru's report yet holds the field, and something practical must be done before it goes to the upper shelf The Government of India has recently sent a circular to the local Gov-

ernments about the reform of Indian education We hope that this will result in something practical being done to change the trend of Indian education But such educational reformation will effect nothing unless the Government gives a lead in the direction of the improvement of Indian agriculture and industry and unless the public is fired by a new vision of patriotism and self-determination

But no scheme of betterment will be permanently beneficial and valuable unless and until India wins *Swaraj* and until India's economic life is put on a sound footing from the point of view of production and consumption and also from the point of view of taxation The Finance members of the Government of India in the past have been praising India's solvency and producing balanced budgets The Finance Ministers of the Government of India in the future may do likewise, though I do not feel sure that they can do so especially because of the cost of the administration has been increasing enormously But how can we argue from the Government's balanced budget that the budget of the people is a balanced budget ? The average income of the Indian *per capita* is 20 dollars (about Rs 60) or less, as compared with 749 dollars which is the average income *per capita* in U S A The indebtedness of the Indian people is appalling It is true that there is an increase in factory production But even there the investment by foreigners was stated in 1918 before the Currency Committee to be 600 crores The ancient indigenous industries have disappeared The price of agricultural products have reached the rock bottom level and it works as if even the rock bottom is going to be dynamited The gold stream has flowed out of the country to the extent of more than 300 crores and is really distress gold The ryots have parted with their gold as their produce is of low value and as they have to pay the tax in cash The taxation is heavy and has to be lightened and its incidence has to be made more just and equitable It is only now that some attention is being paid to these matters and to livestock improvement and nutrition research Our present Viceroy has

set to work in a sympathetic and effective way in these directions. But a little spadework in only a few of these directions will do only a little good just as the Charka movement has done We must work simultaneously in many directions We must balance agriculture and industry We must produce enough foodstuffs for the population of India and prevent the export of the same except the surplus remaining after feeding India's people adequately We must have all the industries which are needed by us, except such industries as are designed by nature to thrive in other lands We have had the era of breakdown. We have seen the Beacon We must resolutely march forward into the era of Betterment

INDIA AND 'INTERNATIONAL LAW'

BY

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India is only on the road to Self-Government, though she has been admitted to *original membership* of the League of Nations Admission to the League of Nations, according to some writers, would *per se* be *prima facie* equivalent to recognition But, admission to the League can be regarded as recognition only in the case of those communities which satisfy the requirements of full international Sovereignty according to accepted Judicial ideas

Further as Prof Hatschek points out, that while recognition is irrevocable, "The piece of juristic business called admission to the League is capable of being subsequently undone again"[1]

There is comfort in such a statement in the latest edition of Oppenheim's *International Law* "The Empire of India stands in a special position which is defined by the Government of India Act 1935, and it certainly possesses a position in International Law, if only by virtue of its membership of the League[2]

While this may be in a sense her status *de facto*, her nationals abroad in South Africa, Kenya, British Guiana, Malaya, Ceylon, and Gibralter are being discriminated against Of what avail is then *International Law*[3] to her ? Questions in such realistic vein are often put The branches of International Law which have a value *in presenti* to India warrant examination.

Besides the Federal Executive and the federal legislature, other parts of the Government of India Act have been brought into operation since April 1937. The Federal Court, which is a necessity as an interpreter and guardian of the Federal Constitution, was inaugurated in October 1937 In the preface to the present writer's work on *International Law,* it was written that " The establishment of the Federal Court in October 1937 will give a further stimulus to the study of International Law in Indian Universities."[4]

It is pleasing to record that a correct lead has been given by the Chief Justice of India with regard to the value of citing Canadian, Australian and American decisions in the Indian Federal Court Gwyer C J. has observed that " the decisions of Canadian and Australian courts are not binding upon us and still less those of the United States, but, where they are relevant they will always be listened to in this court with attention and respect, as the judgment of eminent men accustomed to expound and illumine the principles of a Jurisprudence similar to our own, and if this court is so fortunate as to find itself in agreement with them, it will deem its own opinion to be strengthened and confirmed " *(In the matter of C P and Berar sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricant's Taxation Act 1938 and In the matter of a Special Reference under Section 213 of the Government of India Act 1935)* [5] Thus American decisions which have particularly since 1815 respected " The law of nations which is a part of the law of the land,[6] have been given the deserved status of persuasive efficacy vis-a-vis the decisions of the Federal Court of India

In spite of the truncated federation *Sui generis* which India is to have under the Government of India Act, 1935, it will be necessary for the Federal Court to apply legal principles and analogies from International Law It is true that International Law can become a matter of vital daily importance to India only when she becomes *de facto* and *de Jure* a member of the international community of states. The Federal Court in India would thus have normally to apply

Federal Law, laws of the provinces, and laws of the Federating States.

But in disputes between any of the units of the Federation, help can be had from the law and practice of international tribunals[7] Again, in boundary controversies between the states of the Union, American Courts have applied the rules of international law[8]

In fact in the Cochin Water's Boundary Dispute between the Government of Madras and Cochin in 1937, both sides had to exhaust the doctrine of *Thalweg,* a recognized part of the law of international water-ways An observation made by Fuller C J (U S A) in 1902 becomes relevant —" Sitting as it were as an international as well as domestic tribunal " said Fuller C J , " we apply federal law, state-law, and international law as the exigencies of the particular case may demand "

Again, the principles of international law which reserve the right of coasting trade to the littoral state are of vital *economic* importance to India Every state has a right to reserve and regulate her coasting trade (*Cabotage*) The U S S R claims it from the Baltic to a North Sea Port , U S A which Commands Coastal trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific has extended it further in 1898-9 to Hawaii, the Philippines, and the Porto Rico *Cabotage* which originally stood for trade along the same coast between different ports, now comprises trade between any two ports of the same country whether on the same coast or no (Dr A D Mcnair) There is a pointed reference to this right in the address delivered by Mr S C Bose, the President of the Indian National Congress for 1938 —" Even the meagre powers enjoyed by the Central Legislature at present to enact a measure like the reservation of the India Coastal trade for Indian-owned and Indian-managed vessels has been taken away under the so-called reformed constitution " (Sec 115, The Government of India Act 1935).

If the federal legislature desired to reserve the coastal trading to ships registered in India or if it passed a law excluding the employment of officers or crew who were British in origin, or if it laid down differential rates for Cargo carried by ships registered in the United Kingdom and ships registered in India, it is submitted that all these would be discriminatory and are prohibited by Sec 115 Government of India Act[9]

Rules of international law regarding territorial Jurisdiction of States have a value *in presenti* to India An alien has no right of entry of foreign country save by treaty During War, aliens can be subjected to restrictions The rules regarding extradition found in the Indian Extradition Act (India Act XV of 1903) have always been applied to non-political offences

"The principles of international law" have been declared to be not applicable to the relations between the Paramount Power and the Indian States[10] Long ago that brilliant international lawyer Professor Westlake had aptly criticised this notification of the Government of India that "it would have been more accurate to speak in it of international law simply than of the principles of international law"[11] The relations between the Viceroy and the Ruling Princes of India have been stated by one of the brilliant proconsuls as "based partly on treaty, partly on long usage, partly on considerations of high expediency and honour"[12] The Indian States have no external personality but have varying degrees of internal Sovereignty These States are bound to receive the Resident or Agent appointed by the Viceroy and the degree of internal Sovereignty is determined in each case not merely by treaty but also by usage and is always subject to the paramount power The views of the paramount power *vis-a-vis* constitutional reform in these Indian States were given thus in a written reply by the Under-Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on December 16th 1938 —"The paramount power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by the rulers".

That the Constitutional *modus vivendi* between Indian States and the Paramount Power has shifted from an international to an imperial basis has been thoroughly examined by Prof Westlake in his study of these states in relation to International Law and Constitutional Law

So far as Indian States are concerned, their territory is not British territory and admittedly, the inhabitants of Indian States are not British subjects

What is the exact nature of the relations between the States and the Paramount Power ? Undoubtedly the rules regarding those relations are found in treaties concluded by the Crown with the Rulers Nor can it be maintained that all treaties of the British Crown with the third States are applicable *ipso Jure* to the territory of the Indian States In a letter of the Marquis of Salisbury to the Marquiss of Dufferin (April 25th 1867) it was stated that "The protected States of India are not annexed to nor incorporated in the possessions of the Crown—It has however never been contended that if those states had had pre-existing treaties with foreign powers the assumption of protectorate by Great Britain would have abrogated those treaties—It could not have had and in no case has had, such consequences "[13]

It has also to be stated that the relationship between the Indian States and the Crown has grown up under widely differing historical conditions In some of the earlier treaties as in those of the East India Company and States like Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda and Travancore, they were "treaties of mutual amity friendly co-operations and reciprocal obligation " After 1813, the treaties were of "Subordinate co-operation, alliance, and loyalty " The imperceptible shifting from an international plane to an imperial basis going on between 1818 to 1858 is clearly stressed by the notification in the Indian Gazette (Aug 21-1891) in the Manipur case The imperialistic genuis of Lord Curzon enabled him to state that the Indian States " in process of time have conformed to a single type " Lord Reading, the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, took occasion in his letter

to H. E H the Nizam, dated March 27, 1926 to further *broaden* the scope of the Sovereignty of the British Crown. "Its supremacy," he elaborated "is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States to preserve peace, and good order throughout India" It is thus historically correct to state that "the native States have lost the Character of independence, not through any epoch-making declaration of British Sovereignty, but by a gradual change in the policy pursued towards them by the British Government"[14] This imperial right over the protected states "appears to present a peculiar case of conquest operating by assumption and acquiescence"[15]

As early as 1911 Sir F Pollock while discussing the differences of attitude between Prof Westlake and Sir W Lee Warner stated the position thus —"The relations of the Government of India and the Native States are governed by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything else in the world, but such that in cases of doubtful interpretation, the analogy of internationl law may often be found useful and persuasive"[16]

Sir Leslie Scott appearing for the Indian States presented their case before the Indian States' Committee thus — "The Indian States retain their rights as independent states except so far as they have ceded their rights to the Crown by agreement express or implied" The Butler Committee have not accepted this and according to the Committee the Crown's paramountcy had grown up independently of treaties engagements and Sanads In any event in realms of external affairs, Defence, Protection, and Intervention, the Paramount Power has successfully extended its protecting sway "veiled by the prudence of Statesmen, the conservatism of lawyers and the prevalence of certain theories about Sovereignty" (Westlake)

At any rate, it has been recognised that the States retain sufficient sovereignty so that through only treaties with His Majesty they can be brought into the Federation. Section 6 of the Government of India Act (25 and 26 Geo. V. ch. 420-1935) contains relevant details of accession of Indian States The ruler has to declare for himself, his heirs, and successors, " that he accedes to the Federation in accordance with the terms " of the Instrument of Accession he executes His Majesty has to signify his acceptance of such an Instrument. The extent and limitations of the law-making powers of the Federal Legislature, and the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation in the acceding State have to be specified in the Instrument

The Indian States cannot thus be called Sovereign in its full sense The Paramount Power has exclusive control over the foreign affairs of these states It assumes a general but limited responsibility for the internal peace of these States It assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of the British Subjects resident in the States It requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order *Sovereignty is thus divided between the Indian States and the Paramount Power*

Though these are protected dependent states nevertheless for other purposes and within the domain of private international law, these states are to be regarded as " Separate political Societies and as possessing an independent Civil, Criminal and fiscal Jurisdiction "[17]

In the course of his letter to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations dated 28th September 1927, ratification of the draft conventions of the International Labour conference by the Rulers of the States was stated to be " the concern of the Rulers of States " and not controlled by the Paramount Power An Indian Prince is also exempt from municipal Jurisdiction [18]

As Professor Manley O Hudson (now a Judge of P.C.I.J) puts it —"the living law of nations to-day, the law

by which many people throughout the world chart their daily course, is very largely the law of the International statute-book" *viz*, The law to be found in multipartite treaties and conventions. As in the realm of the air the Arbitration Protocol Signed at Geneva on 24th September 1923 has been the starting point for the national legislation in the *Indian Arbitration* (Protocols and convention) *Act* (India Act VI of 1937)

The future of international law is a matter of vital concern to every citizen of a civilized country In her onward march to Dominion Status (*de jure*) India is deeply interested in International law The natural evolution of the Indian Agents in South Africa, Malaya, Ceylon and Burma is to develop into consuls The Indian High Commissioner in London is to develop *de jure* into the Status of a Dominion High Commissioner Since 1923, the British Dominions have got the right to enter into independent treaties Canada is represented at Washington, Tokio, and Paris, she receives envoys Exequaturs for Consuls in the Dominions are countersigned by the Dominion Ministers The legal individuality of the Dominions has been well established by the Statute of Westminster 1931 India with her anomalous *Status* of original membership of the League, is vitally interested in all marks of international Status which the Dominions have acquired

NOTES

1 Hatschek, *An Outline of International Law* (Manning's Translation, p 113

2 *International Law* Oppenheim, V Edn, pp 175-176

3 The Allahabad University has since 1936 included *Public International Law* as a Compulsory subject for LL B Degree

4 K R R Sastry, *International Law*, Preface dated 1st January 1937

5 In the Federal Court, No 1 of 1938, p 4 (Printed report got through the courtesy of Rt Hon'ble Sir T B Sapru)

6 *The Nereide,* 9, Cranch 388, 3L Ed 769

7 In the Periyar Water's dispute between the Madras Government and the State of Travancore in 1936, this writer who

appeared for Travancore along with Sir C P Ramaswamy Iyer, had to refer with profit to Ralston's *Law and Practice of International Tribunals*

8 Vide *Alabama* vs *Georgia,* 23, Howard, 555, *Iowa* vs *Illinois,* 147, U S I , *Kedkuk Hamilton Brige Coy* vs *Illinois,* 175, U S 626, *Lousiana* vs *Mississippi,* 202, U S I , *Handly* vs *Anthony,* 5, Wheaton 374, *Jones* vs *Soulard,* 24, Howard 41, *Missouri* vs *Nebraska,* 196, U S 237

9 A contrast is afforded by the position of Canada, South Africa, and Irish Free State which have taken advantage of Sec 5, Statute of Westminister (22, Geo V, C 4) and thus no longer are under the shackles of Sections 735 and 736 of the Merchant Shipping Act (57 and 58, vic c 60)

10 *Gazette of India,* Aug 21, 1891 The Manipur Case Regarding the Status of Indian States The *Law Quarterly,* 1910, pp 312-319, *The Law Quarterly,* 1911, pp 88-89, Lord Reading's note to the Nizam, re The Berar, 1926 and the Butler Committee Report may be referred Also K R R Sastry's *Indian States,* Ch I

11 *Collected Papers,* Westlake, p 625

12 *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note-Book,* Curzon, p 41

13 *British and Foreign State Papers* Vol 89, p 1053

14 *Collected Papers,* Westlake, p 205

15 *Collected Papers,* Westlake, p 214

16 *The Law Quarterly,* 1911, pp 88 and 89

17 *Sardar Gurdayal Singh* vs *Raja of Faridkote,* 1894 A C 670

18 *Statham* vs *Statham and Gaekwad of Baroda,* 1912, p 92 For further examination, vide *Indian States and Responsible Government,* K R R Sastry, pp 11 to 33

SIDELIGHTS ON THE LAND REVENUE POLICY OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT

BY

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"Dadhabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, Gokhale, these dealt with current questions of public interest and the essential soundness of their views stands vindicated by the tremendous change that has come over the economic policy in India in recent times . Their writings have left an indelible impression on state-policy" so wrote The Hindu in a very able editorial towards the end of December 1936 It is indeed true that among the greatest economists which this country has so far produced Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar's, place is being high His memorable and monumental *Memorandum on the Progress of the Madras Presidency during the last forty years of British administration,* published as early as 1893, remains even to this day a store house of valuable information Recently on the floor of the Madras Assembly, Mr T T Krishnamachari claimed it as a source-book . Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswami Iyengar, a great scholar whose knowledge and study of many of the problems facing us remains to a great extent unequalled in the present-day once said that no book could surpass it in the accuracy of its statistical methods

An endeavour will be made here to point out Mr. Iyengar's attitude towards the problem of the ryots and to prove how his views were sound

After patient, careful and conscientious investigation, Mr. Iyengar came to the following conclusions.—

(1) The great majority of the population is very poor when judged by a European standard

(2) Compared with the condition of the people 50 years ago, there has certainly been improvements in the material condition of the population, the advance consisting mainly in a rise in the standard of living of the upper strata of society, and a reduction in the percentage which the lowest grades bear to the total population

(3) The very lowest classes still live a hand to mouth existence, but not being congregated in town, they have a better physique than one would expect to find in them considering their resourcelessness and the frequency of crop-failures on which occasion they have to pick up a scanty subsistence, as best as they can

(4) The economic condition of the country, as a whole, though improving is at best a low one and is such as to tax the energies and statesmanship of Government in devising suitable remedies for its amelioration

In another place he wrote "The population is mainly agricultural and a considerable portion miserably poor Their standards include little more than the barest necessities of life, the secondary wants being few , there is a section of the population which has to reduce its rations and live partly on wild fruits and such other inexpensive food as can be picked up on the wayside"

Classifying the ryots into three categories (1) landowners who do not farm their lands but lease them to farmers , (2) ryots who farm their own lands employing hired labour for performing the manual operations of cultivation, and (3) peasant proprietors who cultivate their lands themselves with the aid of members of their families without employing hired labour Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar proceeded to show what effect this ought to have in the determination of land revenue rates In the first case he declared "the rent" (in the narrower sense there defined) was the payment made by the farmer to the landowner, minus the cultivation expenses borne by the latter and the return for such permanent improvement to the land as might have been made by him In the second and third class "the rent"

would be " what the land would fetch annually, had the land been let to a tenant instead of being cultivated by the owner "

As regards the question of graduating enhancements and the question as to what enhancement would be wise in the interests of the ryot and in the interests of the economic condition of the Presidency generally, Mr Iyengar remarked —

" A sudden and great reduction of incomes must, however, paralyse energy and bring discontent and despair, and when a large portion of the population is subjected to this operation, its injurious consequences can be readily conceived "

Let me narrate in brief outline the land revenue policy of the Madras Government in subsequent years with special reference to the ryotwari landholder In 1895 Sir Frederick Nicholson estimated the amount of agricultural indebtedness to be 45 crores of rupees And during the subsequent years the whole country underwent great hardships on account of severe famines and the land-owner's suffering became still more acute

On the 16th January 1902 Lord Curzon's Government issued the famous resolution on the Indian Land Revenue Policy in reply to the charges made by R C Dutt and others The Government of India then claimed to have established the following propositions (1) That a Permanent settlement whether in Bengal or elsewhere is no protection against the incidence and consequences of famine, (2) that in areas where the state receives its land-revenue from the land-lords progressive moderation is the keynote of the policy of the Government and that the standard of 50 per cent of the assets is one which is almost uniformly observed in practice and is more often departed on the side of deficiency than of excess, (3) that in the same areas the state has not objected and does not hesitate to interfere by legislation to protect the interests of the tenants against

oppression at the hands of the land-lords, (4) that in areas where the state takes the land revenue from the cultivators, the proposal to fix the assessment at one-fifth of the gross produce would result in the imposition of a greatly increased burden on the people, (5) that the policy of long-term settlements is being gradually extended, the exceptions being justified by conditions of local development, (6) that the principle of exempting or allowing for improvements is one of general acceptance, but may be capable of further extension, (7) that over-assessment is not, as alleged, a general or wide-spread source of poverty and indebtedness in India and that it cannot fairly be regarded as a contributory cause of famine The government of India further claimed that they had laid down liberal principles for future guidance and that they will be prepared where the necessity is established to make further advance in respect of (1) the progressive and graduated imposition of large enhancements, (2) greater elasticity in the revenue collections facilitating its adjustment to the variation of the season and the circumstances of the people, (3) a more general resort to reduction of assessments in cases of local deterioration where such reduction cannot be claimed under the present settlement It is clear that they wanted to deal with the land, and not with the ryot To a very careful reader it will be very clear how Lord Curzons' resolution had completely unsettled what little appeared to have been settled and the late Dewan Bahadur R Raghunath Rao was the first to criticise it in very strong terms at the time The congress of 1906 also criticised this policy

In the meanwhile the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India (1908) referred to this aspect in its report thus —

> "We consider that the general principles of assessment such for instance, as the proportion of the net-profit on the land, which the Government shall be entitled to take and the period of settlement should be embodied in Provincial Legislation instead of being left to executive order as is now the case outside Bombay"

Even after this the Government of India remained unmoved and the public agitation was persistent.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee of 1919 recorded its opinion that the time had come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue was to be determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the period of revision, the graduation of the enhancements and other chief processes which touched the wellbeing of revenue-payers According to the scheme of Montford Reforms, the land revenue of Madras ceased to be a divided head, i e , as an income equally shared between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and was completely placed under the provincial control

Resolutions were carried in the Legislature to give effect to the Joint Committee's recommendations to place land-revenue legislation on a definite statutory basis instead of on a discretionary footing The G O issued by the Madras Government on 30th April 1921 appointed the Land Revenue Settlement Bill Committee with the Revenue Member, Hon Sir M Habibullah as its Chairman

The Committee drafted a bill following the existing settlement procedure with the modification that the proposal for each settlement should be placed before the Legislative Council The Government did not accept the recommendation, which they said would make each scheme of settlement practically a taxation bill they put forward certain alternative suggestions for the consideration of the Government of India and the Secretary of State The India Government then addressed the Madras Government pointing out the inexpediency of legislating on the lines of a permanent settlement at that moment and also disapproving of the suggestion made by the Madras Government as to an income-tax on land They asked the Madras Government to consider the position in the light of their remarks The Land Revenue Settlement Bill as finally drafted by the Government of Madras with the approval of the Government of

India was introduced in the Madras Legislative Council in March 1924 Since the Bill embodied simply the practices already in force, the Madras Council rejected it. However the Madras Government cancelled the permanent double-crop and reduced the enhancement to 18¾ per cent At the time of the settlement of Tanjore and other districts in 1924 the Government not only fixed a maximum limit of 18¾ per cent to the percentage enhancements but had also all along provided that high enhancements should be graduated so that the full effect may be felt in the 3rd or the 4th year, if it exceeds 12½ per cent But the Mirasdars' Association decided to carry on propaganda throughout the Province in order to press the Madras Government to frame a Land Revenue Bill at once the Government issued a circular to the effect that they had already applied to the Viceroy for permission to bring in a Land Revenue Bill and that they would bring it as soon as permission sought for was obtained. while this Bill was expected, the Madras Government issued another circular dated the 19th May 1926, stating that the Government of India had expressed their inability to accept the proposal on the ground that it involved a fundamental departure from the practice observed hitherto in land-revenue settlements throughout India, and that a careful examination of the language used by the Joint Parliamentary Committee showed that their support could not be claimed for the proposal The circular also stated that the local Government did not propose to introduce the Bill for the time being

Referring to the present system of assessment etc , the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee (1926) observed : " The net result has been the creation of a very large number of uneconomic holdings, the holders of which pay land revenue which would be inconsiderable if cultivation were intensive or on a large scale, but rests as a heavy burden upon a small and impoverished holder". "The essentials to be sought for in any new scheme of temporary settlement" wrote the Committee, " seem to be, first that it

should be definite as regards both the basis and pitch of assessment . second that it should be as simple and cheap as possible third that it should so far as possible ease or steady the burden on the smallest cultivator fourth, that it should in common with the rest of the system of taxation have some element of progression in the case of larger owners what the Committee would recommend is, that for the future the basis of the settlement should be of annual value by which term they mean the gross produce less cost of production including the value of labour actually expended by the farmer and his family on the holding and the return for enterprise, and that the functions of a settlement officer should for the future, be limited to the ascertainment of this value on a uniform basis under such conditions as might be most appropriate in each province The real relief of the honest cultivator in these circumstances is to be found in a better system of rural economy generally rather than in a change of the land revenue system. In so far as it can be relieved by that means, the only measure possible is to standardise the rates at a comparatively low figure The Committee have attempted to provide for this and they believe that in as much as the annual value of the small holdings is inconsiderable, the application of a rate of say 25 per cent is not likely to involve a heavy burden"

The plight of the land-owners still grew worse and the price of the paddy was deteriorating very badly While on the one hand the Mirasdars of the Southern districts were undergoing many hardships, the lot of their brethren in the northern districts was in no way better.

In the case of the three districts of Godavari East and West and Kistna, the Government was warned that there was no justification for the increase of 18¾ per cent The Legislative Council protested against the increase proposed by the Settlement Commissioner And the Economic Enquiry Committee with the late Dewan Bahadur R. N. Arogyasami Mudaliar as Chairman was appointed in 1929

to enquire into the condition of these districts ; and they submitted an elaborate report condemning the policy of the Government and recommended that the share of the Government should be reduced to 25 per cent But nothing happened , the enhanced rates were imposed as recommended by the settlement officer from 1931-32 progressively to be reached in 3 years The prices again fell very low and many unforeseen circumstances intervened to worsen the lot of the landholder

Just about this period the findings of the Banking Enquiry Committee of 1930 revealed the amount of agricultural indebtedness to be Rs 150 crores The Government in their orders dated 15th March 1933 and 5th April 1933 directed that the land-revenue of fasli 1342 on ryotwari lands and proprietory estates village service in certain districts should be suspended, and by a subsequent order dated 15th December 1933 they remitted the whole amount and stated that further proposals regarding land-revenue concession would be placed before the Finance Committee The Government of Madras issued orders on the 10th January 1934 on the recommendations of this Finance Committee relating to relief to the ryots and also a communique explaining their reasons They accepted the recommendations of the Committee except in one particular, which was the vital one, and the Government's rejection of this recommendation was regarded as repudiating the very basis on which the Committee framed its recommendations as a whole The Committee recommended that a suspension of *kist* amounting to 18¾ per cent of the total should be sanctioned in the case of wetlands in the districts that were then recently settled, and the relief to the other districts was to take the shape of the suspension of 9⅜ per cent of the tax on wetlands The Government while accepting the suggestion in regard to districts which were not given any concession the year before, turned down the recommendations regarding the districts which were benefited the year before in regard to those districts the

Government decided to stick to the suspension of 12½ per cent which they had originally proposed for the Committee's consideration But the public could not welcome this in the then state of things The Committee stated as follows "Even a small reduction for the individual means a great fall in the Government Revenue, an all-round reduction of 25 per cent (which has been proposed in the Legislative Council) would mean a fall of about a crore and a half of Rupees Even the concessions which the Government have now decided to grant in this fasli are estimated to cost about Rs 60 lakhs In addition the Government have remitted the amount suspended in the last fasli which is about Rs. 33 lakhs

The G. O also referred to two outstanding principles that govern all the processes gone through settlement , the first was that the assessment was on land and did not depend on the kind of crops grown the second was that the claim of the state was to a share of the net produce "To estimate the net produce, that is the clear profit according to the cultivator after all contingencies have been allowed for," the G O has set out the deductions that are made from the gross outturn thus (1) An allowance of cartage of grain to the nearest market , (2) an allowance for merchants' profit , (3) an allowance for vicissitudes of season , (4) an allowance for unprofitable areas such as bunds and channels included in holdings , (5) the cost of seed , (6) the cost of ploughing cattle , (7) the cost of agricultural implements , (8) the cost of manure , and (9) the cost of labour

"Assuming for the sake of argument that these allowances are correctly estimated and made—a matter on which the ryots have all along made bitter complaints—we still fail to see" wrote *The Hindu*, "that the deduction when made from the gross outturn would constitute what can properly be regarded as net produce" The question as to what is the net produce has been the crux of settlement controversy. In spite of the pointed attention drawn by Mr Srinivasaraghavaiyangar and others, to the effect which sudden and

great reduction of incomes owing to enhancements will have on the economic condition of the ryots, the Government communique took no account of it in reference to the graduation of enhancement.

This communique which merely held fast to old principles against which continued agitation was being made could not satisfy anybody. All over the province there was deep discontent The depression which blighted all the hopes of the agriculturist continued and in January 1935, Mr C R Srinivasan, Editor of *The Swadesamitran* presiding over the Tanjore Mirasdars' conference, suggested that the Mirasdars should seek " a real and radical cure " and that their line of agitation must be to end a system which could not be mended. " The whole case of the Mirasdar is that under the existing system he has no margin to live a decent life, until he is assured of a fair share of the income he derives from land " He said, "I want the Mirasdars to have as their main objective an alteration of the present Land Revenue system "

Let me here refer to the growth of the land revenue The total revenue of the province budgeted for the year 1922-23 was Rs 1,257 75 lakhs of which Rs 609 21 lakhs was derived from land revenue, the figures at the beginning of 1935 were Rs 1,643 63 lakhs revenue of which Rs 725 13 lakhs was put down towards land revenue. It must also be pointed out here that at the commencement of the new Reforms, the Madras Government was paying to the Central Government a provincial contribution of Rs 348 lakhs, which was remitted afterwards. And the Madras Government was spending this amount as well as the increased land-revenue without any decided advantage to the ryot

Mr Sattianadhan, I C S , in his report on the agricultural indebtedness in this Presidency which was published in September 1935 has drawn the following picture

" The average ryot is forced to live a squalid life, ill-fed, poorly clothed, wretchedly housed and with hardly any surplus for those extra amenities which make life worth living."

He estimated the total amount of rural indebtedness at about Rs 200 crores

From April 1937, the new constitution commenced working, and Provincial Autonomy began to function The Interim Ministry in Madras appointed a committee with the late Sir Norman Marjoribanks as its chairman This committee recommended that after 1914 the resettlement enhancements may be cancelled, and that the tax may be fixed permanently. The Interim Ministry acting on the committee's recommendation ordered a remission of land revenue to the extent of Rs 75 lakhs. It is very refreshing to find that this precedent has been so far adopted every year

Very soon after the congress party accepted office in the Madras Presidency, the people eagerly expected that the ministry would reduce the burden of land-tax without undue delay and rush to save the agriculturist from his miserable plight The ministry continued in office for nearly 2½ years It engaged itself more with the advancement of the moral and social welfare of the population, rather than in attending to the crying need of the hour In the years 1938 and 1939 many of the districts of this province suffered from famine conditions caused by water scarcity and failure of monsoon, this condition, it is feared, may extend this year also

At long last in June 1939 Mr T Prakasam (then Revenue Minister) made a notable speech at Negapatam wherein he gave the public an idea as to the ministry's scheme for Land Revenue Reform

The whole problem now remains where it was as the Congress Ministry suddenly went out of office It is hoped that when it comes back as it must shortly, it will completely solve the problem which if wiser statesmanship had prevailed should have been solved more than 40 years ago when Srinivasaraghava Iyengar's valuable suggestions were made public.

THE ZAMINDARI SYSTEM IN MADRAS

BY

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The zamindari system was introduced into Madras by the permanent settlement regulations of 1802 chiefly to facilitate the collection of revenue by the Government At a time when the economic condition of the country was in a low ebb, the problem of the pressure of the population on land did not arise and there was general insecurity over the whole country, the Government gave the rights of collection of revenue from individual ryots to the zamindars in lieu of the annual payment of a fixed sum of money to the Government At that time, the amount payable by the zamindars was about 2/3 of the gross income Though actuated by the best of intentions governed by the circumstances of the time, the authors of the permanent settlement mortgaged the interests and resources of the future generations in perpetuity While the relations between the Government and zamindars as defined in the Act of 1802 were accepted, the relations between the latter and the ryots were often disputed leading to wasteful litigation Some attempts were made to define their relations also by the Estates Land Act of 1908 More recently, in 1937 in acordance with the resolutions passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly and Council, a Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the Revenue Minister, Sri T Prakasam, to enquire and report on the conditions prevailing in zamindari and other proprietory areas The most important question considered in the enquiry relates to the rent, namely what is the fair and equitable rate of rent which the tenant has to pay to the zamindar or any other landholder, and whether

it is open to the latter to enhance the rents fixed at the time of the permanent settlement This question was sought to be answered by deciding the ownership of the soil and the nature of the relationship between the cultivator[1] and the zamindar After a thorough investigation of the reports and other records of the period just prior to the permanent settlement of 1802 and later, and enquiry by oral and written evidence from representatives of both parties, the Committee submitted a valuable report and a draft bill in 1938, and this bill would have come before the legislatures for enactment, but for the crisis in the political situation of the country leading to the resignation of the ministry in October 1939 In this note it is proposed to analyse the economic implications of the draft bill, without entering into the legal aspects of the recommendations of the Committee

The zamindaris in the Madras Presidency are situated chiefly in the following districts (1) Ganjam, (2) Vizagapatam, (3) East Godavary, (4) West Godavary, (5) Kistna, (6) Nellore, (7) Chittoor, (8) Chingleput, (9) Salem, (10) Ramnad, (11) Madura, and (12) Tinnevelly The following table gives the total area, population and the incidence of taxation per acre under the two main systems of tenure —zamindari and ryotwari—in these different districts of the Province [2]

Out of a total acerage of 910 lakhs (including whole inam villages) more than in the province, 236 lakhs of acres, or a fourth is in zamindari area If we consider the population basis we find that of the 467 lakhs of people in the Presidency, 104 lakhs or nearly a fourth are in zamindari Referring to the incidence of taxation, the average tax per acre of cultivated area is Rs 2-9-10 in ryotwari and Rs 1-1-9 in zamindari areas This shows that the incidence is less than half that of the ryotwari areas This difference between the tax paid by the ryots in the ryotwari areas and peiskush paid in the zamindari areas is found in all districts, but it varies from district to district This difference is due

TABLE I

District	Total Area 000 acres		Population 000		Incidence of land revenue fully assessed	per acre on cultivated area
	Ryotwari.	Zamindari	R	Z		
					R	Z.
Ganjam	3,672	1,475	1,048	1,120	2—3—5	0-12—5
Vizagapatam	1,030	9,052	392	2,781	3—9—6	0—7—8
E Godavary	2,323	1,563	1,090	782	5-10—4	2-10—2
W Godavary	884	413	829	296	6-11—4	2-12—8
Kistna	1,037	977	613	519	4—9—0	2-10—3
Nellore	2,530	2,001	856	532	2—2—5	0—8-11
Chittoor	1,880	1,487	634	714	1-10—5	1—6—4
Chingleput	1,361	386	1,207	272	3—7—8	1—4—0
Salem	3,310	960	1,661	673	1-15-10	0-14-10
Ramnad	459	2,473	366	1,036	2—0—8	2-14—6
Madura	2,105	860	1,587	524	3—5-11	1—1—9
Tinnevelly	1,818	801	1,496	425	3-14—9	0—8—1
Grand Total of Province	62,176	23,584	33,480	10,378	2—9-10	1—1—9

to the fact that whereas the peiskush remained constant under the permanent settlement of 1802, the Government got a share of the unearned incomes on land by the resettlements after 1865 Naturally in those districts especially deltaic areas, where greater improvements have been made in irrigation and transport facilities and the land is in good demand by cultivators, this difference is higher than in the dry areas.

The Estates Land Act of 1908 granted occupancy rights to the tenants subject to the payment of the revenue to the

zamindars But this left a lacuna regarding rights over water resources, communal lands, forest produce like fodder, firewood, etc The recommendations of majority of the committee clarified the position by declaring that it is not merely the occupancy right in the sense in which it is understood in common practice in these days that he (the ryot) has got over the land, but that his right to the soil extends to the surface as well as subsoil including mines, forest produce, etc This right to the soil entitles him to exercise all the elementary and natural rights, entitles him to claim ownership to the irrigation sources, rivers, channels, etc that lie within the limits of the cultivators' land , and the right to take water from those sources subject only to the liability to pay the kist which the government levies in exercise of its prerogative rights[3] Having disposed of the ownership of the soil in favour of the tenants, the majority of the Committee pointed out that what was settled permanently at the time of the permanent settlement was the land revenue payable on the land as a whole and not the peishkush amount only, as is contended by the landholders[4] In calculating the rates of rent on this basis they recommended that the rates on all cultivated lands as they had obtained at the time of the permanent settlement should be ascertained and applied in such cases With regard to the waste lands that were brought under cultivation subsequently, it was recommended that the rates should be the same as those of the neighbouring lands cultivated at the time of the permanent settlement, and the lands which might be brought under cultivation in future might be levied the same rates The Committee took great pains to gather data of the rents and peishkush in each estate at the time of the permanent settlement, and published this information as a part of the main report so that it will be available for ready reference and also for easy understanding[5]

It is pointed out by the Committee that the primary object of the permanent settlement regulations was the emancipation of the ryots and the promotion of trade and indus-

try and the prosperity of the commercial classes These objects were sought to be fulfilled by fixing the land revenue unalterably at a moderate assessment so that the ryot would have sufficient margin for payment of the land tax, for maintaining his family and also supplying sufficient quantity of the produce of the land for the development of the industries and the manufactures of the country.[6] But this and the subsequent legislations did not improve the position of the ultimate tiller of the soil, but resulted only in enriching the zamindars and other middlemen between them and the tillers The result of the proposed legislation will be a transference of a large share of income of zamindars to their tenants But it is very difficult to estimate the total number of people that will be benefitted by this legislation. From the census figures we can know the number of rent receivers and cultivating owners in the zamindaries, and these are the two classes of people that will be benefitted But we do not know the distribution of the total land between these two classes The large number of tenant cultivators and the well-known fact that many cultivating owners have only small holdings of their own, the balance being taken for lease, shows that the share of the rent receiving class must be fairly high Hence the obvious result of this legislation will be a transference of income from a small number of zamindars to a fairly large number of rent receivers But the condition of the still larger number of cultivators can be improved only by a subsequent legislation regarding the relations between the rent receiving zamindari tenants and actual cultivators

The extent of the gain to the cultivators by this Act cannot be ascertained unless the present income and the income according to the new proposals, in individual zamindaris are known Even the Committee could give details only about the major portion of these estates But a rough estimate can be made from the following considerations The following table gives the gross income and peishkush paid by the zamindaris in the Madras Presidency.

TABLE II.[7]

Zamindari		Rupees In Thousands Gross Income	Peishkush
Parlakimidi	..	4,97	80
Vizianagaram	.	21,23	4,95
Bobbili	..	9,14	83
Jayapore	.	6,33	16
Pithapuram	..	10,25	2,63
Devarakota	..	2,51	79
Venkatagiri	..	11,62	3,69
Karvetinagar	..	4,15	1,74
Kalahasti	..	3,83	1,73
Sivaganga	..	14,57	2,53
Ramnad	...	10,21	2,93
Itchapuram	..	2,96	78
Other Zamindaris		152,84	26,36
Total ·		254,62	49,92

We find that the total income of the zamindaris is about Rs 255 lakhs and the peishkush is about 50 lakhs It has already been pointed out that the gross income of zamindars in 1802 was about 1½ times the peishkush So making allowance for lands that have been brought under cultivation since that year, it may be said that the gross income of the zamindars according to the draft bill will be about 100 lakhs Hence the net loss to the zamindars will be not less than 150 lakhs of rupees, and this will be distributed between a large number of tenants So far the incidence of taxation on tenants is higher in zamindari areas than in ryotwari areas But with a radical reduction in the rent of the former regions, under public pressure the Government may have to reduce rents in the latter regions also resulting in a serious reduction in their finances This will lead to the necessity of finding alternate sources of taxation

The report harps mainly on the legal aspect of the ownership of the soil and the rates of rent. No trouble seems to have been taken to enquire into the economic results of the zamindari system Though the evils of the zamindari system are constantly made much of by the tenants and their champions, it must be admitted that the zamindars have certain achievements to their credit They are mainly responsible for bringing into cultivation and improving large tracts of land Whatever benefits they have got from it were mainly received from the unearned incomes due to the general improvement in trade and other economic conditions from the last quarter of the nineteenth century At the same time their expenses of collection, etc have also increased, and some benevolent zamindars have spent large amounts of money for public good in establishing schools and colleges, hospitals, choultries, etc They have spent some money for improvement of land also, but unfortunately these details are not available No doubt the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people, specially after the passing of the Impartible Estates Act, led to some abuses in individual cases Hence a socio-economic enquiry of the results of the zamindari system with suggestions for improvement would have been more useful, especially for students of economics Though zamindari system has come in for much criticism the recommendations of the Committee instead of removing its evils altogether help only to perpetuate them by creating further vested interests for a larger chain of middlemen A more forward step will be to liquidate the zamindaris by giving compensation to the owners by way of debentures, etc and then bringing all the lands in the province under the same system of tenure with uniform methods of taxation The large amounts of money thus paid to zamindars will usefully flow into industry and trade increasing the productive capacity and prosperity of the country. This will also minimise the problems that confront the Government, the zamindars and the tenants

NOTES

1. It may be mentioned here that the cultivator does not represent the actual tiller of the soil, but the one who possesses the patta for the land and pays the rent to the zamindar

2 Vide *Agricultural Statistics of India,* 1935-36, Vol I, p 312

3 Vide *Report,* Vol I, pp 222-23

4 Vide *Report,* Vol I, p 68

5 Vide *Report,* Vol I, p 150

6 Vide *Report,* Vol I, p 224 1

7 Vide *Report of the Land Revenue and Settlement* of Madras Presidency, 1935-36

THE CENSUS AS AN AGENCY FOR ECONOMIC PLANNING

BY

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A census of population was taken by the East India Company's Government in India as early as 1687 Several such censuses were subsequently taken, but the information gathered was very meagre The first attempt at a general census of all India was made between 1867 and 1872, and the first general census under the modern system was taken in 1881. Since that date, censuses have been taken regularly every ten years The next census is to come off early in 1941 Mr M W. M. Yeatts, C I.E , I.C S., has been appointed the Census Commissioner for India

Coming as it does after a severe depression, the census of 1941 is bound to be a very important one Economists in India have always carefully scrutinized the data collected by the census, especially those relating to occupation An ill-balanced economy in which too many people depend on land has been the bane of this country for long, and students of Economics are scanning the occupational tables in successive censuses to see if more of our people have been taking to industrial pursuits From this point of view the next census must be extremely important, because since 1930 several organised industries have been making rapid strides in India, thanks to the protective tariff granted by the Government In 1929, only 56% of the cotton piecegoods consumed in India was of local make, but by 1938-39, local production rose to nearly 75% of our requirements The progress of sugar industry has been phenomenal. In 1929, the bulk of the sugar consumed in India was imported, in 1937-38 our own mills supplied nearly the whole of our requirements Great progress has been made also in iron and steel, cement, paper,

and other industries. It would be interesting to know how this large industrial advance has affected our occupational structure and level of employment

It was a pity that the industrial census was dropped in 1931 It must be admitted, however, that such a census is not manageable with the population census A separate census of production is therefore being taken periodically in many countries, and is the source of valuable economic data The Government of India has been contemplating such a census for many years In 1934, the Bowley-Robertson Report suggested not only a census of production but also a general economic census covering both villages and towns

In the case of India, a census of production will only bring in information about organised industries Organised industries account for only a fraction of our total industrial population The great bulk of industrial workers pursue handicrafts in their own cottages with the help of their family The number of operatives in organised industries (employing more than 20 persons) is only 1½ millions, but as a tenth of the workers in the country were returned under industry in the last census the factory workers must be a small fraction of the total industrial population Statistics of this large mass of people can only be gathered through an economic census as suggested in the Bowley-Robertson Report, but by a careful use of the occupational tables in the general census, a great deal of valuable economic information can be gathered

There is a special reason why information on this class of industrial workers is now wanted Owing to rapid advance in production in recent years, large numbers of handloom weavers and other handicraftsmen have lost their employment and while some of them have gone to land which is already under a heavy pressure, others have migrated to towns in search of work This is also true of other artisan classes The number of women engaged in hand-pounding of rice fell by 50% between 1921 and 1931, owing to the in-

crease in the use of hulling machines and in the classes that prefer milled rice Well-meaning theorists and interested capitalists who talk of a rapid mechanization know little of the misery that it may cause in the peculiar circumstances of India. The next census must give us some definite idea of the problem facing us, so that we may tackle it properly.

Agriculture has also serious problems facing it The recent depression has affected agriculture in many ways There have been important changes in the ownership and utilization of land Between 1921 and 1931, the cultivators (whether owners or tenants) fell from 53 5 millions to 49 4 millions, the number of rent-receivers has also slightly fallen At the same time there has been a large increase (50%) in the number of labourers This is partly due to a change in classification, but even making allowance for it, it is likely that the proportion of landless agriculturists and labourers has increased It will be interesting to know the subsequent progress of these tendencies Although all may not quite subscribe to the view that the magic of private property turns sand into gold, there is no doubt that a rapid increase of landless labourers is an undesirable development in the present state of the country

Important changes have also taken place since 1931 in transport (owing chiefly to the increased use of motor vehicles), in trade and in other fields of activity

In order that a census may be useful for scrutinizing the changes in the occupational structure of a country, there must be some uniformity in the classification of occupations from census to census Unfortunately this has not been the case in India In 1881, men and women were classified only under the two categories of (1) those who have an occupation and (2) those who have no occupation, and nothing was said about their means of livelihood In the census of 1891, it was intended to distinguish between workers and dependants, but adequate provision was not made for this distinction in the schedules In the census of 1901,

three columns were provided in the census schedule, i e., in regard to dependants, the occupation on which they depended was to be specified But this gave room for considerable misunderstanding and therefore in the census of 1931 the basis of classification was changed and four columns were provided (i) earner or dependent, (ii) principal occupation of earners, (iii) subsidiary occupation, and (iv) industry in which employed Especially in agricultural communities, not only the principal earner but other members of the family, women and even children, assist in his work and therefore this further classification was justified Although this change may be good for the future, it has made comparison of previous censuses difficult As Dr Hutton says, the 'earners' plus 'working dependents' of 1931 are perhaps equivalent to the 'workers' of 1921 But various misunderstandings and mis-entries have happened and the figures do not enable us to study the occupational trends correctly For instance, there was a great fall in 1931 in the number of women returned as workers in agriculture At the same time there was an exceptional increase of workers under domestic service This was because many women preferred to enter themselves under domestic service rather than as workers in agriculture

India's occupational structure is a peculiar one, and fuller details are needed about occupations if the census is to be useful for economic studies In regard to industrial workers under each category, it would be useful to know what part of them is in towns and what part in the country In some Provinces, only towns with 100,000 or more people were shown separately in Madras, towns with 50,000 or above were so treated We must also obtain data for finding out how many of the workers in an occupation are employees and how many are working on their own account. Further, as under-employment rather than absolute unemployment is the bane of India's rural areas, it is necessary to know for what period in the year each worker is employed and for what period he is unemployed. There are at present

four columns on occupation in a schedule of 18 We may add to these columns with advantage and modify some of them to suit our object in view

One of the columns that may be dropped with advantage is that relating to caste. It is one of the most expensive items for tabulation Further, the best minds in India want to get away from caste Another column of doubtful utility is column 18 (infirmities) Information about infirmities is useful if it is accurate, but as matters stand at present, the probability is that the entries under the infirmities column will be inaccurate On matters like caste and infirmities the Provincial Governments can collect information through their permanent staff

Full employment is to-day the Mecca of the economist We know that large numbers in this country are unemployed and still larger numbers are under-employed The estimates of unemployment so far made by various persons are quite unreliable Information of some value can be collected at the census, but this cannot be adequate We must supplement it by intensive economic surveys on the sampling basis, and these can be carried out through an Economic Enquiry Board in each Province The University Departments of Economics can help greatly in this work Perhaps it may be possible to combine such enquiries with the general census For instance, in towns where there are universities or colleges, the teachers and students of these institutions can be entrusted with the census schedules, and supplementary questionnaires may also be filled in by them Thereby complete information about the economic condition of our urban areas will be available

A great deal of valuable information collected at the census is left unutilized, owing to the cost of tabulation and printing The original sheets containing information about individual families, if preserved, would serve as valuable material for economic research, but they have been destroyed after the work of census was completed. Proper samples

of these original sheets may be preserved and may, in future, be worked up by an Economic Bureau or may be lent to Universities for being worked up The sampling must be carefully done, and on the whole, a regional basis would be desirable. It was on such a basis that Gini and Galvani selected samples for the 1921 census in Italy

In many countries, the periodical census is carried out by a permanent staff In England, the Registrar-General of Births and Deaths carries out the decennial census In India, each census is conducted by a fresh Commissioner assisted by a fresh staff Thus we waste the experience gathered and the valuable data collected are not fully utilized The lack of continuity is a serious blemish in the matter of census, if the information gathered is to be used for the formulation of economic policy This country is now keen on economic planning and no Government to-day can function properly without accurate economic data It would therefore be a great help if, in future, a permanent census staff is maintained by the Government of India for working up the material collected at each census

PARAMOUNTCY IS VETO

BY

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The Government of India Act of 1935 has let in three currents so far as the states are concerned They may be described as Inward, Internal and Outward

The Inward current has strengthened the Prince on his throne Earl Winterton said clearly that except in regard to the interests of the Paramount Power the Crown will not interfere in the affairs of any state The treaties were sacrosanct no doubt, but if they ever denied the rights of people to good government they were and would be considered, he said in effect, as having been modified by the provisions of the Act of 1935 granting autonomy to India *as a whole* Is not 'popular government' the key to the reforms of 1919 and 1935? Was not 'Good Government is no substitute for self-government' the slogan of the reform movement in India? How could, then, there be one rule for the British India and another rule for the people of the states, while India was one in thought, word and deed? As a matter of fact, the Act of 1935, unlike that of 1919 added to the rights of the Princes The territories of the states were formally declared to be independent of the Crown their dynastic rights were left unimpaired, the sovereignty of the Princes within their states was secured by a clearer definition, and above all they were allowed time to raise the standards of their administration, if they had not done already Revolts and rebellions, as of old for a change of dynasty, are impossible partly owing to the pressure of public opinion on the preventive side and partly owing to the protection of the Paramount Power on the punitive side

The Internal current is the movement for better administrations in all states The Princes have been compelled to

bring up their standards to the level of the British in India, with a view to take their place within the Federation alongside of the provinces with equal fitness The so-called constitutional reforms, proposed or introduced in the states, are only attempts at the greater popularisation of their governments and policies. The Princes and their peoples are bound to work in harmony and co-operation and thus to put an end to the era of autocracy and misrule which the state governments till now represented and symbolised

The Outward current is the association of the States with the Government of India in a Federation Up till now, the Princes had been in contact with the Political Department of that government and were ready to accept and carry out its suggestions for the better government of India although it involved sacrifice of their own state interests They had no direct connection or communication with or part and place in the Governor-General's cabinet But under the Federation the states and their Princes will have a great part in the shaping of Indian national policy It may be that the Federation is postponed owing to the war, but the tide has commenced to flow

It must be noted that each of these currents is somewhat one-sided However it flows, the first beneficiency is the State (and hence its Prince) There will be a greater security and stability to the dynasty, a greater popularity for the administration, and a greater prosperity to the states people than at present The identity of the interests of the Prince and his people in every state will eliminate the triangle of the Paramount Power, the Prince, and the People and substitute a simple bilateral system of the Crown and the state

Conversely,' the field of Paramountcy is limited, and its powers are reduced to Veto If we remember that the bigger states have already separated themselves from the smaller ones under the provisions of the new Act, paramountcy can be nothing but Veto Of the three Powers—the Crown, the Federal State, and the Indian State the Crown will have the least to do anything positive for the state while the Federal State will redress all economic and social grievances.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES IN INDIA

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The great and growing importance of the Civil Service in the modern State has been universally recognised of late This is especially so in a country like India which is getting rapidly democratised The various Committees and Commissions appointed in connection with Indian Reforms have dealt with it—the Montagu Report, the Lee Commission, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conference especially the Services Sub-Committee thereof, the White Paper, the Report of the Joint Select Committee, the Government of India Act of 1935 and, lastly, the Rules framed under the Act to maintain the efficiency of the Services and safeguard them against political and other undesirable influences. In spite of this seeming plethora of literature on the subject, to which might perhaps be added the Reports of the earlier Public Services Commissions, the conditions of the Services in India are by no means ideal Our Public Services are by no means the most efficient instrument of administration possible, nor are their conditions of service such as calculated to ensure contentment and the rendering of loyal and enthusiastic service The fact is that " the science of the desirable relations of the public with the Services is almost entirely unplumbed " (Hermann Finer *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*) Political thinkers in India as well as those interested in administration ought therefore to devote some attention to this subject

In theory, the Government of India Act, 1935, assigns to the Public Services a place as high as has been assigned to them in the constitutions of other countries Unlike as

in the past, the members of the Services are not the servants of any particular authority such as the Secretary of State, the Government of India or the Provincial Government. They are all of them servants of the Crown The Governor in the Provinces and the Governor-General in the Centre are to function, in respect of the Services, as their protectors representing the Crown against the intrusion of party or other influences The constitution prohibits caste, community or creed being treated as a disability on any one in respect of entry into the Services , in theory, again, promotion could not be denied on this ground , there is to be a Public Service Commission meant to function independently of the Executive and on a judicial basis to which appeals might be made by the members of the Services against any order of censure, of withholding of increment or promotion, of reduction to a lower post, of suspension, removal or dismissal and of withholding of pension , but, in spite of all these, there are reasons to fear that what has been granted in theory is denied in practice

Recruitment — The over-riding consideration in making recruitment to the Services and in laying down disciplinary and other rules should be to secure the continued integrity and efficiency of the Services However admirable a Service may be in other matters, a corrupt and inefficient Service would be a source of danger to all concerned Integrity and technical competence must be made a fundamental requisite in making recruitment It is universally recognised that the Services should not become or allowed to remain the monopoly of any class or community It is also recognised that the existing inequalities should be speedily redressed by granting to minority communities special treatment in the matter of recruitment In securing such enhanced representation, two things should be borne in mind One is that efficiency should not be allowed to suffer, the other is that in the guise of securing minority representation the fundamental right of the citizen to get entry into the Public Services should not be ignored If, in

order to redress communal inequality, a Provincial Government should order that no recruitment be made to the Services for the next twenty-five years outside a particular community, then, that order clearly deprives the citizen of his right to entry into Service irrespective of the community or caste to which he belongs It is in order to avoid such injustice that Raja Narendranath suggested in the Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that the proportion of posts reserved for the minorities should not exceed a third of the total vacancies.

The well recognised principles of recruitment stand in danger of being ignored because of insidious attacks on it from communalists, on the one hand, and political party managers on the other One of the methods employed is to narrow the field of recruitment for the general posts Special posts are created outside the range of the existing classes of officers subject to recruitment by the Service Commission Another method of foisting favourites on the Services is by fixing qualifications for the post such as are possessed only by the candidate of those in power so that when the Service Commission invites applications, the only candidate fulfilling the conditions laid down is the candidate mentally selected by the authority creating the new office Again, the rules for promotion are altered so as to suit individual cases and these affect recruitment They affect the efficiency of the Services and where members of the same service are of widely disparate ability and attainments, discontent is bound to arise since it results in unequal distribution of work and the *morale* of the Service as a whole lowered. If *esprit d' corps* is to be maintained, the quality of the members of the Service *inter se* should not be affected.

Pay, Promotion and Pension—To secure a contented Service, the emoluments of the members should be fixed on well understood principles and should not be lightly altered now and again at the whim and caprice of the Government for the time being Sudden reductions effected on the strength of passing majorities, without any attempt to find

out by independent enquiries the proper scale after giving the Services an opportunity to put forward their point of view are to be deprecated The Government have certainly a right to effect a change in the scale of salaries , but the changes should be made not arbitrarily but in the light of instructed opinion fully gauged. Such changes will result in gross and meaningless differences in the conditions in the various Provinces While the scale of salaries should not be pitched at too high a level, it should not at the same time be so low as to tempt the members to seek outside jobs as the case is in the United States.

In making promotions, it should be remembered that the principal attraction which the Service offers to the best talent is sense of security, dignity and assured prospects This means that promotions should not be made on any haphazard basis, but in such a way as would ensure that merit will never go unrewarded This should be secured either by means of a statutory promotions board, by examinations or other methods of which we have now many to choose from ' (*The Civil Service in the Modern State* · L D White) The present method in Indian Provinces does not appear to have given satisfaction , for, though there is the Governor as Protector, it is felt that the fortunes of some of the officers have had a tendency to vary with the changes in the party in power, suggesting that the machinery for making promotions does not function satisfactorily

In respect of pensions, too, the provisions as to security so far, at any rate, as regards the subordinate officials appear to be inadequate. There are cases in which officers are dismissed after they had retired on pension and enjoyed the pension for some time, on the alleged ground of misconduct prior to retirement The Accountant-General in one case pointed out that the dismissal was irregular as pensions, under the Civil Service Regulations, could be withheld only for misconduct subsequent to retirement But this was ignored and pension was withheld The officer sought redress in the civil court.' (*Rangachari* vs. *The Secretary of*

State). Both the trial court and the appellate court made strong observations that the so-called order of dismissal was a nullity and that the pension was improperly withdrawn. The Government resorted to the technical plea that the Pensions Act, meant for a different purpose, barred suits The matter was taken to the Privy Council which made observations similar to those of the High Court, regretted it could not interfere because of the Pensions Act, but added the significant hint that after their observations their Lordships of the Council had no doubt that the local Government would at once restore the pension, which was later done The statutory safeguards should be such as would prevent vexatious harassment of public servants

Another matter in respect of pensions which requires looking into is the arbitrary reduction of the amount of pension on retirement Although it has been claimed, successfully by certain Services that pension is deferred pay, the Civil Service Regulations applicable to the generality of Services lay down that pensions will not be granted as a matter of right and that they are paid at discretion In this view, pensions used to be reduced by trifling sums in cases where the officer had a very bad record But of late there have been cases where substantial reductions have been made for no reasons given An officer who expected a pension of Rs 200 at the end of 30 years service had his pension cut to Rs 150 A few months earlier, he had complained that his junior had been promoted over him and had received a reply that his case would be considered at the next vacancy, suggesting that his service record was not particularly bad deserving of serious punishment Yet his pension was cut by Rs 50 The cut was tantamount to a reduction of two grades three years previously with a rider that the officer was debarred from promotion in the future Without a full and formal enquiry such a punishment could not have been awarded , and the award would have been subject to appeal And yet the same effect was obtained by ordering arbitrarily a 25 per cent

cut in pension As the cut operates throughout the lifetime of the officer, unlike a reduction during the active service of the officer, which could be got over by earning promotion for good work. it is just and necessary that the formalities prescribed for reducing or dismissing an officer should be observed before a cut in the pension is ordered If the pensions are placed on a discretionary basis, then, there should be a Pensions Board as in Canada to administer pensions so as to avoid hardship and bring about uniformity in treatment

Disciplinary Action and Dismissals —So far as the All-India Services are concerned, the protection now obtaining seems to be adequate though even in them there are cases where aggrieved officers have got redress by appealing to the Secretary of State In the case of subordinate officers, the existing provisions are clearly inadequate Thus, in case of reductions, refusal of promotion, suspension and dismissal, the Governor is not obliged in all cases to act in consultation with the Service Commission Where there is no such obligation, the reply which the aggrieved officer gets is simply—" Government see no reason to interfere Appeal dismissed " Even the Service Commissions do not always give reasons. The Federal Commission appears to have a better record in this respect It must be made obligatory on the part of all to give reasons for their action Only by so doing, one could be sure that the authority fully applied his mind to the case One takes more care in expressing one's views when one is compelled to put them in writing (*The New Despotism* Lord Hewart.) Indeed, causes relating to disciplinary action should be disposed of judicially, by men trained in marshalling and assessing evidence and according to due processes of law relating to evidence

The importance of providing a judicial machinery to consider orders of reduction and dismissal may be gauged from the proceedings in a leading case in India (*Venkata Rao* vs *The Secretary of State for India*). The plaintiff was a Proof Examiner in the Government Press, Madras He

was dismissed for misconduct without an enquiry as laid down in the Fundamental Statutory Rules. Following three High Courts—Calcutta, Rangoon and the Punjab Courts—which had held that a suit would lie in such cases, the aggrieved party sued the Secretary of State in the Madras High Court The trial court held that the Rules had been violated, but added that the party had no redress in a court of law. On appeal, the High Court confirmed the original decision The party appealed *in forma pauperis* to the Privy Council Their Lordships held that rules had been violated, that injustice had been done to the plaintiff in that the dismissal was wrongful, but agreed with the High Court that under the law as it stood, no suit would lie for wrongful dismissal by the Crown of any of its servants The Privy Council, of course, hoped that the Executive would take the hint, but what the Government of Madras did was to pay nominal damages totally inadequate even for meeting the costs of litigation In such circumstances, it cannot be stated that the members of the Services enjoy security of tenure

Protection against Libel—The State must recognise more than it has done hitherto its obligation to protect its servants against libel by third parties in respect of their activities in the course of their duty The most damaging libels are made now against public servants, but they are without proper redress They may of course sue with the sanction of the Government the offenders concerned But this is a vexatious process It is no easy task to conduct litigation while discharging one's duty Moreover, the occasions for action by single officers will be too many to let them set the legal machinery in action It is not enough if the Government merely give sanction In cases where the Public Service Commission is convinced that a servant has been wronged, the Government should shoulder the entire burden of getting justice done to him. The Government appear to contemplate action in this direction by amending the concerned codes. In regard to wrong done by the public servant to members of the public, the British practice of making the

servant responsible seems not to be in accord with the modern view When an employer is held responsible for the action of his employee in analogous cases, it is not clear why the State should fight shy of responsibility. The principle underlying the British practice is that the public servant should be made to feel that he is not above law and that he is legally liable for his actions The responsibility could be as effectively enforced by the State taking disciplinary action against the offending servant while taking responsibility for his action *vis-a-vis* the public The French practice seems superior.

Obligations of Civil Servants—So far we have been considering, broadly speaking, what may be called the rights of civil servants That the civil servants have corresponding obligations should not be ignored and they should be clearly provided for. Organised as our Civil Services have been on the basis of a bureacratic government, they accept the principal obligations by convention and by rules They realise that their position is not that of a worker, the nexus between them and the State being only work and the money return therefore They are public servants, on duty at all times, bound to be within their jurisdiction and available whenever required

These are elaborately laid down in the Civil Service law of France, Germany, Australia and other countries Whatever rights of association they will claim will be such as professional organisations will do and not what trade unions seek to do They will stand aloof from political parties The objective of their association will be to develop proper *esprit d' crops* in the members of the Service They must remember that their emoluments are but an incident of their position, not wages regulated in proportion to their work. Their associations will be of the type of civil service academies, institutes of public administration and the like the principal objects of which will be to discuss, consider and devise measures whereby their service to the public as public servants will be most efficient and useful India has very

high traditions of administrative ideals enshrined, not only in our *Nitisastras,* but also in our Puranas based on the *Dharma* laid down for public servants It is to be hoped that Service Associations will grow up in India which will make valuable contributions to the improvement of the efficiency and integrity of the Services Such organisations will serve not only to teach the members to subordinate their communal and party predilections to the welfare of the State as a whole, but also to secure and maintain for them the high position of trust and responsibility in which the country is interested in placing them

SECTION VI

LIBRARY SCIENCE

REFERENCE SERVICE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

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Sri Rao Bahadur K V Rangaswamy Ayyangar had been a hero with the students of my generation His brilliant career, his bright and arresting personality and his daring, torrential and bibliographical eloquence held our attention in our youth They have naturally gained in intensity since then In particular the range of his bibliographical knowledge has extended considerably. To walk with him amidst the shelves in the stack room is always a delight He has so much to say about so many of the books that our progress through the gangways often threatens to extend to eternity

This experience with him made me believe the truth of a story current with us while at college that by his choice a set of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was to have been part of the *stridhanam* brought by his wife The significance of this unique make-up of dowry can be realised if it is remembered that most of his contemporaries had never had occasion to look up an encyclopaedia while at college and I am not far out of the mark when I say that some had not even heard of the existence of such a work of reference till long after they entered life.

His robust faith in books as a source of knowledge and his willing investment of a slice of his fortune in building up a private library of no inconsiderable size and value had made him a staunch friend and supporter of the library profession, as it began to establish itself in our land The first occasion when I chanced to discover this side of his interest

was some fifteen years ago. We spent three hours standing all alone in the early part of a night in the University compound I was a junior not known to him and he was an influential figure in the university bodies, it was the fact that I was a librarian that should have been responsible for his inordinately long chat with a young stranger

I got corroboration of his interest in library matters, when he told me some weeks ago that he had cared for a library in his earlier days

This is. I believe, sufficient justification for a librarian's offer of a paper to the *Commemoration Volume* to be presented to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar on his sixty-first birthday.

Reference work has been defined as the process of establishing contact between reader and book in a personal way This means that the reference librarian should know the reader as well as the book He must know the specific wants as well as the general psychological make up of men and women But so has everybody else who has to do with men and women The doctor, the teacher, the political leader, the businessman, the insurance agent and the lawyer, for example, must know the psychological make up of men and women as much as the reference librarian Ability to understand human personality, to work on and with it and to pursuade persons to accept the service available and offered, that is, ability to deal with the human factor, which is common to all forms of service, is partly inborn and partly cultivable and it cannot be claimed to be an exclusive attribute of reference librarian But what distinguishes him from the others is his proficiency in the other factor It is not as much a special knowledge of the community of readers as that of the community of books that is his specific attribute. In a sense this knowledge is more difficult to build up and maintain Compared to the community of books, the community of readers is smaller and less varied.

It also grows much slower and the expectation of life of its constituents is again considerably smaller.

Books and Readers compared

The span of life of books is many times greater than that of men though it may happen that some long outlive their usefulness and reliability except for purposes of antiquarian research Some books are immortal The classics in any subject are so and we must be thankful for this They even practice transmigration, they run on from edition to edition Books written before Christ are still growing young.

Immortals

Who knows the number of editions, the number of translations and the number of epitomes we have had and are still having of the *Bhagavad gita*, the *Holy bible*, the *Ramayana*, the *Hamlet* and Euclid and Longinus In the case of some almost every week sees a new embodiment either *in extenso* or in substance For example this very week which is after all a random one, brings into the libraries of English speaking countries Paul Brunton's *Inner reality* three chapters of which are occupied by the *Gita* with all the freshness and radiance of a new-born Such books are immortal

More Prolific

As it obtains now, the number of new books and periodicals that get accessioned annually in a library is greater than the number of new readers that it picks up in a year The Madras University Library, for example, adds about five thousand volumes a year , but the new faces that appear in its stack room and reading rooms are hardly a thousand The Community of books is more prolific than that of readers.

Greater in Proportion

Again its stock is over a hundred thousand ; but the number of different readers that it has to serve in a year is less than ten thousand. Its experience is not abnormal. The proportion of the entire population in the area served by a library to the number of volumes it holds is nearly even in most places that have developed their libraries to a reasonable degree Norway, which is richest in its book holdings, has three volumes per capita, but it is an exception. Sweden has 1½ volumes , England and America has each half a volume and the city of Madras, half a volume But it is rarely that more than ten per cent of a community uses its local library Hence, the proportion of books to readers in a library is on an average as ten to one

More Individualistic

It is true that no two men are alike But so far as their intellectual needs go, with which alone the reference librarian is concerned, they fall into a manageable number of classes But, except in the case of text books, the books do not lend themselves to be sized up so easily They are far more varied It is particularly so with the successive tomes of the thousands of periodical publications which are daily gaining in importance and number since they were invented three centuries ago There is again the all important, though subtle and slight, difference here, there and everywhere in the successive volumes of ready reference books which are also gaining in value and number since they were invented a century ago It is the job of the references librarian to know their 'individuating particularities' rather than their common features

Bibliography

Thus knowing the community of books is not merely the distinguishing feature of the reference librarian but also a most arduous and exacting task A tool that the library profession has invented to facilitate the acquisition

of this knowledge is known as bibliography. And reference service without bibliography is like *Hamlet* without the Prince

Fight over Definition

But the library profession has not been able to secure exclusive right over this word Nor is it its creation Many battles have been and are being fought over it The pages of the *Library* and the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society are reverberating with the echoes of such battle cries W W Grey, Stephen Geselse, and A W Pollard have been the chief combatants on the English soil Diderot, Pie Namur and G Piegnot were the fighters from France F. J. F Ebert, Kleemir and George Schneider were among those who fought to the finish in the 'Father land'

Early Definitions

Bibliography was originally defined as the writing (in the mechanical sense) and transcription of books, but not their composition The term was later expanded to include composition as well It was the French that first enlarged the scope of this term Ebert, the greatest of German bibliographers, gave as his definition of bibliography "in the greatest sense, the science that deals with the literary productions" His assertions culminated in a new definition of bibliography as 'the science of books' But this is too wide a definition It may mean anything For, apart from the question whether bibiliography is a science, or an art or a mere technique, books are entities in which several parties are differently interested

The Final Definition

But we are concerned here with a different definition of the term bibliography, as applied to the tools in daily use among reference librarians This definition is the last of the ones recorded in the *New English dictionary* It describes it as a list of books of a particular author or books, or

parts of books and even articles, dealing with any particular theme, i e., the literature of a subject It is now over half a century since this definition was framed But usage has as usual forged ahead The stress and strain of reference service has been pressing into the connotation of the term bibliography any list not only of books but also of other forms of recorded knowledge, no matter who prepared them or for what purpose and no matter whether it was prepared with particular themes in view or not Although at first sight the term bibliography found in the setting 'reference service and bibliography' might recall to mind only 'the literature of a subject' those that have experienced life as reference librarians know the narrowness of such an interpretation, for the mental and physical attitude of a sincere reference librarian who takes his job seriously would be like the one associated with the tamil saw "கருசிவாதபபா ! எஙகு வாதபபா !".

He would not let go without scanning with avidity any scrap of paper that may have a list in it For he alone knows the unexpected sources from which he has drawn solace

We are therefore concerned here neither with the obsolete meaning of the term bibliography recorded in the *New English dictionary* nor with Ebert's omnibus definition Nor are we satisfied with its definition as a list whose scope is restricted as severely as the *New English dictionary* would have it But we shall define it as a list, no doubt, but as a list of the extended scope we have indicated

So far as the technique of construction and the act of preparation might go, the reference librarian might not go beyond the restricted scope of 'the literature of a subject', but so far as utilization goes he will have to go the full length of the extended scope of the term bibliography to lists of any kind Any brand of it may have to be pressed into the service of the reference librarian at any moment when his own distinctive species of bibliography proves inadequate. Often

it will also happen that they form source books for the creation of his own species.

Characteristics of Classification

It is worth spending a while on bibliography in the most extended sense. Let us consider it from some fundamental point of view which will present the different kinds of bibliography in relation to one another. Throughout the volumes of the Madras Library Association Publication Series, four fundamental entities are explicitly or implicitly acting as guides They are Time, Space, Energy and Matter All analysis ultimately strikes its roots in them Their existence in the back ground functioning as the main spring of thought may be more readily seen in the *Colon classification, the Prolegomena to library classification* and the *Theory of library catalogue* They are referred to respectively as the chronological characteristic, the geographical characteristic, the problem characteristic or other equivalent terms and entity or material characteristic or other equivalent terms The same four fundamental elements may be used here as the characteristics to distinguish bibliographies and to disclose their filiatory relationship

Matter

Matter corresponds to the physique of the reading material that is included in the bibliography Records may be anything ranging from clay tablets, the earliest known materials, to the microfilm, the latest They may be manuscripts—to be further distinguished by the material on which the writing is made ; printed books—to be further distinguished as incunabula and modern books and by other characteristics of internal and external form as periodicals year books, government publications, and pictures and illustrations to be further distinguished by their peculiarities. We may include in a bibliography any one or all or any combination of such materials Each such combination will give a class of bibliography

Energy

Energy corresponds to the nature of the interest that activities the compiling of the bibliography, the point of view or purpose It depends on the party creating it and there are several such parties viz, (1) the authors, (2) the printers, (3) the binders, (4) the publishers, (5) the booksellers, (6) the book collectors, (7) the governments, (8) the library profession in which we can recognise three distinct constituent parties viz, (i) the book-selection librarians, (ii) the cataloguers and (iii) the reference librarians, and (9) the readers themselves

Each of these will build up the bibliography and the 'science of books' in his own way The totality of the sciences built up by them severally will be too much of a hotch-potch either to deserve the lable 'science' or to interest any body But bibliographies—taken to denote lists produced by any of them—are as we have seen of interest to the reference librarian so far as their use goes, though he will have to apply himself to the technique of their production only in the case of those which correspond to his own party and the party designated as readers

Some of these different classes of bibliographies have a special name of their own e g, publishers' catalogue, booksellers' catalogue, rare books list or biblophiles bibliography, copyright catalogue, book selection list, library catalogue and reading list Of these book selection lists and reading lists may also be prepared by national agencies like Governments, national library associations, and national book councils Those without a special name may be distinguished by the addition of an appropriate epithet e g, author's bibliography, printer's bibliography and reference bibliography In some countries the publishers and booksellers combine to make an exhaustive list of all publications of the country Such exhaustive lists and copyright catalogues are usually designated national bibliographies. What we have termed reference bibliographies are also called subject bibliographies.

Ordinarily the unqualified term bibliography denotes only a bibliophiles bibliography, a subject bibliography, a national bibliography, an author's bibliography or a reading list.

Of all the bibliographies it is the first mentioned that gives a most profuse and systematic description and history of each book—the authorship, transcript of the title page, edition, collation, illustrations, maps, year, printing, paper, binding, publisher and ' travel ' or change of ownership Its primary aim is description rather than listing Reading lists give the least amount of detail The other lie somewhere between these two extremes in regard to the details that figure in them

Space

Space corresponds to the geographical area covered by the bibliography It may be covered in one of two senses or both the area of origin of the literature bibliographed or the area forming its subject matter The geographical area may be the whole world, or any land-formation as a continent or any water-formation as an ocean or a political division usually referred to as empire, country or state or province or any administrative division like county, district, city, town, village, parish and so on, or a linguistic division like English speaking countries, Tamil speaking countries, Hindi speaking areas and so on The area covered may be any of them or any combination of them Each combination will give a class of bibliography The different national and local bibliographies are examples of this class

Covariant of Space

Space may also be taken to correspond to the language covered by the bibliography as language is normally a covariant of territory It may be covered in one of two senses or both as in the case of geographical area It may be a single language or a single dialect or jargon or any other variant of language or a single family of languages or any

combination of any number of languages or variants or families. Each combination will give a class of bibliography. An outstanding example of this class is H. W. Wilson Company's *Cumulative book index world list of books in the English language.* It is an annual bibliography of this kind.

Time

Lastly the time characteristic will give its own classes of bibliography according to the period covered Two particular species based on time characteristic are worth mentioning viz closed and open ones A bibliography is said to be ' closed ', if it is published once for all On the other hand it may be designed so as to be augmented from time to time as new literature comes into existence The augmentation may take one of several forms A periodical supplement may be issued at stated intervals or at irregular intervals as and when warranted or possible , the supplements may be cumulated progressively at stated intervals, say once in a quarter or once in a year or once in five years or once in ten years or as and when found feasible The cumulation may or may not include the basic volume Some of the older entries may in some cases be jettisoned out in the process of cumulation, either to reduce the size or for other reasons such as eclectic urge The ' open species ' cannot flourish unless it is in the hands of a permanent organisation like the State or a public body, national or local but of a perpetual nature.

Four-Fold Infinity

Now the divisions based on the four trains of characteristics considered viz , time train, space train, energy train and matter train may be taken in every possible combination. In other words we may take the link of the constituent chains of these four trains of characteristics to lie distributed in four dimensions. Any connex in this four dimensional distribution of links corresponds to a class of biblio-

graphy. This shows how many varieties of bibliographies may arise. In fact a fourfold infinity is indicated

Universal Bibliography

Any class of bibliography may be further distinguished or subdivided according to its completeness or selective nature. That which lists all books and all records, whatever be the materials used, produced in all countries, in all languages, at all times, on all themes, may be termed a universal bibliography It will form the bibliographical apex of the world However it is at present, and perhaps ever will be, only a theoretical concept Some dreamers have, no doubt, attempted to make it a reality but all such attempts have so far gone only the way of dreams What a collosal and impossible task it would be to make a universal bibliography an actuality can be realised if we make our mind gather together all the clay tablets, stone slabs, wooden boards, palmleaves, papyri, paper manuscripts and writings on every other kind of material that had been ever used any where to write books on, all the products of the printing press from its very inception to the present moment—from the first book printed by Caxton to the last book printed today—and the latest variety, the filmed book.

The World of Print

Even supposing we restrict ourselves to the universe of printed books "Some idea of its size is given by Iwinski[1] who, in 1911 published the results of an elaborate statistical study of book production He estimated that there were then in the world twenty-five million 'different books' We should, however, find need to correct this figure if we bear in mind that Iwinski limited his estimate to 'different books', and did not take into account different editions, reprints, issues, variant copies etc, of the same book neither did he include such occasional, fugitive, ephemeral items as maps, charts, prints, proclamations, music, engravings, broadsides, news-sheets, newspapers, sermons, almanacs, etc., which swell his estimate to an enormous extent."[2]

With such bewildering number of materials in print, representative copies of which are not found collected in any one library but have to be listed by a world travel, it is no exaggeration to say that a universal bibliography is an impossibility. Even here we have overlooked for the moment the Newtonian enunciation that time flows uniformly and that it creates new books in print as it flows. Who knows how many books would have been brought into existence by the printing presses of the world between the moment of writing these words and that of their coming out in print ? The following tables indicate the rate of annual book production for some countries [3]

INTERNATIONAL BOOK PRODUCTION STATISTICS

Name of the country		No of books published
1	Russia	36,680
2	Germany	31,026
3	Japan	19,967
4	Great Britain	13,810
5	France	11,922
6	United States	10,153
7	Poland	6,888
8	Italy	6,533
9	Holland	6,103
10	Denmark	3,293
11	Sweden	2,652
12	Spain	2,374
13	Switzerland	1,909
14	Norway	1,238

BOOK PRODUCTION STATISTICS OF INDIA & BURMA

Name of the Province		No of books published
1	Madras	4,042
2	Bengal	3,425
3	United Provinces	3,298
4	Punjab	2,537
5	Bombay	2,211
6	Bihar and Orissa	1,500
7	Delhi	414
8	Central Provinces	217
9	Burma	122
10.	Assam	54

250,000 books per year is a modest estimate of the present rate of the world's publishing capacity To those who know this, need it be said that the time monster would make a universal bibliography in the strictest sense impossible at any moment ?

Attempting the Impossible

And yet an attempt at the impossible has been made and for this purpose of creating a universal bibliography an international organisation was founded at Brussells in 1885 Its name is indicative of its wish The Institut International de Bibliographie of Brussels has not however undertaken a thorough sweep of the world by actual circumambulation It is contented with the scissoring up of the chief printed catalogues which it manages to secure, through its honorary correspondents at different national headquarters Still it has already accumulated more than 20,000, 000 entries ! What cost ? What use ?

What is possible

A more modest belief current among bibliographers, librarians and scholars is that a universal bibliography in such a severe sense is not a necessity For where is the omniscient polyglot who can benefit by the babel of tongues it would prove to be ? They advocate the building up of a thorough national bibliography by each of the publishing countries of the world and the continuous up-to-dating of them by annual supplements and cumulations at longer intervals A collection of such national bibliographies will be a far more practicable and helpful equivalent of a unitary universal bibliography

NOTES

1 Iwinski (M B) *Statistique internationale des imprimis in Institut International De Bibliographie* Bulletin, 16, pp 1-139

2. *Essays offered to Herbert Putnam on his thirtieth anniversary as librarian of congress*, p 114

3 Ranganathan (S R), *Five Laws of Library Science*, 1931 (Madras Library Association Publication series, 2) pp 385-386.

SECTION VII

SANSKRIT

॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीमतां भारतगौरवास्पदविभूतीनां विद्वज्जनमनोरञ्जकानां श्रीरङ्गस्वाम्यार्य महोदयानां षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिमहोत्सवावसरे तेभ्यः प्रदीयमाना

शुभाशीःप्रशस्तिः

शुद्धात्मा प्रियदर्शनः स्मितमुखः प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः क्षितौ
लोकानन्दवसाधुकृत्यनिरतस्त्यागी कृती दक्षिणः ।
निर्व्याजं निजजन्मभूहितकृते सर्वात्मना व्यापृतो
यः श्रीमान् सततं जनस्य हृदये जागर्त्ति सौख्यप्रदः ॥ १ ॥

मान्यो धन्यो वदान्यो गुणिगणमहितो वृद्धसेवी जितात्मा
शश्वद्वर्णाश्रमीयाभ्युदयजयकरो भूमिदेवाग्रयायी ।
रङ्गस्वाम्यार्य्यवर्य्यः स जयतु नितरां षष्टिवर्षप्रपूर्त्तौ
जीव्याच्च स्वास्थ्यसम्पत्स्वजनसुखयुतः षष्टिवर्षाणि भूयः ॥२॥

धन्यः कौशिकगोत्रवारिधिशरद्राकासुधांशूदयो
वाग्देवीवरपुत्र उन्नतमनाः सद्धर्म्मरक्षाव्रतः ।
धृत्युत्साहसमुद्यतो मधुरया मोदं गिरा वर्द्धयन्
कारुण्याब्धिरिवाऽतलो धिषणया वाचस्पतिः क्ष्मातले ॥३॥

श्रीगोविन्दपदारविन्दमनिशं ध्यायन् नमन् भक्तितो
यो वै भारतवर्षमङ्गलकरे कार्य्ये सदा व्यापृतः ।
श्रौतस्मार्त्तविधानपालनकृतैः पुण्यैर्यशोभिर्युतो
रङ्गस्वाम्ययमेष ईशकृपया निर्व्विघ्न आस्तां सदा ॥ ४ ॥

श्री काशी
२१-२-१९४०

महामहोपाध्याय
श्री प्रमथनाथतर्कभूषणशर्म्मणः
हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयसंस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षस्य

श्रीवेङ्कटेशशरणम्

श्रीमतां विद्यावाचस्पत्यादिविविधविद्योपाधिविभूषितानां मान्यवर
श्रीरङ्गस्वाम्ययङ्गारमहोदयानां षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिमहोत्सवसमये
तेभ्यस्समुपाह्रियमणा

प्रशस्तिकुसुममाला

[उपहर्ता—पण्डितसार्वभौमः, मीमांसाकेसरी, वेदविशारदः,
अ० चिन्नस्वामिशास्त्री तिरुपति श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वर
संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयाध्यक्षः]

वृषगिरिशिखरनिवासि श्रीधाम चिरं सुमङ्गलं तनुताम् ।
षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिसमये रङ्गस्वाम्यार्य्यवर्याणाम् ॥ १ ॥

विद्वद्वर ! विप्रकुले विख्याततमे गुणैकवरधाम्नि ।
जन्माऽवाप्य पवित्रं व्यराजथाश्शैशवेऽपि मतिशक्त्या ॥२॥

अतितीक्ष्णबुद्धिमत्वान्मेधायोगाच्च नातिचिरकाले ।
अभ्यस्य विविधविद्या विद्याधर एव विश्रुतो ब्रह्मन् ! ॥३॥

आश्रितजनपरिपालनपरिपाटीबद्धदृष्टिरतुलैषा ।
शोभयतीह भवन्तं विद्याविनयादिगुणगणैर्युक्तम् ॥ ४ ॥

कुशिकसुतमहितगोत्रे विश्रुतकीर्तौ प्रभावशीलाढ्ये ।
जन्मजुषामग्रगमं त्वामेवाऽऽलिङ्गतीह धैर्यश्रीः ॥ ५ ॥

तपति तपनो नितान्तं द्विजराजे जाड्यमेव जागर्ति ।
वक्रगती गुरुकाव्यौ नित्यं चाऽन्याभिभूततेजस्कौ ॥ ६ ॥

अनुपहततेजसं त्वां ऋजुगतिमतिदूरतापजडिमानम् ।
उपमिनुमः कथमेतैः ? दोषविहीनं गुणैकसीमानम् ॥ ७ ॥

विद्वत्कुलतिलकेह ब्रुवते सुधियो विपश्चिदधिपं त्वाम् ।
लौकिकतन्त्रे कुशलं लोकज्ञा दानिनश्च दानाढ्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

भक्ता भक्तिविनम्रं धार्मिकधुर्यं च धर्ममर्मज्ञाः ।
तैस्तैर्गुणैर्विशिष्टो विभाव्यसे तद्वदेव तत्त्वज्ञैः ॥ ९ ॥

आ च कुमारीदेशात् आ च तुषाराद्रिशिखरसोपानात् ।
विप्रवर ! तावकीना कीर्तिर्व्याप्नोति कौमुदीधवला ॥ १० ॥

पाञ्चालास्त्वां ब्रुवते गुणाढ्यमायोध्यका रघूत्तंसम् ।
काशीस्था वागीशं मध्यस्था विष्णुगुप्तमिह सर्वे ॥ ११ ॥

कविरिति काश्मीरस्थाः कलानिधिं केरलीयाश्च ।
विबुधवरमहित ! महिमा भावत्कः कुत्र न प्रसृतः ? ॥१२॥

विस्तृत्य विविधदेशेष्वात्मीयं कीर्तिराशिममृताभम् ।
एकोत्तरषष्टितमे वर्षे विद्वन् ! पदं न्यधा अद्य ॥ १३ ॥

तत्तादृशं भवन्तं देवो गिरिराजशेखरश्श्रीशः ।
वर्धयतु पुरुषधुर्यं कुशलैरन्यादृशैर्नित्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

परिचरितुं वृषभाद्रेरीशं भक्त्या भवानिहाऽऽयातः ।
श्रीपदपुर्यामद्य श्रीवासगृहे महात्मभिर्जुष्टे ॥ १५ ॥

अनितरसुकरं कार्यं प्राक्तनविद्याविवर्धनं कुर्वन् ।
श्रीपतिकरुणायोगादमेयशक्ति चिरायुरुपगम्य ॥ १६ ॥

जीवञ्छतानि वर्षाण्यरोगगात्रः प्रसन्नहृदयश्च ।
सकलत्रपुत्रपौत्रो भवान् ध्रुवं नित्यमङ्गलो जीयात् ॥१७॥

आर्याभिर्ग्रथितेयं प्रशस्तिमाला विराजतां कण्ठे ।
षष्टेः शरदां पूर्तौ श्रीरङ्गस्वामि विज्ञानाम् ॥ १८ ॥

प्रमाथिवत्सरे माघशुक्लत्रयोदशी, बुधवासरः, पुष्यनक्षत्रम् २१. २. १९४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

श्रीनिवासपरब्रह्मणे नमः

[लेखकः—एस् कृष्णस्वामिताताचार्यः, न्यायविद्वच्छिरोमणिः]

श्रीमद्वेङ्कटभूधरेन्दुरखिलाभीष्टप्रदो देहिनां
प्रत्यक्षं प्रथयन् कलौ निजबलं लीलावशात्केवलम् ।
लीनप्राच्यकलाविलासनकृतश्रद्धाविशुद्धाशयान्
रङ्गस्वामिमहाशयान् करुणया भूयोऽनुगृह्णातु सः ॥ १ ॥

शिष्टान् दुष्टकलिप्ररोहवशतः कष्टां दशां प्रापितान्
इष्टानेकपदप्रदानमुखतो हृष्टान् विधायाऽधुना ।
धृष्टं प्राच्यकलानिवासभवनं श्रीवेङ्कटेशाङ्कितं
सृष्ट्वा सर्वजनोपकारिणममुं दृष्ट्याऽऽर्द्रया पातु सः ॥ २ ॥

प्राचीं सर्वजनेडितां गमनिकामासाद्य विद्यानिधिः
श्रीतालादिनिबद्धकोशनिवहान् कोशाधिकस्थान् मुदा ।
बह्वायासभरेण चाऽत्र कलयन् रात्रिन्दिवं तत्परः
कारुण्याद्वृषभेशितुर्विजयतां सन्मार्गदर्शी चिरम् ॥ ३ ॥

विद्यासिन्धुविहारभूरियमतो हृद्या निषद्या धियां
सद्याथात्म्यविबोधनिर्मलजला सद्यानभूमिर्नृणाम् ।
गद्यादिप्रचुरप्रबन्धरुचिराऽवद्यापहीना सता-
मद्याविर्भवति स्म येन विदुषां मोदाय वादार्थिनाम् ॥ ४ ॥

येषां सम्प्रति साधुवृन्दमहितष्षष्ट्यब्दपूर्त्युत्सवो
भूयो वृद्धिमवाप्नुयात् सुमनसां सन्तोषहेतुर्भृशम् ।
अन्तर्ज्योतिरधत्त षोडशकलं षष्ट्या कलाभिश्चतु-
र्युक्ताभिस्स पुनश्चतुर्गुणफलारम्भः प्रसिद्धोऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥

एतावत्समयावधीह विदुषां गेहाङ्गणे क्वाप्यहो
लीनास्तीव्रतपश्चरास्तु न करस्पृष्टा नृणां यास्सकृत् ।

वैवर्ण्यं गमिता नितान्तमलिनाश्श्रीतालपत्रालयः
शेषाद्रीशकरावलम्बनवशात्सर्वोत्तरास्ताः पुनः ॥ ६ ॥

एवं मुद्रितकोशजातमपि यस्तत्तत्स्थलादानयन्
संस्थाप्याऽच्युतपादसम्पुटतले सम्मानयन् सर्वदा ।
किं भूम्ना यदिहाऽस्ति तत्खलु परत्राऽप्यत्र यन्नाऽस्ति त-
त्कृत्स्ने भारतमण्डलेऽपि न भवेदित्यञ्जसाऽस्थापयत् ॥७॥

छन्नान् क्वापि न सर्वतोमुखतया लोके प्रसिद्धान् भृशं
शास्त्रार्थान् विबुधैरितैस्सुललितोपन्यासचर्चादिभिः ।
बालान् ग्राहयतां दयानिधिरयं श्रीवेङ्कटेशस्स्वयं
सर्वायुष्यसमृद्धिदोऽस्त्विति मुहुस्सन्तोऽनुगृह्णन्त्वमी ॥ ८ ॥

के नाम संस्कृतकलानिलयं प्रवीणा
दृष्ट्वाऽद्भुतं विबुधरञ्जितमार्यवर्याः ।
गच्छेयुरन्यविषयं मनसापि निस्वाः
यत्सुश्रुतामृतमयं विलसत्यमीषाम् ॥ ९ ॥

यत्पौरस्त्यचतुर्दशाङ्कसदनं नृत्यत्कलं सत्सदाऽ-
सत्कूटाघटितं तु कूटघटितं विज्ञानिनां रोचते ।
तन्मिश्रश्च विशारदः किल तथा सम्राट् प्रगल्भः पुमा-
नाद्यं स्वं त्विह पुच्छनृष्ववतरेत् स्वं सद्वितीयं गुरोः ॥१०॥

प्राच्यप्रतीच्योदितसर्वविद्यापारङ्गतास्सूक्ष्मविचारदक्षाः ।
उदारशीला विदुषां तु भाग्यादत्रागता नूनममी बुधेन्द्राः॥११॥

अध्यक्षमणीनेतानन्यांश्च बुधांस्तथैव माणवकान् ।
विद्यास्थानमपीदं संवर्धयतु स्वयं वृषाद्रीशः ॥ १२ ॥

श्रीकृष्णदासग्रथिता पद्यद्वादशमञ्जरी ।
विष्णोर्वक्षसि विन्यस्ता श्रेयसेऽस्तु सदा नृणाम् ॥

श्रीनिवासपरब्रह्मणे नमः

नवरत्नमालिका

[लेखकः—सुदर्शनाचार्यः, उभयवेदान्तशिरोमणिः, न्यायवेदान्तशिरोमणिः]

आनन्दामलसत्यसंविदसमानन्तस्वरूपं परं
ब्रह्म स्वैरनुरूपरूपविभवैर्गाढोपगूढां श्रियम् ।
तद्वक्षस्थलनित्यवासरसिकामानन्दयत्सूरिभी
रङ्गस्वाम्यभिधानमार्यतिलकं विद्योतयत् द्योतताम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमान् वेङ्कटशैलशेखरमणिः कारुण्यवारांनिधिः
श्रीविद्युल्लसितस्सुवर्णकलिकासान्द्रेन्द्रनीलद्युतिः ।
संसारातपशोषितार्तिहरणः स्वाराधनप्रीणनः
रङ्गस्वाम्यभिधानगोत्रतिलके भव्यामृतं वर्षतु ॥ २ ॥

श्रीमान् प्रादुरभूत्प्रमाथिनि शुभे मोदं वितन्वन् सतां
रंगस्वाम्यभिधः प्रमाणपदवीरङ्गस्थलाधीश्वरः ।
गच्छत्येष चरित्रशास्त्रविभवस्यान्तेऽन्तरङ्गो भवन्
स्वामी सर्वकलासु शिक्षितमतिर्विद्यागुरूणां गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥

मीमांसां तनुते विमर्शयति च प्रख्यातमार्गैर्भृशम्
अध्यारोहति पट्टभद्रबिरुदाद्यास्थानमुद्भासयन् ।
यं साधुं मनुते तमेव कलयत्यन्तस्स्थिवति प्राप श्रृं-
गारं नाम सुधीमणिर्विजयते विद्यां समुद्योतयन् ॥ ४ ॥

विद्यां वर्धयति प्रसाधयति तत्कार्यं प्रसादाद्विभोः
जय्यं दुर्लभजेयविघ्ननिवहं कुर्वन् वृषाद्रीशितुः ।

यत्कारुण्यकटाक्षवीक्षणकलां संस्थां च संस्थापयन्
तां विद्यामनघां प्रपञ्चविनुतां तन्वन् समुज्जृम्भते ॥ ५ ॥
उत्तीर्णस्त्रितयप्रधानपदभागेकोनविंशे वय-
स्याबाल्यं निशितोपलब्धिविभवो 'बी, ए' परीक्षामुखे ।
आद्योऽभूत्त्रितयेऽब्द एव महितो 'यं, ए' विभागेऽपि सः
आरभ्यैव ततस्त्वयं वितनुते विज्ञानसेवां पराम् ॥ ६ ॥
आबाल्यं षष्टिवर्षाण्ययममलसुधीर्यापयामास विज्ञः
व्यासङ्गेऽध्यापनेऽवेक्षणनियमविधौ पालनेऽध्यक्षमार्गे ।
विद्यायास्साधुनानाविधविषयसमुन्मुद्रणैर्ग्रन्थबन्धैः
व्यासैश्चाचीचकासत्किमु भवति भवेदस्य तुल्यो महात्मा ॥७॥
'श्रीमन्तः सारदिव्यामृतवचस' इति प्राभवी बोभवीति
पास्पर्धीति प्रभावस्समुचितविषयस्सर्वशास्त्रप्रपञ्चः ।
ररम्भ्यन्ते स्वभावाः शुभगुणविभवाश्शेमुषीशक्तिसाराः
यस्मिन् सोऽयं तुराषाड् विबुधमणिगणे देशिकेन्द्रो दयालुः ॥
पूर्णस्सर्वविधैः प्रपूर्णकरणोऽप्यद्यापि संक्लिश्यते
निद्राहारविसर्जनेन विबुधः श्रीपट्टणे योऽनिशम् ।
विद्यावर्धनकाममात्रविवशस्तस्मिन् समुद्योतते ।
षष्ठ्यब्दोत्सव एष दिव्यपुरुषस्संवर्धतां वर्धताम् ॥ ९ ॥

श्री–वें–सं–कलाशाला

श्रीपद्पुरी

२१. २. ४०

श्रीमते हयग्रीवाय नमः

[ले०—मीमांसान्यायशिरोमणिः को. शठकोपाचार्यः]

वेदान्तवेद्यः पुरुषः पुराणः जीयाद्रमालिङ्गितसुन्दराङ्गः ।
कृतावतारः फणिभूधरेन्द्रे विद्यालये दत्तकृपाकटाक्षः ॥१॥

श्रीनिवासकृपयैव वर्धतां यावदिन्दुरविभासुरं महत् ।
कोशसद्मनगरेऽत्र दुर्लभैः ग्रन्थरत्ननिचयैरलङ्कृतम् ॥ २ ॥

रङ्गस्वामिमहाशयो निरुपमप्रख्यातिमाप्त्वा भुवि
श्रीमच्छेषशयस्य पूर्णकृपयाऽनन्ताख्यपुर्यां चिरम् ।
काश्याञ्चाथ पुरि प्रधानमहितस्थाने च विद्यार्थिनां
साहस्रेषु सदा मुदा प्रवचनं कुर्वंश्चकाशे प्रभुः ॥ ३ ॥

पद्माकान्तकटाक्षपूर्णविषयः श्लाघ्यैर्गुणैर्भूषितः
सर्वेषामुपकारचिन्तनपरस्सत्वाश्रयः पण्डितः ।
रङ्गस्वामिमहाशयः स्मितमुखः प्राचीनधर्मादरः
जीयाद्वर्षशतं पुरेऽत्र विभुराट् षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तेः क्रमात् ॥ ४ ॥

रङ्गस्वामिमहाशयश्च पुरुषं यं सर्वलोका मिथः
श्रीमद्वाजिमुखः कृपापरवशः साक्षादुदीर्णस्स्वयम् ।
विद्यां वर्धयितुं मुदाऽस्य हृदये सत्यं युगेऽस्मिन् कला-
वित्येवं प्रबलं वदन्ति स महाप्राज्ञो जयत्यन्वहम् ॥ ५ ॥

जेजीयतां श्रीनिधिदृष्टिपुष्टा सेयं पुरी सद्भिरुपात्तशोभा ।
विद्यालयो यत्र महाशयेन संवर्धितोऽनेन च चाकशीति ॥६॥

ऋगादिवेदाध्ययनञ्च कुर्वते
क्वचिद्द्विजा गानपराङ्गनाः क्वचित् ।
गायन्ति नृत्यन्ति च कुत्रचित्प्रभो-
रस्योत्सवे षष्टितमेऽत्र वत्सरे ॥ ७ ॥

क्वचिन्मृदङ्गादिविशेषवाद्यं क्वचित्सभा पण्डितरत्नपूर्णा ।
आज्यैस्समिद्भिश्च हुतो हुताशः क्वचित्समिन्धे स्वसमैर्द्विजैश्च ॥ ८

महीसुराणां श्रुतिशास्त्रसद्गुणैः
विभूषितानां महतां विशेषतः ।
क्वचित्समाराधनमत्र तर्पय-
त्यहीन्द्रशैलाग्रनिवासिनं हरिम् ॥ ९ ॥

श्रीरङ्गस्वामिनेऽमुष्मै मार्कण्डेयायुरक्षतम् ।
नीरोगताञ्च कौबेरीं सम्पदं सन्दिशेत्प्रभुः ॥ १० ॥
दासोऽयं शठकोपाख्यद्शिरोमणिपदाङ्कितः ।
श्लोकानिमानुत्सवेऽस्मिन् समर्पयति सादरम् ॥ ११ ॥

तिरुपति
२१-२-१९४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

कल्पसूत्राणामनेकशाखावलम्बित्वम्

[लेखकः—पण्डितसार्वभौमः, वेदविशारदः, मीमांसाकेसरी,
अ० चिन्नस्वामिशास्त्री]

**कटाक्षस्यन्दिकरुणापरित्राणजगत्त्रयम् ।
श्रीनिवासं हृदि सदा कलये कामितार्थदम् ॥**

सन्ति तावदिह नो बहूनि कल्पसूत्राणि । तेषु तेषु वेदेषु तास्ताश्शाखा अधिकृत्य तैस्तैर्महर्षिभिरनुष्ठातॄणां सुखावबोधाय सुखानुष्ठानाय चाऽऽरचितानि । वेदो ह्यपौरुषेयो महान् ग्रन्थराशिः । स स्वस्वोपजीविप्रमाणान्तरानवगमितं धर्माख्यमलौकिकमर्थमखिलश्रेयःप्रदानसमर्थमावेदयन् प्रवर्तयंश्च तत्र प्रतिपाद्ये विषये तांस्तानधिकारिणः, तांश्च यथावत्कृतानुष्ठानान् तैस्तैरुच्चावचैर्निश्श्रेयसैस्संयुञ्जान प्रमाणपदव्यामासकोटौ च मूर्धाभिषिक्त इति आस्तिकजनक्षुण्णोऽयं पन्थाः ।

(वेदत्रैविध्यम्)

तत्र त्रिधा विभक्तं तत्तत्क्रतुरूपमावेदयितुं कृतमतिरयं भगवान्वेदपुरुष आत्मानमपि वेदत्रयात्मना विभज्य, आध्वर्यवं, हौत्रम्, औद्गात्रं चेति प्रतिपादयत्यंशत्रयम् । तत्र च हौत्रभागं निरूपयन् ऋग्वेदाख्याम्, आध्वर्यवमावेदयन्यजुर्वेदसंज्ञाम्, औद्गात्रं प्रतिपादयन् सामेति नाम च भजतीति नैतदविदितचरं तन्मार्गपरिशीलिनाम् ।

(वेदेषु शाखाभेदः)

एवं धर्माख्यस्याऽलौकिकस्य वस्तुनोंऽशत्रयप्रतिपादनाय त्रिधा कृतविभागस्य वेदराशेः ऋग्वेदादिरेकैकोऽपि भागः पुनश्शाखाभेदेन भिन्नः । तत्रैकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः, नवधा बाह्वृच्यं, सहस्रवर्त्मा सामवेद इति प्राचीनाभ्युपगता वर्तनी । तद्भेदमवलम्ब्य चाऽध्येतृपुरुषेष्वपि प्रभेदः प्राजनि महान् ।

(कल्पसूत्राविर्भावः)

स च भेदः एकशाखाध्यायिनः पुरुषस्य शाखान्तराध्ययनं न्यरौत्सीत् । ततश्च

तत्तच्छाखाप्रवर्तकैर्महर्षिभिर्मनुकात्यायनप्रभृतिभिस्तत्तच्छाखाध्यायिनः पुरुषान् प्रत्यनुष्ठानौपयिकतया तानि तानि कल्पसूत्राण्यारच्यन्त । कचिदेकामेव शाखामधिकृत्य बहूनि कल्पसूत्राणि रचितानि । यथा–एकामेव तैत्तिरीयशाखामधिकृत्य बौधायनापस्तम्ब–सत्याषाढ–भरद्वाज–वाधूल–वैखानसादिभिर्महर्षिवर्यैः । तत्र शाखानां भेदात्तत्तच्छाखाध्यायिनः पुरुषान् प्रति स्वशाखागतपदार्थानां सुखावगमाय तत्तच्छाखावलम्बिनः कस्यचित् कल्पसूत्रस्यावश्यकत्वेऽपि एकस्यामेव शाखायां बहूनां कल्पसूत्राणां प्रवृत्तौ किं निदानमिति नाध्यवसातुमीश्महे प्रयत्नेनाऽन्विष्यन्तोऽपि । परमिमे महर्षय एकामेव तैत्तिरीयशाखामधिकृत्य प्रवृत्ता इत्यापाततः प्रतीयते, लौकिकोक्तिरप्येवम् । तथापि निपुणतरमीक्ष्यमाणेषु तद्ग्रन्थेषु ते प्राधान्येनैकां शाखामुपसर्जनतया बह्वीश्च शाखा उपजीवन्तीति स्फुटमवगम्यते । यतो हि तत्र शाखान्तराणां नामानि गृहीतानि । शाखान्तरगताः स्वशाखायामपठिता मन्त्राश्च बहव उपात्ताः । विषयेऽत्र प्रायस्सर्वेऽपि महर्षय ऐककण्ठ्यमादधति । एतेनाऽवगम्यते तत्तच्छाखागतानि ब्राह्मणानि तानि तानि कर्माणि विदधति स्वशाखागतानेव मन्त्रांस्तत्र विनियुञ्जमानानि दृश्यन्ते । तावता चाऽपरिसन्तुष्टाः कल्पकारा महर्षयस्तु शाखान्तरगतान्यङ्गानि तादृशांश्च मन्त्रानुपादाय स्वग्रन्थोक्तकर्माङ्गतया विदधाना एव परितुष्यन्ति । एवञ्च कुर्वन्तस्ते जैमिनीयं "सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययमेकं कर्म" (पू. मी. २. ४. १) इति शाखान्तराधिकरणसिद्धान्तमुपोद्बलयन्ति । अतः कैः कैरुपसर्जनतया कास्काश्शाखा अवलम्बिता इति विचारः कर्तव्य आपतति । आवश्यकोऽयं विचारः प्रतिभाति विमर्शककुतूहलनिवृत्तये तत्तत्कल्पसूत्रस्वरूपविशुद्धविज्ञानाय च ।

(आपस्तम्बसूत्रे विशेषविचारः)

तत्र सत्यामपि सर्वाण्यपि कल्पसूत्राण्यधिकृत्य विचारकर्तव्यतायामवश्यमापतितायामितरविचारं समयान्तराय सन्त्यज्येदानीमापस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्रविषय एव विचारः कश्चित्तनुकायः प्रस्तूयते ।

विषये ऽत्र बाह्यानि ग्रन्थान्तरगतानि शाब्दान्यार्थानि वा प्रमाणानि नोपलब्धुं शक्यन्ते । यतस्तान्यस्मिन्विषये सर्वथा जोषमासते । तथाऽपि तैरेवाऽऽपस्तम्बाचार्यैः स्वग्रन्थोपात्तानि यानि नामानि तान्येवाऽवष्टभ्य विचारमारभामहे । भगवानापस्तम्बाचार्यो हि स्वीये श्रौतसूत्रे कानिचन ब्राह्मणानि नामतो निर्दिदेश, कानिचन 'एके' कानिचन 'विज्ञायते' कानिचन 'इत्युक्तम्' इति । तत्र यानि नामानि निरादि-

श्यन्त तानि पङ्क्तिकारूपेण अधस्तादुद्ध्रियन्ते । यथा—

१	काठकाः	आप. श्रौ.	२१. २३. ६.
२	कालबविब्राह्मणम्	,,	२०. ९. ९.
३	ताण्डकम्	,,	२१. १६. ५, ६.
४	छन्दोगब्राह्मणम्	,,	१०. २. ५; १०. १. ३.
५	पालिङ्गायनिकाः	,,	२१. २३. ५.
६	पैङ्गायनिब्राह्मणम्	,,	५. १४. १८; ५. २९. ४.
७	बह्वृचब्राह्मणम्	,,	५. १५. १; ६. १३. ९; ८. ५. ४; १२. १७. २; १८. ८. ७.
८	भाल्लविकम्	,,	२१. १६. १५.
९	भाल्लविनः		
१०	वाजसनेयकम्	,,	५. १५. १; ५. १६. ८; ६. २. १६; ७. २८. ८; ८. ६. ४; ८. ६. ७; ८. ८. १७; ८. ११. २; ९. ११. २३; १०. ३. ४; १०. ६. १६; १०. ७. २; १०.९. ६, १०. ९. ९; १०. १२. १२; ११. १. १५; ११. १८. ४; १४. २४. १२; १६. ४. ९; १६. ८. १०, १६. १३. १२; १६. १७. ३; १६. १७. ६; १६; १७. ५. ८, २१. १४. १३.
११	वाजसनेयिन.	,,	१. २३. ४. etc.
१२	शाठ्यायनिब्राह्मणम्	,,	५. २३. ३.
१३	शाट्यायनकम्	,,	१०. १२. १३., १४; २१. १६. ४
१४	शैलालिब्राह्मणम्	,,	६. ४. ७.
१५	एके	,,	१. १. ७; १. २५. ६; २. ४. १, ३; २. ५. ३; २. ७. ६; ३. ३. १३; ३. ८. ७. etc.
१६	विज्ञायते	,,	१. १. ९, १. २. ११; २. ५. ११.
१७	इत्युक्तम्	,,	१६. १. ६. etc. २. १२. ३: ३. १७. ७.

अत्र यान्युल्लिखितानि ब्राह्मणानि तेषु (१) कालबविब्राह्मणं, (२) पैङ्गाय-

निब्राह्मणम् , (३) पालिङ्गायनकं, (४) शाट्यायनिब्राह्मणं, (५) भाल्लविकं, (६) शैलालिब्राह्मणञ्च सर्वथा तिरोहितात्मानि नाम्नाऽपि नाऽवशिष्यन्ते । (१) ताण्डकं, (२) वाजसनेयकं, (३) काठकं, (४) बह्वृचब्राह्मणञ्चेति यद्यप्युपलभ्यन्ते ग्रन्थाः । तत्र प्रथमे ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मणं सामवेदीयं, द्वितीये काण्व-माध्यन्दिनीये द्वे अपि शतपथब्राह्मणे, तृतीये कठशाखीयं ब्राह्मणं, चतुर्थे ऐतरेयब्राह्मणं कौषीतकिब्राह्मणं चेत्युपलम्भगोचरीक्रियन्ते, तथाऽपीम एव ग्रन्था महर्षिणा उपात्ता उताऽन्य इत्यत्र महानस्ति संशयावकाशः, यतस्तत्तदुक्तत्वेन निर्दिश्यमानेषु विषयेषु प्रायशो नोपलभ्यते विषय एतेषु । अतः अन्य एव केचन महर्षिदृष्टिगोचरा अभवन्ग्रन्थाः, यतोऽनेन विषया उद्धृताः ।

(शाखोच्छेदः)

ते चेदानीमत्यन्तमुच्छिन्ना इत्येव वक्तव्यमापतति । महता प्रयत्नेनाध्ययना-ध्यापनादिना परिपाल्यमानेष्वप्यास्माकीनेषु धार्मिकग्रन्थेषु तेषामुच्छेदः परमानिरोद्धव्य एवासीद्बहोः कालादारभ्य ; यतो भगवानापस्तम्ब एव स्वधर्मसूत्रग्रन्थे कथयति "तेषां उत्सन्नाश्शाखाः प्रयोगादनुमीयन्त" इती । परमिमाश्शाखाः कदाचिदेत-दृषिनामभिराख्याता लोके प्रसृतप्रचारा अप्यासन्नित्यवगम्यते । 'कलापिवैशम्पा-यनान्तेवासिभ्यश्चे'ति (४. ३. १०४) पाणिनिसूत्रव्याख्यायां काशिकायाममीषु केषाञ्चनोद्धृतानि श्लोकेन नामानि—

"हरिद्रुरेषां प्रथमस्ततश्छागलतुम्बुरू ।
उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥
आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।
ऋचा भारुमिताण्ड्याश्च मध्यमीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥
श्यामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः" । इति ।

एवं 'पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु' (४. ३. १०५) इति तदनन्तरसूत्रे भाल्ल-विनः, शाट्यायनिन इत्युदाहृतम् । एतेन ज्ञायते श्लोकोक्तास्सर्वेऽपि महर्षयश्शाखा-प्रवर्तका आसन् । तन्नामभिश्च तास्ताश्शाखा व्यवहृता अप्यासन् । महाकालेन च सर्वा इमाश्शाखाः कबलिता इति । अत्र चरणव्यूहपरिशिष्टे—

'तैत्तिरीयका नाम द्विभेदा भवन्ति–औखेयाः खाण्डिकेयाश्चेति । तत्र खाण्डिकेया

नाम पञ्च भेदा भवन्ति-कालेता, शाट्यायनी, हैरण्यकेशी, भारद्वाजी आपस्तम्बी चे'ति दृश्यते । अनेन 'आपस्तम्बी' ति कश्चन शाखाभेद उक्तः प्रतीयते । किं तत्र मूलमिति न प्रतीमो वयम् । यतो हि महर्षेरापस्तम्बस्य बौधायनभरद्वाजहिरण्यकेशिनां वा शाखाप्रवर्तकत्वं न कुत्रापि दृष्टपूर्वम्; अत एव तद्व्याख्याने महीदासकृते—

'यजुर्वेदस्तु तैत्तिर्यापस्तम्बीया प्रतिष्ठिता ।
सह्याद्रिपर्वतारम्भा दिशां नैर्ऋत्यसागरात् ॥
हिरण्यकेशी शाखा च पर्शुरामस्य सन्निधौ' ।

इत्यादिना केचन श्लोका उदाहृता मूलार्थविवरणार्थम् । तेऽप्यापातरमणीया एव । या हीदानीं तैत्तिरीयशाखानाम्ना प्रथिता शाखा सैव बौधायनीयैरापस्तम्बीयैर्हिरण्यकेशीयैर्भारद्वाजीयैश्च यथायथमधीयते, नान्या शाखा । तेषां कल्पसूत्राणि तैस्तैर्महर्षिभी रचितानि । तानि त अनुरुन्धन्ति ।

किञ्चैतच्छाखाविवरणरूपे काण्डानुक्रमण्याख्ये ग्रन्थे शाखामिमामाधिकृत्य—

'तेन शाखा प्रणीतेयमात्रेयीति च सोच्यते'

इत्यात्रेयीत्वमुपपादितम्, न त्वापस्तम्बीयत्वं बौधायनीयत्वं वा ।

किञ्च बौधायनो महर्षिस्तैत्तिरीयशाखामधिकृत्यैव श्रौतधर्मगृह्यसूत्राण्यारचयामास । तानि चेदानीं तथैव प्रसिद्धानि । माध्यन्दिनीयशाखया सह न कोऽपि सम्बन्धो बौधायनस्येति सर्वे वैदिकप्रमुखा याज्ञिकाश्च स्फुटतर जानन्ति ।

सति चैवं तत्र चरणव्यूहपरिशिष्टे वाजसनेयिनां पञ्चदश भेदानुक्त्वा तत्र बौधायनीयशाखाया अन्तर्भावकथनं सर्वथा निर्मूलमेवेति प्रतिभाति । एवञ्च या याश्शाखा यैर्यैर्महर्षिभिः प्रवर्तितास्ताः प्रायशः कालेन विलयं गताः । याश्चाऽवशिष्टास्ता अप्यन्यथाऽन्यथा आख्यायन्ते भ्रमवशादिति व्यक्तीभवति ।

अस्तु; प्रकृतमनुसरामः । महर्षिणाऽऽपस्तम्बेन इदानीमस्मदध्ययनाध्यापनगोचरीभूतामात्रेयीं शाखां प्राधान्येनावलम्ब्य कृते कल्पसूत्रे शाखान्तराणामप्यवलम्बन कृतं येषां नामानि पट्टिकायामुट्टङ्कितानि । एवं शाखान्तरीया मन्त्रा अपि बहव उद्धृत्य तत्तत्कर्माङ्गत्वेन विनियुक्ताः । यथा—(१) अतिसृष्टो गवां

भागः (मै. सं. १–१–२ ; आप. श्रौ. सू. १–३–९) (२) अयुपिता योनिः (आप. श्रौ. सू. १–४–११ ; मै. सं. १–१–२) (३) आपस्त्वा-मश्विनौ त्वामृषयस्सप्तमा मृजुः (आप. श्रौ. सू. १–४–१५; मै. सं. ४–१–२) (४) अग्नये जुष्टं संवपामि (आप. श्रौ. सू. १–२४–१; कपिष्ठलसंहिता १–७) इत्यादि । एवमन्यशाखातोऽपि मन्त्रा उपात्ताः । उत्तर-ततौ च बहूनां मन्त्राणां शाखान्तरीयाणामुपादानं दरीदृश्यते । एवं 'विज्ञायते' 'इत्येके' 'इत्युक्तम्' इत्यादिरुच्यते । तत्र स्वशाखीयानि वाक्यानीव परशाखी-यान्यपि मनसि निधाय, अभिहितं महर्षिणा इति प्रतीयते । एवमेव प्रायशस्सर्वेऽपि कल्पकाराः प्रधानत एकशाखावलम्बिनोऽप्युपसर्जनतया बह्विश्शाखा एकवेदगता वेदान्तरगता अपि काश्चन स्वग्रन्थपरिपूरणायोपाददुरिति दिङ्मात्रमिह दर्शितम् । विस्तरस्त्वस्य सत्यवसरे क्रियेत ।

तिरुपति
२१. २. ४०

श्रीः

न्यायवैशेषिकयोरीश्वरः

(लेखकः–तर्कार्णव पण्डितरत्न ति. वीरराघवाचार्य शिरोमणिः)

अत्रेदं विमृश्यते–किं कणादो गौतमश्च महर्षी निरीश्वरमिदं जगदध्यवस्यतः, आहोस्विदपरथेति। आ कणादस्यानन्तरात् आ चैतस्मादह्नः प्रवृत्तेषु तदनुयायिनां ग्रन्थेषु न कश्चिदेवंविधस्स्यात्, य एतमनीश्वरमभिदधीत। प्रत्युत गौतमस्यास्य च मते आम्नायस्याऽऽरचयितारं भ्रमप्रमादविप्रलम्भवैदेशिकमीश्वरमशेषा अपि शास्त्रकृतस्समाचक्षते। ये खल्वैदम्पर्येण तर्कमार्गेणेश्वरमप्रकम्प्यं साधयितुं न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिप्रभृति निरबध्नन्, त इमे न्यायाचार्योदयनप्रमुखाः प्रख्यातिजुषो नूनमेतत्कणादगौतममतावलम्बिन एव। किं बहुना! महर्षिरयमपि महेश्वरादेव प्रसन्नात्पदार्थतत्त्वं प्रतिपेद इति पौराणिकी प्रसिद्धिः। प्रशस्तपादोऽपि च तथैवाभाषिष्ट–"प्रणम्य हेतुमीश्वरं मुनिं कणादमन्वत." इति। तदनुरुन्धान इव वा प्रमाणान्तरं प्रेक्ष्य वा तत्रभवानुदयनोऽप्याह––"स्मर्यते हि यत् कणादो मुनिर्महेश्वरनियोगप्रसादावधिगम्य शास्त्रं प्रणीतवान्" इति। महेश्वरश्चोलूकरूपेणावतीर्यार्थतत्त्वमुपदिदेशेति प्रथाऽपि प्राचीना श्रीकवितार्किकसिंहविरचिते सङ्कल्पसूर्योदये इत्थमनूद्यते—

"असङ्ख्यसृष्टिप्रभृत्यर्थक्लृप्त्या श्रुतिप्रक्रियाणामधिक्षेपतश्च।
उलूकोपदेशापदेशप्रवृत्तः कथाशेषितोऽसौ कणादप्रणादः" ॥ इति।

एवं वस्तुस्थितौ विद्यमानायामपि केवलं सूत्राणि परिगृह्य विचारयतामेवमाशङ्काया अवसरोऽस्ति–यत् ईश्वरविषये इहाद्धा न बुध्यते स्वल्पमपि। अस्ति पुनरेकं सूत्रं, "संज्ञाकर्म त्वस्मद्विशिष्टानां लिङ्ग''मिति। अस्यायमर्थः–अतीन्द्रियेष्वर्थेषु यत् संज्ञाकरणं न तदस्माभिश्शक्यम्; अतस्सन्ति नूनमस्मद्विशिष्टा इति। इह हेतुं निर्देष्टुमनन्तरं सूत्रम्—"प्रत्यक्षप्रवृत्तत्वात्संज्ञाकर्मण" इति। अत्रोपस्कारकारश्शङ्करमिश्रः 'अस्मद्विशिष्टानामि'ति पदे सह महर्षिभिरीश्वरं घटयति। कर्मपदं च क्रियत इति कर्मेति व्युत्पाद्य क्षित्यङ्कुरादिकं गृहीत्वेश्वरानुमानं दर्शयति। ईश्वरमात्रं विशिष्टपदेन विवक्षितुं बहुवचनमिह महानन्तरायस्संवृत्तः।

यद्यपीहैवं प्रष्टुं शक्यम्–'यद्येष ईश्वरं नाम नाभ्युपैति, अथ कथङ्कारमाम्नाय-

प्रामाण्यमभीष्टं साधयितुमीष्टाम्' इति। तदिदमित्थमपि समाधातुं शक्यम्— न ह्याम्नायप्रामाण्यमातिष्ठमानास्सर्वेऽपीश्वरोपज्ञतामवलम्ब्यैव समीहितं साधयन्ति। अपौरुषेयो वेद इत्यध्वरमीमांसकाः। कामं योगिन एव कल्पान्तरेषूपचितपुण्यविशेषा इह कल्पे लब्धजनयस्सर्वमपि साक्षात्कृत्य सानुकम्पं प्राणभृतां बोधमाधातुमनस आम्नायं व्यधिषतेति स्यात्। इह प्रशस्तपादभाष्येणापि दत्तो हस्तावलम्बः, "आम्नायविधातॄणामृषीणामतीतानागतवर्तमानेष्वतीन्द्रियार्थेषु–यत् प्रातिभं यथार्थनिवेदनं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते तत् आर्षम्" इति। अत्र "विधातारः कर्तारः"इति कन्दलीकारः।

यद्यप्युपस्कारे परित्यक्तमपि सूत्रमेकमित्थमस्ति–"अस्मद्बुद्धिभ्यो लिङ्गमृषेस्तद्वचनादाम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यम्" इति। अत्रैकवचनमेव प्रायुङ्क्त, न बहुवचनमिति, अनेनेश्वरसाधनं निरङ्कुशं भविष्यतीति मन्यते, अथाप्याक्षेपक इहापि न तूष्णीं तिष्ठासति। सन्ति हि परस्सहस्राणि परमस्य पुंसो नामधेयानि, यानि प्रयुज्यमानानि नाञ्जसाऽर्थान्तरे नेतुं पार्यन्ते। तानि सर्वाण्येकपदे परित्यज्य, यत् सन्देहास्पदं, नैवम्, अपितु प्रेक्षकाणामह्नायार्थान्तरसमर्पकं, तत् ऋषिपदमयं प्रायुङ्क्तेति नेदं तिरोहितम्। अपि च भाष्यादौ परिशील्यमाने इहाप्यन्य एवार्थो भवितुमर्हति। तथाच भाष्यम्–"श्रुतिस्मृतिलक्षणोऽप्याम्नायो वक्तृप्रामाण्यापेक्षः 'तद्वचनादाम्नायप्रामाण्य' मिति वचनात्" इति। तथाचेह तत्पदेन श्रुतिस्मृतिकर्तारस्सर्वेऽभिधानीया इति सिद्धम्। इह कन्दलीकारः, "तत्पदेन 'अस्मद्बुद्धिभ्यो लिङ्गमृषे' रिति वक्ष्यमाणः ऋषिरभिधीयते" इत्याह। न ह्येक एवर्षिः श्रुतिं स्मृतीरपि निरमिमीतेति कश्चिद् ब्रूयात्। अत इह ऋषिशब्दस्सामान्ये एकवचनान्त इति तस्य हृदयमित्युन्नीयते। एवञ्च यत् "सञ्ज्ञाकर्म त्वस्मद्विशिष्टानां लिङ्गम्" इति, तादृगेवेदमपि। अतश्च ऋषिभिरेव बहुभिर्यथार्थवेदीभिस्सर्गारम्भे सर्वोऽप्याम्नायो व्यरच्यतेति कणादस्य प्रशस्तपादस्य चाभिसंहितं भवेत्। अतो नाम्नायप्रामाण्यान्यथानुपपत्त्या तन्मते ईश्वरसिद्धिरिति। एवं गौतमदर्शनेऽपि विमृश्यमिति।

अत्रेदं सम्प्रति संग्रहेण प्रतिविधानम्—

यद्यपि समानतन्त्रे गौतमीये "मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच्च तत्प्रामाण्यमाप्तप्रामाण्यात्" (२-१-६९) इति सूत्रेणाप्तप्रामाण्येन वेदप्रामाण्यं यत् स्थापितम्, तत्रापि च भाष्यकारो वात्स्यायन एवमाह–"किंपुनराप्तानां प्रामाण्यम्–आप्ताः खलु साक्षात्कृतधर्माणः भूतान्यनुकम्पन्ते, हन्त वयमेभ्यो यथादर्शनं यथाभूतमुपदिशामः। य

एवाप्ताः वेदार्थानां द्रष्टारः प्रवक्तारश्च त एवाऽऽयुर्वेदप्रभृतीनामिति आयुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवद् वेदप्रामाण्यमनुमातव्यम्" इति। उपरि च वेदनित्यत्वपक्षं निरस्यति। एवं भाष्ये सत्यपि न निरीश्वरत्वं जगतो नैयायिकमते भवितुमर्हति। यन्मुक्तकण्ठं सूत्रकारो गौतम इत्थं श्रावयति—"ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुषकर्मा फल्यदर्शनात्" "न पुरुषकर्माभावे फलानिष्पत्तेः" "तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः" (४–१–१९,२०,२१) इति। अत्र हि–विना पुरुषकर्मापेक्षामीश्वरस्स्वातन्त्र्येण सर्वं सृजतीति न युक्तम्। विनैवेश्वरं पुरुषकर्मैव कार्यजातं निर्वहतीत्यपि न युक्तम्। किं तर्हि? ईश्वरः पुरुषकर्मात्मकसहकारिसम्पन्नो वैषम्यनैर्घृण्यविधुरस्सर्वधुरां वहतीति निरूप्यते। प्रशस्तपादोऽपि स्वभाष्ये आदौ सृष्टिप्रलयनिरूपणावसरे सृष्टिसंहृतिकर्तारं सकलभुवनपतिं महेश्वरमाह। कणादोऽपि, "सामयिकश्शब्दादर्थप्रत्ययः" "अस्मद्बुद्धिभ्यो लिङ्गमृषेः" "संज्ञाकर्म त्वस्मद्विशिष्टानां लिङ्गम्" "बुद्धिपूर्वा वाक्यकृतिर्वेदे" इत्यादि सूत्रयन् अचेतनस्य चेतनाधिष्ठान विना कार्यक्षमत्वं नैव भवतीति निश्चिनोतीति निराक्षेपम्। एवं वेदप्रामाण्यं द्विस्त्रिस्सनिर्भरं स्थापयन् कणादः "तदन्यस्मिन्ननाश्वासात्" इत्युक्तरीत्या न योगिषु वेदविरचनशक्तिं सम्भावयितुमर्हति। एवं ये योगिनः सृष्ट्यादौ वेदविधातृत्वेन शङ्किताः तेषा तादृशशक्तिः तदुचितकरणकलेबरसम्पत्तिः, न केवलमेतावत्, सर्वमपि जगदिदं यस्य महत ईश्वरस्य सङ्कल्पभावितं स्वीकार्यम् स तान् योगिनस्तूष्णीमेव सृष्ट्वा तेभ्यः किमप्यनुपदिश्य तन्मूलमेव सर्वं कारयतीति नेदमप्यस्माकमध्यक्षगोचरीभवति। सम्भाव्यते पुनस्सर्वं सृजन् यथा यथाऽत्र चेतनवर्गेण स्वसृष्टेन चेष्टितव्यम्, तत्सर्वमपि स्वयमादरेणोपदिश्य तत्प्रचारप्रतिष्ठापनादिकृते परानपि योगिनः प्रेरयतीति।

अतो नेश्वरमात्रेऽस्माभिर्गौरवबुद्धिः कार्या; किन्तु तदुपदेशं यथावद्गृहीत्वा सादरमल्पाल्पधियोऽस्माननुगृहीतवत्सु महेश्वराधिष्ठितेषु महर्षिष्वपीति सर्वमेकदा सूत्रेण दर्शयितुं सूत्रकृता 'विशिष्टानाम्' इति बहुवचनं प्रयुक्तम्। आम्नायपदस्य श्रुताविव स्मृतिष्वपि प्रचुरप्रयोगात् सर्वेषामप्याम्नायानां कर्तॄन् युगपन्निर्देष्टुं तदनुगुणमृषिपदमाद्रियतेति तावता न सर्वेश्वरापलापस्तत्सूत्रेषु सुकरः। एवं भाष्यादावपि विभावनीयम्। अतस्सम्प्रदायाधिगतार्थानुरोधेन सूत्राणि यथावत्परिशीलयतामीश्वरसिद्धावाञ्जस्यमेव लक्ष्यते इति सङ्क्षेपः॥

तिरुपति

२१–२–४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

कालिदासः ऋषिकल्पः

[लेखकः—वेदान्तविशारदः, वेदान्तभूषणम् , विद्याविनोदः, उभयमीमांसास्थापकः
T. A. वेङ्कटेश्वरदीक्षितः शिरोमणिः पूर्वोत्तरमीमांसाध्यापकः
संस्कृतकलाशाला, तिरुपति]

परस्परसमास्वादप्रथमानसतत्वयोः ।
कविताबुधयोर्योगं नमामि शिवयोरिव ॥

'कविसार्वभौमः कालिदासः ऋषिकल्प' इतीमं विषयमधिकृत्य यथामति सङ्ग्रहेण न्यासेऽस्मिन् कांश्चन विषयान् प्रतुष्टूषामि । ऋषिर्नाम सः, योऽतीन्द्रियार्थदर्शिनेन चक्षुषा अध्यक्षीकर्तुमशक्यान् प्रमाणराजेन वेदेन प्रतिपाद्यमानान् देशतः कालतश्च विप्रकृष्टान्सुसूक्ष्मानर्थान्सुस्पष्टं प्रतीच्या दृष्ट्या साक्षात्कर्तुमीष्टे ; यश्च करुणातरङ्गितान्तःकरणस्सर्वेषामुद्दिधारयिषया प्रबन्धरूपेण तान्ग्रथयन्नन्येभ्य उपदिशति ।

कवितल्लजेन कालिदासेन ग्रथिताः दृश्यश्रव्यभेदेन द्विधा विभज्यमानाः रचनाविशेषाः न केवलं कथाविशेषमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति ; किन्तु सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विमृश्यमानास्त एते सारिष्ठान् ऐहलौकिकस्य पारत्रस्य च श्रेयस उपायान्सुबहून् सुस्पष्टमाविष्कुर्वन्ति ।

ललिततमया शैल्या आख्यायिकारूपेण वर्ण्यमाना एतेऽर्थाः भावुकानां हृदयङ्गमा अनुष्ठानपर्यवसायिनः श्रेयसे स्युरित्यभिसन्धायैव कालिदासादिभिः कविवरैस्स्वकीयेषु यादृशेषु तादृशेष्वपि प्रबन्धेषु एतेऽर्थाः सुष्ठु प्रतिपादितास्सन्दृश्यन्ते । तत्र स्थालीपुलाकन्यायमनुरुन्धानोऽहं स्वमति शुशुत्सयैव केवलं विषयानिमान् पाठकमहोदयानां पुरत उपचिक्षिपिषामि । आविश्चिकीर्षामि च कालिदासीये रघुवंशाख्ये महाकाव्ये प्रमुखे पठ्यमानैस्सूत्रप्रायैश्चतुर्भिः श्लोकैः 'शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्याना'मित्यादिभिस्सूचितेष्वर्थेषु पञ्चषाननतिविस्तरम् ।

आचार्यो वेदाननूच्य अन्तेवासिने उपदिष्टान् सारिष्ठानर्थानुपश्लोकयति तैरिव सूत्रभूतैर्वाक्यैः "श्रद्धया देयम्" इतीमं श्रौतमर्थं "त्यागाय सम्भृतार्थानाम्" इत्यनेन सूचयन् विवृणोति तमेवार्थं कौत्साख्यायिकया । कौत्सः किल गुरुदक्षिणार्थं चतुर्दशकोटीः सुवर्णानां ययाचे दानशौण्डं रघुम् ; यः किल तदात्वे प्रत्यग्रनिर्वर्तितविश्व-

जिदध्वरः मृण्मयपात्रावशेषः । स च कुबेरं जित्वाप्यर्थिनो मनोरथ पूरयिष्यामीति समकल्पयत् । निश्चिकाय च परेद्यवि प्रातः प्रयाणम् । तद्विक्रमादमानुषात् भीतभीतः कुबेरः रात्रौ तत्कोशगृहे हेमवर्षमवर्षत् । सर्वं त्वयैव स्वीकर्तव्यमिति निर्बध्नन् रघुः गुरुप्रदेयादाधिक किञ्चिदपि नादास्ये इति प्रत्युत्तरयन् कौत्सश्च—

"जनस्य साकेतनिवासिनस्तौ द्वावप्यभूतामभिनन्द्यसत्वौ ।
गुरुप्रदेयाधिकनिस्स्पृहोऽर्थी नृपोऽर्थिकामादधिकप्रदश्च" ॥

"सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यम्" इतीम वैदिक प्रमेय मनस्याकलयन् 'सत्याय मितभाषिणाम्" इति सक्षिप्तमेवार्थं रामायणकथया विवृणोति ।

'प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सी.' इत्याम्नातमेवार्थं 'प्रजायै गृहमेधिना' मित्युपश्लोकयन् दिलीपस्य सपत्नीकस्य वसिष्ठादेशात् गोव्रतापदेशेन तमेव प्रकटीकरोति ।

'शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्याना'मित्यनेन "स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्य"मितीममेवार्थं प्रतिपादयति । तत्र तावत् विद्या नाम सर्वोपकारिणीति सर्वैरभ्युपगम्यत एव, यतो विना ता न किमपि पार्यतेऽवगन्तुम् । सर्वज्ञानप्रधानसाधन हि विद्या । अत एव खल्वाहुः—'विद्या नाम नरस्य रूपमधिकम्' इत्यादि । निन्द्यन्ते च तद्विरहिता —'विद्याविहीनाः पशुभिस्समाना' इति । अस्माकं पशूना च विभेदकं विशेषज्ञानमेव । तच्च विद्यावतामेव सम्पद्यते । अत एव तद्रहिते पशुत्वमध्यारोप्यते । एतदुपज्ञ एव 'साक्षात्पशु. पुच्छविषाणशून्यः' इति । इय च पुसामिव स्त्रीणामप्यावश्यकी "अर्थस्य सङ्ग्रहे चैनां व्यये चैव नियोजयेत्" इत्यादि स्त्रीणा कर्तव्यविशेषानुपदिशन्ती मानवी स्मृतिरपीममेवार्थमनुमन्यते । "पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा नैनामध्यापयेत्परः" इत्यध्यापकविशेष विदधाना स्मृतिस्तासामपि तामावश्यकीमवबोधयति । पूर्वस्मिन् काले बह्वय. श्रूयन्ते विदुष्य. यास्स्वय ज्ञातवत्यो धर्मतत्वमर्माणि परेभ्योऽप्युपादिशश्च इति । स्त्रीधर्मा बहवो गौर्या उपदिष्टा अनुश्रूयन्ते । कविसार्वभौमः कालिदासोऽपि "ता हसमाला शरदीव गङ्गा महौषधीर्नक्तमिवात्मभासः । स्थिरोपदेशामुपदेशकाले प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्या." इत्युपश्लोकयन् स्त्रीणामपि कृतविद्यत्व सुस्पष्टमभिसन्धत्ते । इन्दुमत्याः स्वयवरे सुनन्दां प्रतिहाररक्षिणीं 'पुवत्प्रगल्भां' इति विशिषन् नृपाणां श्रुतवशवृत्तां कल्पयन् क्वचिदतिशायिता पुसोऽपि स्त्रीणामनुमन्यते । अनुरूप लेख सम्पादयितुं 'पदानि रचयन्त्याः' शकुन्तलायाः उर्वश्याश्च बहुविद्यत्व प्रकटीकरोति ।

'यौवने विषयैषिणां' 'प्रजायै गृहमाधिना'मित्याभ्यां विरुद्धवदवभासमानाभ्यामंशा-

भ्यां धर्माविरोधेन तृतीयः पुरुषार्थः संसेव्य इत्यभिसन्दधान उपबृंहयत्यमुमेवांशं भगवतो रामचन्द्रस्य स्वभावविशेषवर्णनव्याजेन—'न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ । नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सोऽर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु'' इति । अत्राऽन्वयमुखेन प्रतिपादितमर्थमेवाऽजस्य अग्निवर्णस्य च चेष्टितेन व्यतिरेकमुखेन प्रकटीकरोति । अज. किल इन्दुमतीं परिणीय तया सुबहून् भोगाननुभूय कुसुमपातेन व्यसु तामनुगन्तुं व्यवास्यत् , किन्तु लोकापवादाद्बिभ्यदेव तथा नान्वतिष्ठत् । अन्ते च तच्चिन्तयैवाऽभैषज्येनामयेन अभ्यभूयत । पातयामास च स्वीयं शरीर पवित्रतमे गङ्गायमुनयोः प्रवाहे । तथा सवितृकुलप्रसूतस्याऽग्निवर्णस्य सर्वतोमुखं स्त्रीषु चापल विस्तरेण वर्णयन्नतिप्रसङ्गात् व्याधिना कालधर्ममुपेयिवानिति च वर्णयन्नतिप्रसङ्ग. कामादिष्वनर्थायेति, इन्द्रियसयमस्सर्वथा कार्य इति वेदसारमिममर्थ सम्यक्प्रकाशयति ।

अय किल विसृमर. प्रवादो निर्हेतुकः, यथा—भारतीया. किल पुमासः स्त्रीषु क्रूरकर्माणः 'न स्त्री स्वातन्त्र्यमर्हति' इत्येवंजातीयकानि स्मर्यमाणदु खजनकानि स्वोत्प्रेक्षया कल्पयन्त. काम कदर्थयन्ति कल्याणी' कान्ताः । त एते मनुष्या अपि भूत्वा न हि प्रदर्शयन्ति दया दाक्षिण्यं वा महिलासु । न कदापि मानयन्ति मान्यास्ता. । न हि तासां सभासु प्रवेशमनुमन्यन्ते । नापि तासा इतरैस्सम्भाषणमनुमोदन्ते । इमाः किल पुसामुपभोगायैव भगवता सृष्टा इति मनस्याकलयन्ति । पश्यन्ति च ताः भृत्यानिव बन्दीरिवास्निग्धेन चक्षुषा । व्यवहरन्ति च निर्दयेन मनसा । नो खल्विदमभिमत स्यात्स्रष्टुः स्त्रीपुसावेकरूपेण सृजतो भगवतो विधातुर्यत्पुमांस एवार्हन्ति सर्वत्राप्रतिहत स्वातन्त्र्यम् । स्त्रीभि' पुनस्सर्वास्वप्यवस्थासु परतन्त्राभिरेव कालो यापयितव्य इति। समदृष्टिर्हि स परमेष्ठी, स एव भूतान्यक्षराणि अतिकठिनानि तासां ललाटेषु कथं वा विलिखेत् । विषयेऽत्र सञ्चार्यता दृष्टिः पाश्चात्येषु भारतीयैः । ते किल प्रथममेव सुनिपुण सुचिर च परीक्ष्य विज्ञाय पारस्परिकमनुरागं, दाम्पत्याय प्रयतन्ते । व्यूढाश्च ता. विना सङ्कोच प्रवेशयन्ति परिषदः; सम्मन्यन्ते च तास्तत्र उपन्यासाद्यवकाशदानेन; न निरुन्धन्ति च तासामाद्वितीयानामेव विहाराय स्वैरगमनम् । सममेव स्त्रीपुसयोरुभयोरपि स्वातन्त्र्यमित्येव निस्संशयमभिप्रयन्ति । भारतीयाः पुन' "स्त्री पुवच्च प्रभवति यदा तद्धि गेह विनष्टमि"ति स्वकपोलकल्पित पद्यखण्ड महता प्रामाण्येन महीकुर्वन्त' कालं यापयन्तीति यत्सत्य लज्जाकरमिदं सचेतनाना समेषाम् । अस्य चाऽज्ञानविजृम्भितस्य दुराक्षेपस्य

परिहरणाय कालिदासाशयमेव प्रमाणीकुर्मः । भारतीयाः किलाऽऽस्माकीनाः पूर्वे पुरुषाः प्रथममामुष्मिकमेव श्रेयस्साधीयो गणयन्तः ऐहलौकिकं सुखमानुषङ्गिकमवरं च कल्पयाम्बभूवुः । धार्मिकाग्रेसरा अस्मत्प्रपितामहाः पाणिग्रहणं नाम परमोपायो धर्माचरणस्येत्यनुशासति । अद्यत्वेऽपि सनातने वर्त्मनि सन्निविष्टा भार्यां सहधर्मचारिणीमेव नियतमभिमन्यन्ते । अत एव किल सर्वोपकारक्षमोऽयमाश्रम इत्यभिख्यायते गार्हस्थ्यम् । निषिद्धेऽपि च काले स्त्रीणामनुरोधेन उपगन्तव्या एव ता इत्यनुस्मरन् भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः तासां लौकिके विषयेऽपि कीदृशं स्वातन्त्र्यं बहुमानं च प्रदर्शयतीति पाश्चात्यवासनावासिता एव किञ्चिदिव समालोचयन्तु । विविधानां धर्माणामाचरणेऽपि दम्पत्योस्सहाधिकारं निर्धारयति भगवान् जैमिनिरपि । कवितल्लजः कालिदासोऽपि किमभिप्रेत्यस्मिन् विषय इति शाकुन्तलतः किञ्चिदिव विमृशामः । स खलु महाकविः "अतः परीक्ष्य कर्तव्यं विशेषात्सङ्गतं रहः । अज्ञातहृदयेष्वेवं वैरीभवति सौहृद"मिति च निबध्नन् विवाहात्पूर्वमेव दम्पत्योरन्योन्यहृदयपरीक्षणमवश्यकर्तव्यमुपदिशति । तदभावे च समापतन्तीमनर्थपरम्परामपि उत्तरार्धेन निरूपयति ।

मेनाया हिमवतश्च विवाहं वर्णयन् , तद्व्याजेन विवाहस्य संस्कारस्याऽभ्यर्हितत्वं तदनुबन्धिनश्च कांश्चन विशेषान् निर्दिशन् स्वस्य वैदिकश्रेष्ठत्वं ऋषिकल्पत्वं च सुस्पष्टमभिव्यनक्ति । इत्थं हि स उपश्लोक्यते—"स मानसीं मेरुसखः पितॄणां कन्यां कुलस्य स्थितये स्थितिज्ञः । मेनां मुनीनामपि माननीयामात्मानुरूपां विधिनोपयेमे" । अत्र मुनीनामपि माननीयामिति विशेषणेन न केवलं शारीरं रामणीयकमेव विवक्षापदम् , किन्तु आन्तरं सौशील्यादिकमेवेप्टुपपादयति । 'विधिनोपयेमे' इत्यनेन पाणिग्रहणविधेरावश्यकतामुपनिबध्नाति । 'कुलस्य स्थितये' इति वदन् पाणिग्रहणं नामेदं न भोगमात्रमुद्दिश्य प्रवर्त्यते । किन्तु 'प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम्' 'अप्यर्थकामौ तस्यास्ताम्' 'धर्म एव मनीषिणः' इत्यन्यत्र स्पष्टमभिहितमाशयं स्मृतिपथमुपनयति । 'कन्यामि'ति प्रथमतो निर्दिशन् "कालक्रमेणाथ तयोः प्रवृत्तस्स्वरूपयोग्ये सुरतप्रसङ्गे" इति च प्रतिपादयन् कविवरः परिणयनानन्तरं कालक्रमेण मेनकाया यौवनप्रादुर्भावः तया च साकं तदनु हिमवतः सम्भोग इति चोपवर्णयन्ननृतुमतीविवाहविधायकस्य "प्रदानं प्रागृतो"रिति गौतमीयस्य वचनस्य स्मारयतीव । 'स्वरूपयोग्ये' इत्यनेन धर्मस्य प्राधान्यं, उपसर्जनतां च तृतीयस्य पुमर्थस्य विस्पष्टमावेदयति ।

'पत्नी हि पारीणह्यस्येशे' इति स्त्रियाः विषयविभागेन स्वातन्त्र्यप्रतिपादिकां श्रुतिं,

'अर्थस्य सङ्ग्रहे चैव व्यये चैव नियोजयेत् । स्नाने शौचेऽन्नपक्त्यां च पारिणाह्यस्य वेक्षणे' इति मानवीं स्मृतिं चाऽनुसन्दधान एकस्मिन्नेव शाकुन्तले नाटके सुस्पष्टं दम्पत्योः पारस्परिकमनुकूलमनाकुलं च स्वातन्त्र्यमभिव्यनक्ति—"उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी" "भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव" इति च ।

'वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनाम्'–सर्वेऽपि रघुवश्या राजानो वार्धके पुत्रं राज्यकर्मणि नियुज्य स्वयं वानप्रस्था भूत्वा लौकिकेषु भोगेषु वितृषस्सञ्जाता इति बोधयन् कविवरः सर्वान्वार्धके विरज्यान्ग्राहयति । परमात्मज्ञानेनैव विदेहकैवल्यं गता इति बोधयन् विरक्तान्सर्वान्ग्राहयति तुरीयमाश्रमं निश्रेयसावाप्तये । कविवरोऽयं 'श्रुतेरिवार्थस्स्मृतिरन्वगच्छत्' इत्यनेन उपमानव्यपदेशेन अतीन्द्रियाणामर्थानामवबोधने श्रुतेः स्वातन्त्र्यमपौरुषेयत्वात् । मन्वादिस्मृतयस्तु श्रुत्यर्थानुमापकत्वेनैव प्रमाण्यमश्नुवन्तीति मीमांसकानां सिद्धान्तमिमं जैमिन्युपज्ञमाविष्कुर्वन्स्वस्य श्रुत्यर्थविचाराभियोगं, स्वस्य ऋषिकल्पत्वं च ध्वन्यध्वन्यध्वन्योऽयं महाकविरभिव्यनक्ति ।

एवं बहून् सारिष्ठान् श्रुतितात्पर्यविषयान्स्मृतिष्विव सुविशदं प्रतिपादयन्नयं कविसार्वभौमः सर्वथा ऋषिसम इत्युद्घोषणमेदज्ञनीयं युक्ततममाकलयेयुस्सर्वे विपश्चिदपश्चिमा इति मुक्तसंशयं प्रतिजानानः स्वीयमिमं प्रबन्धमुपसञ्जिहीर्षुः, देवीस्तुतिरूपनिबध्यमानं कविसार्वभौमीयं वेदतात्पर्यप्रकाशकं श्लोकस्याधर्मनुवदन् मदीयमज्ञानविजृम्भितं दोषं मर्षयन्तु पाठकमहोदया इति प्रार्थये ।

"याचे न कञ्चन न कञ्चन वञ्चयामि सेवे न कञ्चन निरस्तसमस्तदैन्यः" ।

इति शम्

तिरुपति
२१–२–४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

"श्री भगवान्"

[लेखकः—के. वि. नीलमेघाचार्यः शिरोमणिर्देशिकदर्शनधुरन्धरः]

भगवान्मङ्गलं दत्तां वेङ्कटाचलशेखरः ।
रङ्गस्वामिसुधीन्द्राय प्राप्तषष्ट्यब्दपूर्तये ॥

'भगवच्छब्दार्थविवरणम्'—समग्राणामैश्वर्यवीर्ययशःश्रीज्ञानवैराग्याणां यः शेवधिः स भगवान् । स्मर्यते हि "ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य वीर्यस्य यशसः श्रियः । ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव षण्णां भग इतीरणा" इति । यद्वा अवधीरितावधीनां निरस्तदुर्गुणसाहचर्याणां ज्ञानबलैश्वर्यवीर्यशक्तितेजसां यो विश्रान्तिभूमिः स भगवान् । स्मर्यते हि—"ज्ञानशक्तिबलैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजांस्यशेषतः । भगवच्छब्दवाच्यानि विना हेयैर्गुणादिभिः" ॥ इति । अत एव भगवानखिलहेयप्रत्यनीकः कल्याणैकतानश्चेति निगद्यते । नित्यमुक्ता अपि नैवंविधाः । अत एव भगवान् समाभ्यधिकदरिद्र इति स्तूयते । आश्रितहेयनिवर्तकतया श्रितकल्याणनिर्वर्तकतयापि भगवानखिलहेयप्रत्यनीकः कल्याणैकतानश्चेति प्रख्यायते । किञ्च, कतिपयहेयनिवर्तकस्य कतिपयकल्याणप्रसाधकस्य तीर्थदेवकालशमादिगुणकर्मशास्त्रब्राह्मणादेः पावनतापि भगवत्सम्बन्धनिबन्धना । तथाहि—तीर्थायतनादेः पावनता भगवतस्तत्र सन्निधानात् । देवानां पावनता भगवदुपासनार्चनपादोदकसेवनानिबन्धना । कालस्य पावनता भगवदवतारतद्दैवत्यत्वतच्छयनोत्थानादिमत्वात् । शमादीनामात्मगुणानां पावनता भगवत्प्राप्तिहेतुत्वात् । यज्ञदानतपःश्राद्धप्रभृतिकर्मणः पावनता भगवदाराधनरूपत्वात् । शास्त्रस्य पावनता भगवदाज्ञारूपत्वात् भगवत्परत्वाच्च । ब्राह्मणादेः पावनता भगवत्परवेदाध्ययनादावधिकृतत्वात् । अतः स्वसम्बन्धादन्येषामपि पावनतां मङ्गलकारिताञ्चापादयन् भगवान् परमपावनो मङ्गलमयश्चेति सिद्ध्यति । 'भगवद्गुणेषु द्वैराश्यम्'—निरुक्ता ज्ञानादयः षड्गुणा भगवतः परत्वमुद्दीपयन्ति । तद्वितितिरूपाः सौशील्यवात्सल्यमार्दवार्जवसौहार्दसाम्यकारुण्यमाधुर्यगाम्भीर्यौदार्यचातुर्यस्थैर्यधैर्यशौर्यपराक्रमसत्यकामसत्यसङ्कल्पत्वकृतित्वकृतज्ञतादयोऽसंख्या गुणा भगवतो निरतिशयं सौलभ्यं व्यञ्जयन्ति । परत्वसौलभ्याभ्यामेव भगवतो महिमा समुत्कृष्यते ।

'ज्ञानादिगुणनिरूपणम्'—(१) अर्थप्रकाशशीलं ज्ञानम्, तेन सर्वं स्वतः सदा युगपद्भगवान् साक्षात्करोति। अत एव नित्यसर्वज्ञ इत्युच्यते (२) श्रमप्रसङ्गरहितं धारणसामर्थ्यं बलम्, तेन भगवान् सर्वं विधारयति। (३) नियमनसामर्थ्यमैश्वर्यम्, तेन भगवान् सर्वं नियच्छन् सर्वान्तर्यामीति प्रथते। (४) सर्वोपादानभावे सर्वधारणे सर्वनियमनेऽपि विकाराराहित्यं वीर्यम्, अत एव भगवान् नित्यनिर्मलः सततैकरूपो निरञ्जनश्चेति भण्यते। (५) इतरदुर्घटघटनसामर्थ्यं विश्वोपादानता वा शक्तिः। अत एव भगवानघटितघटनापटीयान् सकलजगदभिन्ननिमित्तोपादानकारणश्चेति कथ्यते। (६) अस्वाधीनसहकार्यनपेक्षता तेजः। अत एव भगवान् सङ्कल्पमात्रेण सकलं जगत्तन्त्रं निर्वहति। अथवा पराभिभवनसामर्थ्यं तेजः। अत एव भगवान् शत्रूनुद्वेजयति। लोकः स्वापाद्यवस्थाया स्वविभूतीर्न जानीते, अन्यदा जानन्नपि न धारयति, धारयन्नापि न सर्वथा नियन्तुं पारयति, पारयन्नपि धारणनियमनाभ्या ग्लानो भवति। अग्लानोऽपि न तत्सत्तास्थितिहेतुर्भवति। तथा भवन्नपि पराधीनसहकारिसापेक्षोऽवश्यं भवति। परन्तु ज्ञानादिषाड्गुण्यनिधिर्भगवान् नैवंविध इत्यहो लोकातीतमहिमा भगवान्। (७) अतिमहीयसोऽपि भगवतो येयमतिनिहीनेषु साध्वसप्रशमनानन्यप्रयोजनानाविष्कृतपारम्यनीरन्ध्रसंश्लेषरसिकता, तत् सौशील्यम्। अयं गुणो भगवता गुहशबरीवानरविभीषणकुचेलकुब्जाव्रजयुवतिमालाकारादिष्वतिवेलं प्रकाशितः। (८) स्वरक्ष्यतयाऽभिमतेषु दोषतिरस्कारिणी प्रीतिर्वात्सल्यम्। अत एव भगवान् भक्तदोषान् क्षाम्यति। (९) सापराधैरपि सहसाश्रयणीयता मार्दवम्, अत एव मैथिल्या रावणो भगवदाश्रयणायोपदिश्यते। जानकीजानिरपि विभीषणं स्वीकरोति। अथवा—आश्रितविश्लेषासहता मार्दवम्। "नारायणेति यस्यास्ये वर्तते नाम मङ्गलम्। नारायणस्तमन्वास्ते वत्सं गौरिव वत्सला॥ निरपेक्षं मुनिं शान्तं निर्वैरं समदर्शनम्। अनुव्रजाम्यहं नित्यं पूयेयेत्यङ्घ्रिरेणुभिः॥ तं विना कैकयीपुत्रं भरतं धर्मचारिणम्। न मे स्नानं बहुमतं वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च" ॥ इति ह्युच्यते। यद्वा—सापराधेष्वपि सामप्रधानता मार्दवम्। अत एव वालिरामसमागमे वर्ण्यते—"सामोपहितया वाचा रूक्षाणि परिवर्जयन्" इति। (१०) आश्रितविषये मनोवाक्कायानामैकरूप्यमार्जवम्। अत एव विप्रलिप्सावैदेशिक इति देशिकैरुपदिश्यते भगवान्। अथवा—आश्रितच्छन्दानुगुणावस्थानमार्जवम्। तदिदं गीयते "ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्" इति।

(११) हितैषिता सौहार्दम्। गीयते हि "सुहृदं सर्वभूतानाम्" "निवासः शरणं सुहृत्" इति। निसर्गसुहृत्त्वादेव हि भगवान् तत्तदधिकारानुगुणहितावबोधनप्रवणां कल्याणोदर्कां श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिरूपामाज्ञां ग्राहयित्वा सर्वान् सत्पथे प्रवर्तयति। अज्ञातसुकृतादीनामपि फलं प्रदिशति। द्रव्यतारतम्यानादरेण भावमात्रप्रसन्नो भवति। गीयते हि "पत्रं पुष्प"मिति। सर्वभूतहितैषित्वादेव देशकालसहकार्यादिवैकल्ये गुरुलघूपाययोरविशिष्टं फलमुपकल्पयति। अत एव स्मर्यते "ध्यायन् कृते यजन् यज्ञैस्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽर्चयन्। यदाप्नोति तदाप्नोति कलौ सङ्कीर्त्य केशवम्" इति। स्वाभाविकसौहार्दतरङ्गितहृदयत्वादेव भगवद्धर्मस्याभिक्रमनाशविरहं प्रत्यवायाभावं च जगौ "नेहाभिक्रमनाश." "पार्थ नैवेह नामुत्र" इत्यादिना। (१२) जातिगुणवृत्तनिम्नोन्नतत्वानादरेण सर्वैरविशेषेण समाश्रयणीयता साम्यम्। तदिदं गीयते "समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु" इत्यादिभिः। (१३) स्वार्थनिरपेक्षा परदुःखनिराचिकीर्षा कारुण्यम्। कारुण्योल्लसितहृदय एव भगवान् सृष्ट्यादिलीलास्तनोति। तदुक्तम् "आसृष्टिसन्ततानामपराधानां निरोधिनीं जगतः। पद्मासहायकरुणे प्रतिसञ्चरकेलिमाचरसि॥ अचिदविशिष्टान् प्रलये जन्तूनवलोक्य जातनिर्वेदा। करणकलेबरयोगं वितरसि वृषशैलनाथकरुणे त्वम्" इति। आश्रिताभिमतसकलपुमर्थसाधनसमर्थेयं करुणा स्वानुबन्धान्निरस्तनिग्रहसाहचर्याणामनुग्रहपक्षपातिनां ज्ञानादीनामपि गुणत्वमापादयति।

(१४) क्षीरवदुपायभावेऽपि स्वादुतमता माधुर्यम्। अत एव गीयते "प्रिया हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थम्" "मच्चित्ता मद्गतप्राणाः" इत्यादि। न केवलं स्वरूपे मधुरो भगवान्, किं तु वाचि कायेऽपि। अत एव "प्रियवादी च भूतानां सत्यवादी च राघवः। सोमवत् प्रियदर्शनः। रूपौदार्यगुणैः पुंसां दृष्टिचित्तापहारिणम्"॥ इति वर्ण्यते। अपकृतानां द्वेषकलुषितहृदामपि दृष्टिचित्तापहारितया रसावहत्वान्मधुरो भगवान्। अत एव छिन्नकर्णनासयापि शूर्पणखयाऽस्तूयत "तरुणौ रूपसम्पन्नौ सुकुमारौ महाबलौ। पुण्डरीकविशालाक्षौ चीरकृष्णाजिनाम्बरौ"॥ इति। सङ्ग्रामरङ्गे जिघांसितानामपि मनोहरत्वान्मधुरो भगवान्। अत एवात्तचक्रमात्मजिघांसयाऽऽधावन्तं भगवन्तं भीष्म आजुहाव—"एह्येहि फुल्लाम्बुजपत्रनेत्र"इति॥ (१५) भक्तानुग्रहवदान्यत्वादेरामूलतो दुरवगाहता गाम्भीर्यम्। अत एव कर्मफलानि हितोदर्कानि विदधाति। तदुक्तं "हरिर्दुःखानि भक्तानां हितबुद्ध्या करोति हि" इति। यद्वा—आश्रिताप-

राघवेषु प्रतिग्रहीतृनिकर्षादिषु च सतोऽपि स्वज्ञानस्य गोपनं गाम्भीर्यम् । अत एव भगवान् "अविज्ञाते"ति समाख्यायते । (१६) पात्रलाघवं देयगौरवं चानादृत्य दायविभागन्यायेन प्रत्युपकारनैरपेक्ष्येण स्वात्मपर्यन्तसर्वस्ववितरणे रासिक्यमौदार्यम् । अत एव भगवान् कांक्षाधिकं दत्त्वापि न तृप्यति, अर्थिनश्चोदारबिरुदेन सम्भावयति । (१७) अन्तरज्ञातिशङ्कितनवाश्रितसङ्ग्रहार्थं दोषगोपनादि निपुणकर्म चातुर्यम् । अत एव सुग्रीवसुपर्णादीननुकूलयित्वा बिभीषणसुमुखादीन् सञ्जग्राह भगवान् । यद्वा—अनायासेन स्वविषये लोकस्य प्रावीण्योत्पादनं चातुर्यम् । अत एव शुभाश्रयस्वाकारप्रदर्शनादिलघूपायैर्विषयवैराग्यमुपजनय्य लोकमाकर्षति । (१८) शरणागतसङ्ग्रहे दोषप्रदर्शकैरन्तरङ्गैरप्यकम्पनीयता स्थैर्यम् । अत एव विभीषणं सञ्जिघृक्षन्नाह—"मित्रभावेन सम्प्राप्तं न त्यजेयं कथञ्चन" इति । (१९) अत्यन्ताभिमतवियोगप्रसङ्गेऽप्यभग्नप्रतिज्ञता धैर्यम् । अत एवाह—"अप्यहं जीवितं जह्यां त्वां वा सीते सलक्ष्मणाम् । न तु प्रतिज्ञां संश्रुत्य ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विशेषतः" ॥ इति । अथवा—अतर्कितोपनतेऽपि बलवति प्रतिपक्षे सावज्ञता धैर्यम् । तदिदं जनस्थानराक्षसवाहिनीसमागमप्रसङ्गे वर्ण्यते "कपोले जानक्याः करिकलभदन्तद्युतिमुषि स्मरस्मेरं गण्डोड्डमरपुलकं वक्त्रकमलम् । मुहुः पश्यन् शृण्वन् रजनिकरसेनाकलकलं जटाजूटग्रन्थिं द्रढयति रघूणां परिवृढः" ॥ इति । अत एव जीवत्यपि महाबले रावणेऽलङ्घितेऽपि सागरे बिभीषणोऽभ्यषेचि । (२०) असहायस्यापि भीमे परबले स्वबल इव निर्भयप्रवेशसामर्थ्यं शौर्यम् । अयं गुणो भगवता जनस्थानसङ्ग्राममूलबलनिबर्हणादौ प्रदर्शितः ।

(२१) 'छिन्नं भिन्नं शरैर्दग्ध'मिति न्यायेन परबलविनाशनसामर्थ्यं पराक्रमः । अत एव भगवानभियाता प्रहर्तेति वर्ण्यते । (२२) अनन्तनित्यभोग्यसमृद्धता सत्यकामत्वम् । श्रूयते हि "पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि" इति । (२३) अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पता सत्यसङ्कल्पत्वम् । स्मर्यते हि "अन्यो ह्यन्याश्चिन्तयति स्वच्छन्दं विदधाम्यहम्" इति । (२४) स्वार्थकर्तव्यविशेषराहित्यं कृतित्वम् । गीयते च "न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यम्" इति । यद्वा—परार्थव्यापारवत्ता कृतित्वम् । अत एवावतारेषु लोकसङ्ग्रहार्थं धर्माननुतिष्ठति । भूतमात्रस्य अनन्तानुपकारांश्च करोति । गीयते हि "यदादित्यगतम्" इत्यादि । अत एव च भक्तानां विशिष्यातिमात्रमुपकरोति । गीयते च "योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्"

"ददामि बुद्धियोगं तम्" इत्यादि । यद्वा—आश्रितकार्यपूरणेनैव कृतकृत्यता कृतित्वम् । तदुक्तम्—"अभिषिच्य च लङ्कायां राक्षसेन्द्रं विभीषणम् । कृतकृत्यस्तदा रामो विज्वरः प्रमुमोद ह" ॥ इति । (२५) परैः कृतस्यानुकूल्यलवस्याप्यविस्मरणं कृतज्ञता । अत एव भगवान् सकृदप्युपकारं कृतपूर्विभिः पश्चादनन्तापराधकरणेऽपि स्वेनाऽप्यनन्तोपकाराणां कृतत्वेऽपि तत्कृतमेवानुकूल्यलवं स्मरन्नकृतप्रत्युपकारवदनुबन्धिपर्यन्तसंरक्षार्थं प्रयतते । अत एवोच्यते—"न स्मरत्यपकाराणां शतमप्यात्मवत्तया । कथञ्चिदुपकारेण कृतेनैकेन तुष्यति ॥ गोविन्देति यदाक्रन्दत् कृष्णा मां दूरवासिनम् । ऋणं प्रवृद्धमिव मे हृदयान्नापसर्पति" ॥ इति । अथवा—कुतश्चित् हेतोः स्वेन प्रत्याख्यातपूर्वां भक्तप्रार्थनां कालान्तरे फलदानार्थं स्मरतीति कृतज्ञो भगवान् । अत एव भगवान् लङ्काया भरतं स्मरन्नाह—"शिरसा याचतस्तस्य वचनं न कृतं मया" इति ।

उपसंहारः— एवंविधभगवत्कल्याणगुणानुभवजनितानवधिकातिशयप्रेमकारितात्यर्थप्रियमधुरतमभक्तिधारापरिप्लावितचित्तानां स्मरणकीर्तनश्रवणपादसेवनार्चनदास्यवन्दनसख्यात्मनिवेदनात्मकनवविधभक्तिनिष्ठासमासादितप्रह्लादशुकविष्णुरातश्रीपृथुहनुमदक्रूरार्जुनादिसाधर्म्याणां सर्वभावेन भगवन्तं भजमानानां नानादेशवास्तव्यनैकविधच्छात्रवृन्दविस्तारितदिगन्तविश्रान्तनिर्मलयशसां सर्वविद्यावधूस्वयंवृतपतीनां गीर्वाणवाणीसमभिवर्धनबद्धदीक्षाणां सम्प्रति श्रीपदपुरप्रतिष्ठितप्राच्यविद्यालयाध्यक्ष्यमावहतां श्रीमतां श्रीरङ्गस्वाम्यय्यङ्गार्यमहाभागानां विषये—हेयप्रत्यनीकः कल्याणैकतानो भगवान् हेयानि निवर्तयतु; कल्याणगुणानादधातु; स्वतः सर्वदा सर्वं युगपत् साक्षात्कुर्वन् सर्वज्ञो भगवान् सर्वाणि हितानि विज्ञायोपपादयतु; अक्लेशेन प्रपञ्चधारणप्रगल्भो भगवान् योगक्षेमभारं वहतु; सर्वनियमननिरतः सर्वान्तरः सर्वेश्वरो भगवान् परिपन्थिनो नियमयतु; निर्विकारो महावीर्यो भगवान् विकारान्दूरीकरोतु; अघटितघटनापटीयान् सर्वशक्तिर्भगवान् दुर्घटमपि मनोरथं घटयतु; अस्वाधीनसहकार्यनपेक्षस्तेजस्वी भगवान् सङ्कल्पमात्रेण क्लेशान् व्यपोहयतु; अवाङ्मनसगोचरस्वरूपस्वभावोऽपि सौलभ्याकृष्टो भगवान्सुखसेव्यो भवतु सर्वाधिकः सन्नपि सर्वैं सह नीरन्ध्रसंश्लेषरसिकः सुशीलो भगवान् संश्लेषमावहतु ; सर्वज्ञः सर्वशक्तोऽपि समाश्रितदोषदर्शनतिरस्कारकप्रीतिपटलपिहितलोचनो वत्सलो भगवान् प्रामादिकानपराधान् माजीगणत् ; उत्तुङ्गवात्सल्यनिगीर्णनिग्रहाभिसन्धिः क्षमताम् ; सापराधैरपि सहसाश्रयणीय आश्रितविश्लेषासहः

परममृदुर्भगवानाश्रयं ददातु; मिथः संवादित्रिकरणोऽकुटिल आश्रितच्छन्दानुगुणवृत्तिर्ऋजुप्रकृतिर्भगवान् प्रतिज्ञातमाश्रितरक्षणं निर्वहतु; अनुकूलवृत्तिं श्रयताम्; बहुप्रकारप्रकटितसर्वभूतहितैषणः परमसुहृद्भगवान् सौहार्दमवलम्बताम्; सर्वसमाश्रयणीयः सर्वसमो भगवान् आत्मीयत्वाभिसन्धिमावहताम्; अवसरप्रतीक्षः परमकारुणिको भगवाननुकम्पामङ्गीकुरुताम्; परममधुरो भगवान् भक्तिरसास्वादमभिवर्धयतु; दुरवगाहभक्तानुग्रहवदान्यत्वादिमहागुणमहोदधिर्नियतहितपर्यवसानविविधविचित्रकर्मफलप्रदोऽतिगम्भीरो भगवानतिमात्रमनुग्रहं कुरुताम्; स्वात्मपर्यन्तसर्वस्ववितरणनिपुणः परमोदारो भगवान् सर्वान् मनोरथान् सफलयतु; चतुरतमो भगवान् चातुर्येण सर्वमभिमतं संसाधयतु; स्थैर्यशौर्यधैर्यपराक्रमशेवधिर्भगवान् परिपन्थिनाशनेऽनुबन्धिसंवर्धने चोद्युङ्क्ताम्; सत्यकामो भगवान् सर्वविधान् भोगान् संविभजताम्; सत्यसङ्कल्पो भगवान् रक्षणसङ्कल्पं सत्यापयतु; स्वार्थकर्तव्यरहितो लोकसंग्राहकधर्माचरणप्रकटितनिरातिशयपरोपकारप्रेमा भक्तमनोरथपूरणेनात्मानं कृतकृत्यं मान्वानः कृती भगवान् सर्वाणि हितानि सङ्घटयतु; परैः कृतमानुकूल्यलवमेव स्मृत्वा तदनुबन्धिपर्यन्तरक्षायां प्रवर्तमानः कृतज्ञो भगवान् निरन्तरमायुरारोग्यसन्ततिसम्पत्प्रभृतिबहुसुखशुभपारम्पर्यं सङ्कल्पयतु इति निखिलहेयप्रत्यनीकः कल्याणैकतानः शेषाचलशेखरो भगवान् श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरः क्रियासमभिहारेण प्रार्थ्यते ॥

तिरुपति
२१. २. ४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

तैत्तिरीयशाखामवलम्ब्य किञ्चित्

[लेखकः—मीमांसकविभूषणः पं० अ० रामनाथशास्त्री वेदमीमांसाशिरोमणिः,
पूर्वमीमांसाध्यापकः, श्रीवेङ्कटेश्वरमहाविद्यालयः, तिरुपति]

कृष्णशुक्लयजुर्भेदेन द्विधा भिन्ने एकशतशाखात्मके यजुर्वेदे कृष्णयजुर्वेदान्तर्गता तैत्तिरीयशाखा नाम शाखैका प्रसिद्धेति विद्वज्जनविदितम् । शाखाया अस्याः तैत्तिरीयपदवाच्यतायामस्ति कश्चन विवादस्सुधीजनपथारूढः । तथाहि—श्रीमद्भागवते द्वादशस्कन्धे विष्णुपुराणे च शाखाविभागप्रस्तावे श्लोका इमे दृश्यन्ते—

"वैशम्पायनशिष्या वै चरकाध्वर्यवोऽभवन् ।
यच्चेरुर्ब्रह्महत्यांहःक्षपणं स्वगुरोर्व्रतम् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यश्च तच्छिष्यान् आहाऽहो भगवन्कियत् ।
चरितेनाल्पसाराणां चरिष्येऽहं सुदुश्चरम् ॥

इत्युक्तो गुरुरप्याह कुपितो याह्यलं त्वया ।
विप्रावमन्त्रा शिष्येण यदधीतं त्यजाश्विति ॥

देवरातसुतः सोऽपि छर्दित्वा यजुषां गणम् ।
ततो गतोऽथ मुनयो ददृशुस्तान्यजुर्गणान् ॥

यजूंषि तित्तिरा भूत्वा तल्लोलुपतया ददुः ।
तैत्तिरीया इति यजुश्शाखा आसन् सुपेशलाः." ॥

(भाग० द्वा० अ० ६. श्लो० ६१–६५)

एतदनुरूपेव विष्णुपुराणे कथा श्रूयते—

"यजुर्वेदतरोश्शाखा सप्तविंशं महामुने । वैशम्पायननामाऽसौ व्यासशिष्यश्चकार वै ॥ शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ ताश्च जगृहुस्तेऽप्यनुक्रमात् । याज्ञवल्क्यश्च तस्याऽभूत् ब्रह्मरातसुतो द्विजः ॥ शिष्यः परमधर्मज्ञो गुरुवृत्तिरतस्सदा । ऋषिर्यश्च महामेरौ समाजेनाऽऽगमिष्यति ॥ तस्य वै सप्तरात्रं तत् ब्रह्महत्या भविष्यति । पूर्वमेनं

मुनिगणैस्समयोऽयं कृतो द्विजम् ॥ वैशम्पायन एकस्तु तं व्यतिक्रान्तवांस्तथा । स्वस्रीयं बालकं सोऽथ पदाघृष्टमघातयत् ॥ शिष्यानाह च भोः शिष्याः ब्रह्म-हत्यापरावृते । चरध्वं मत्कृते सर्वे न विचार्यमिदं तथा ॥ अथाऽऽह याज्ञवल्क्य-स्तं किमेतैर्बहुभिर्द्विजैः । क्लेशितैरल्पतेजोभिश्चरिष्येऽहमिदं व्रतम् । ततः क्रुद्धो गुरुः प्राह याज्ञवल्क्यं महामुनिम् । मुञ्चतां यत्त्वयाऽधीतं मत्तो विप्रावमानकः ॥ निस्तेजसा वदस्येतान्यस्त्वं ब्राह्मणपुङ्गवान् । तेन शिष्येण नार्थोऽस्ति ममाज्ञाभङ्ग-कारिणा ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यस्ततः प्राह भक्त्यैतत्ते मयोदितम् । ममाऽप्यलं त्वयाऽधीतं यन्मया तादिदं द्विज ॥ इत्युक्त्वा रुधिराक्तानि स्वरूपाणि यजूंष्यथ । छर्दयित्वा ददौ तस्मै ययौ च स्वेच्छया मुनिः ॥ यजूंष्यथ विसृष्टानि याज्ञवल्क्येन वै द्विजाः । जगृहुस्तित्तिरा भूत्वा तैत्तिर्यास्तु ततस्स्मृताः" ॥ इति ।

एवं च वैशम्पायनसमीपे याज्ञवल्क्यादिषु बहुषु ऋषिष्वधीयानेषु कदाचित् केनचित्कारणेन याज्ञवल्क्याय कुपितो गुरुः तं स्वस्मादधीतं वेदराशिं उत्स्रष्टुमादि-देश । सोऽपि स्वाधीतं सर्वमपि भागं खिन्नः पिण्डीकृत्योद्ववाम । तं च वान्तं वेदभागं समीपस्था महर्षयस्तित्तिरयो नाम पक्षिणो भूत्वा चखदुः । ते स्वशिष्येभ्य-स्तं भागमध्यापयामासुः । ततःप्रभृति शाखेयं वान्तशाखा तैत्तिरीयशाखेति व्यव-ह्रियत इति । अत्रेदं विचारणीयम्—कथं वा याज्ञवल्क्यस्स्वाधीतं वेदभागमुद्वमितुं शशाक । न हि स कश्चन मूर्तः पदार्थः भक्तपिण्डादिवत् । वेदानामध्ययनं नाम गुरुमुखोच्चारणानूच्चारणम्, उच्चरितस्य शब्दराशेः पुनः पुनरावृत्त्या बुद्धौ धारणञ्च । तस्य चानभ्यासादिना कदाचिद्विस्मरणं सम्भवत्यपि । उद्वमनन्तु कथं वेति सुदूरं विचारयन्तो ऽपि नाध्यवसातुमीश्महे ।

एवमुद्वान्तस्य तस्याऽमूर्तस्य भक्षणं वा कथं कर्तुं शक्यते । मूर्तत्वेऽपि वा भक्षणमात्रेण कथं वा स वेदराशिरधिगन्तुं शक्यते । न हि पत्रादौ कचिल्लिखितस्य ग्रन्थजातस्य भक्षणमात्रेण तदवगतिर्दृष्टपूर्वा श्रुतपूर्वा वा । यदि च सोऽमूर्तः न भक्षयितुं शक्यते । यदि वा मूर्तः भक्षणसमनन्तरमेवाऽन्नादिरिव जीर्येत । अतो भक्षणकथनमपि बुद्धिमतां बुद्धौ न समारोहति ।

एवं वाजसनेयिशब्दार्थविवरणमपि बाधितमिव दृश्यते । शब्दोऽयं शौन-कादिगणे पठितः । वाजशब्दश्च वेदे ऽन्नवाची प्रसिद्धः । सनिशब्दश्च दानवाची ।

वाजः सनिर्यस्य सः वाजसनिः, तस्याऽपत्यं वाजसनेय इत्येव साध्वी व्युत्पत्तिः। परं तु चरणव्यूहव्याख्याने सर्वथेमां विहाय व्युत्पत्तिं वाजसनेयिशब्दस्य वाजिरूपधरत्वमर्थ उक्तः। तथा कथनमपि कथं वा सङ्गच्छताम्? अतः कल्पनामात्रमेवेदं न वस्तुयाथात्म्यमवबोधयितुमीष्टे इत्येव वयं निश्चिनुमः।

तर्हि किमवलम्ब्य प्रवृत्तेयं पौराणिकी कथा? इति चेदेवमत्र प्रतिभाति—शब्दसादृश्यमवलम्ब्य कथेयं लोकप्रसिद्धिर्वा प्रवृत्तेति। एवं हि बह्व्यः कथाः पुराणेषूपलभ्यन्ते शब्दसादृश्यमात्रमवलम्ब्य। अतश्च तैत्तिरीयशब्देन तित्तिरिसम्बन्धोऽवगम्यते ऽस्याश्शाखायाः। तित्तिरिरिति पक्षिणो नाम। एवञ्च तत्सम्बन्धं प्रतीयमानमवलम्ब्य कथेयं कल्पितेति। किमत्र वस्तुयाथात्म्यमिति चेत्, इत्थम्—वैशम्पायनो नाम महर्षिः बहून् शिष्यान् बह्वीश्च शाखा अध्यापयामास। तत्रैकैकः शिष्य एकैकां शाखां प्राधान्येन परिगृह्य तां लोके प्रचारयामास। सा च शाखा ततः प्रभृति तत्तन्नाम्नैव प्रथिता आसीत्। यथा—काठकं, कालापकमित्यादि। एवं हि श्रूयते—'वैशम्पायनस्सर्वशाखाध्यायी कठः पुनरिमां केवलां शाखामध्यापयायास' इत्यादि। (पू. मी. शा. भा. १. १. ८. सू. ३०) तद्वदेव वैशम्पायनस्य त्तित्तिरिर्नाम कश्चिच्छिष्योऽभूत्। अथवा वैशम्पायनस्य पैङ्गिः, यास्को नाम शिष्यः कश्चिदभूत्। स तस्मा इमां शाखामध्यापयामास। स च तित्तिरिम्। ततश्शाखेयं तैत्तिरीयेति व्यवह्रियत इति। अत्र च प्रमाणं तैत्तिरीयशाखीया काण्डानुक्रमणी। सा ह्येवं पठति—

"वैशम्पायनो यास्कायैतां प्राह पैङ्गये।
यास्कस्तित्तिरये प्राह उखाय प्राह तित्तिरिः" ॥ इत्यादि।

सत्याषाढगृह्ये उपाकर्मोत्सर्जनप्रकणस्थः तर्पणविधिरपि तदिदमुपोद्बलयति। तत्र ह्येवमुक्तम्—'प्राचीनावीतानि कृत्वा दक्षिणतो वैशम्पायनाय पैङ्गये, तित्तिरये, उखाय, आत्रेयाय पदकाराय, कौण्डिन्याय वृत्तिकाराय, बोधायनाय प्रवचनकाराय, आपस्तम्बाय सूत्रकाराय, भरद्वाजाय सूत्रकाराय, सत्याषाढाय हिरण्यकेशाय.... कल्पयामी'ति। एवं पाणिनिसूत्रे तद्धितप्रकरणे "तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् (पा० सू० ४. ३. १०२) इत्यत्रापि तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तमधीयते इति तैत्तिरीया इत्येकवचनान्तात्तित्तिरिशब्दाच्छणमुदाहरन्तस्तद्व्याख्यातारोऽप्यत्रानुकूलाः। अतश्चाऽयमेव पक्ष-

स्साधीयान् प्रमाणारूढः प्रशान्तविरोधः विचारशीलपुरुषबुद्धिगोचरश्च इति युक्त-मुत्पश्यामः ।

कदाचित् पण्डितसार्वभौमा अस्मद्भ्रातृचरणाः श्रीकाश्यां वसन्तस्तत्राऽगतै-स्सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रैर्जयपुरीमहाराजसम्मानितैः पण्डितकुलभूषण–वीरेश्वरशास्त्रिमहोदयै-स्सङ्गताः । तेभ्य इममाशयं शुश्रुवुः । श्रुत्वा च स्वाभिप्रायानुगतमिमं विषयं मह्यमवोचन् । तच्छ्रुत्वाऽहं तद्वचसि श्रद्दधानस्तदर्थे प्रमाणान्वेषणाय प्रवृत्तः, अवसरेऽस्मिन्नुपलब्धानि प्रमाणानि सङ्गृह्य विचारकाणां पुरतो न्यक्षिपम् । श्रुत्वै-तद्यथोचितं विचार्य निर्णये त एव प्रमाणमिति विरमामि ।

तिरुपति
२१–२–४०

॥ श्रीः ॥

कविता कालिदासश्च

[ले० पट्टाभिरामशास्त्री, मीमांसासाहित्याचार्यः न्यायशास्त्री
हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयः, काशी]

भगवतः परमेष्ठिनः प्रभुतेव नितान्तं दुरवगाहा किल कविता अमृतधारेवास्माकं श्रवणविवरमवगाह्य तदा तदा चेतः शीतलयति चेतयते च भृशं सन्तप्तेऽपि सहृदयानां हृदये प्राचां गौरवम्। कविताया भगवत्याः किलोत्सङ्गमधिशयाना वयमिदानीं पुरातनमस्मदीयं गौरवमवलोकयामः। का प्रबोधयति प्रसुप्तानस्मान्? का वा जनयति नितान्तं क्लिन्नानामस्माकमानन्दसन्दोहम्? का वा प्रापयति वैभवशिखरमस्मान्? का वा तनोति समीचीनामस्माकं जीवनपद्धतिम्? इत्यादीनां सहस्रशः प्रश्नानामिदमेवैकमुत्तरं भवितुमर्हति—यत् 'कविता' इति। यथा हि कश्चिच्चित्रकारश्चित्रपटे हावभावविन्यासपुरस्सरं द्रष्टॄणां हृदयाकर्षकाणि समुट्टङ्कयति चित्राणि यानि चावलोक्य सुवर्णरञ्जितानि मुग्धोऽपि सामयिकं भावमवबुध्य प्रसन्नश्चित्रकारं प्रशंसति, एवमेव सुकविरपि अतिजटिलामपि हावभावपरिपाटीं पुरस्कृत्य कवितां निबध्नाति, यां विलोक्य रसिकः कर्तारं नितरां श्लाघते। अत एव योग्यैरेव वर्णविन्यासैः परिकलिता चित्रकला कविताकला चैकामेव तुलामधिरोहत इति जनस्सामान्यं व्यवहरति। सन्तापपरीतं जनस्य हृदयमावर्ज्य तत्र किमपि नूतनं वैभवमातन्वतोरपि, विलक्षणं भावं द्रष्टॄणां मनसि सम्पादयतोरपि, पुरातनीं शैलीं प्रबोधयतोरपि, अनन्यसाधारणीं योग्यतां प्रकटयतोरपि चित्रकवित्वयोर्विद्यमानः कश्चिद्विशेषो विवेकिनां न निगूढः। रामकृष्णादीनामादिपुरुषाणां चरित्रं खलु महाकविभिश्चिरात्स्वतन्त्रया स्थिरया कवितया प्रकटीक्रियते। एतामेवाश्रित्य महाकवयस्सन्तप्तमस्माकं हृदयं सुशीतलै रसैः शान्तं विधाय गुणैरास्तीर्येदानीमपि सुखमधिशेरते। भगवती किल कविता स्वस्याश्चरणनलिनेन हस्तमलङ्कृत्य विहृतवतां तेषामेव कालिदासादीनां योग्यतामस्माकं पुरतस्सादरं जिगाति, अभाग्यतयेदानीं तादृशानां पुरुषाणामभावेन स्मारं स्मारं निजं पुरानन्दं मुक्तकण्ठं रोदिति।

अस्माकं पवित्रतमे भारते वर्षेऽसंख्येया महाकवयः प्रादुरभवन्, परं तेषु कवि-

तल्लजः कालिदास एव प्रथमगणनामर्हतीति न केऽपि संशेरते । महाकविरयं न केवलमनितरसाधारणेन वाक्पाटवेन मुखरायते, किन्तु अधरितसुधारसमवर्णनीयं कमपि रसं वर्षितुमेव स्निग्धं गर्जन् क्लेशसन्तप्तानामावर्ज्य हृदयं नो गृहीत्वैव हस्ते योग्यतमान् विषयान् तत्र तत्र चित्राणि चित्रफलक इव समुट्टङ्कयति, विचारवैचित्र्येणाक्षाय्यशाशनीयानां हृदयं पवित्रं शुद्धं कोमलञ्च कुरुते । एतादृशो महाकविर्न केवलं बुद्धिमत्तामुदारतां स्वीयां प्रकटयितुं प्रयतते, परं ताभ्यां साकमविचारकर्दमस्खलितानुदिधीर्षुरवलम्बयति सन्तं विचारम् । कविकौस्तुभोऽयं स्वीयामुभैस्तरां योग्यतामुदारताञ्च न वाचा, किन्तु कार्येण, ते च न केवलं, परं साकं ताभ्यां धर्मप्रपञ्चपटुतां उपनिषत्तत्त्वविज्ञानञ्च, ते च न केवलं परेषामुपदेशाय, किन्तु स्वाचरणाय च व्याहृत्य महाकविपीठमलञ्चकार ।

रघुवंशं शाकुन्तलञ्चाऽधीयानानामस्माकं प्रथमं 'मन्दः कवीशः' 'आपरितोषाद्विदुषाम्' इति श्रवणसमकालमेव—अत्युन्नतदशायामपि पुरुषेण निगर्वेण भवितव्यमिति नीतिरुदेति । 'अनार्यः परदारव्यवहारः' 'अनिर्वर्णनीयं परकलत्रम्' 'उपपन्ना हि दारेषु प्रभुता सर्वतोमुखी' 'बलवदपि शिक्षितानामात्मन्यप्रत्ययं चेतः' 'भवितव्यानां द्वाराणि भवन्ति सर्वत्र' 'श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत्' इत्यादिशाकुन्तलवचनानि, 'सद्भावार्द्रः फलति न चिरेणोपकारो महत्सु' 'केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेषु' 'नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा' इत्यादिमेघदूतवचनानि, 'अपथे पदमर्पयन्ति हि श्रुतवन्तोऽपि रजोनिमीलिताः' 'अव्याक्षेपो भविष्यन्त्याः कार्यसिद्धेर्हि लक्षणम्' 'आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया' 'प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः' 'परलोकजुषां स्वकर्मभिर्गतयो भिन्नपथा हि देहिनाम्' 'धिगिमां देहभृतामसारताम्' 'तेजसां हि न वयस्समीक्ष्यते' 'क्रिया हि वस्तूपहिता प्रसीदति' 'काले खलु समारब्धाः फलं पुष्णन्ति नीतयः' 'धर्मसंरक्षणार्थैव प्रवृत्तिर्भुवि शार्ङ्गिणः' 'विषमप्यमृतं क्वचिद्भवेदमृतं वा विषमीश्वरेच्छया' इत्यादिरघुवंशवचनानि, 'विकारहेतौ सति विक्रियन्ते येषां न चेतांसि त एव धीराः' 'न हीश्वरव्याहृतयः कदाप्युष्णन्ति लोके विपरीतमर्थम्' 'न धर्मवृद्धेषु वयस्समीक्ष्यते' 'क्रियाणां खलु धर्म्याणां सत्पत्न्यो मूलकारणम्' 'अलोकसामान्यमचिन्त्यहेतुकं द्विषन्ति मन्दाश्चरितं महात्मनाम्' 'यशसे हि पुंसामनन्यसाधारणमेव कर्म' इत्यादीनि कुमारसम्भववचनानि च शृण्वतां सहृदयानां हृदये—नूनमयं महाकविः प्राचीनैर्महर्षिभिस्सुचिरं विचार्य निर्मथिते धर्म्ये

पथि वर्तमानः तत्तल्लौकिकव्यहारोपयोगिनीः नीतीः, एकैकस्य जनुष्मतः श्रेयसे प्रवृत्तान् धर्मांश्च यथायथमुपदिशन् , भगवति परमेश्वरे निरतिशयं भक्तिभावञ्चाऽऽविष्कुर्वन् स्वीयेषु काव्येषु कथावस्तु निबध्नातीति भाव उदियादेव ।

किञ्चाऽयं महाभागो जगन्नियन्तारं परमपूरुषं तत्र तत्र काव्येषु वर्णयन् स्वस्यालौकिकाद्वैततत्त्वावलम्बित्वं प्रकटयतीति व्यक्तमेव तद्विरचितकाव्यरसास्वादजुषां सहृदयानाम् ।

रसान्तराण्येकरसं यथा दिव्यं पयोऽश्नुते ।
देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रियः ॥

इति रघुवंशीयपद्यार्थे विमृश्यमाने परमे ब्रह्मणि प्रयुज्यमानस्य सत्यशब्दस्यार्थं महाकविरनेन निर्वक्तीति विज्ञायते । यथा हि मधुरैकरसमम्भः तत्तद्देशभेदानुरूपाणि रसान्तराणि भजते, निर्गतेषु च तत्तद्देशभेदसम्बन्धेषु यथापूर्वमेवावतिष्ठते, तथा निर्गुणमपि परं ब्रह्म त्रिभिर्गुणैस्सत्त्वप्रभृतिभिरुपरञ्जितं सत्सगुणमिव भासते, निर्गच्छत्सु च तेषु तन्निर्गुणमेवावतिष्ठते । अनया चोपमया नैकप्रकारानुपाधीननुप्रविष्ट ईश्वर उपाधिसमवधानदशायामपि तदीयैर्धर्मैर्न लिप्यत इति ध्वन्यते । एवम्—

हृदयस्थमनासन्नमकामं त्वां तपस्विनम् ।
दयालुमनघस्पृष्ट पुराणमजरं विदुः ॥

इति पद्ये विविच्यमाने यथा हि वेदान्तानि विरुद्धवदाभासैरपि वचननिचयैः 'पश्यत्यचक्षुस्स शृणोत्यकर्णः' इत्यादिभिः परब्रह्मणस्स्वरूपमवबोधयन्ति, तथाऽयमपि कविरद्वैताभिमततत्त्वप्रतिपादने तामेव सरणिमनुसरन् स्वस्य निगमान्तवचस्सु अपरिमितां श्रद्धामाविष्करोतीति ज्ञायते । अत एव—

प्रत्यक्षोऽप्यपरिच्छेद्यो मह्यादिर्महिमा तव ।
आप्तवागनुमानाभ्यां साध्यं त्वां प्रति का कथा ॥

इति पद्येन परमे ब्रह्मणि वेदः स्वतन्त्रः प्रमाणम् , तस्य चानुमानं सहकारि इति शास्त्रयोनित्वन्यायमनुसरति । एवमेव—

नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे ॥

तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।
प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकः कारणतां गतः ॥

नमो विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्वं तदनु बिभ्रते ।
अथ विश्वस्य संहर्त्रे तुभ्यं त्रेधास्थितात्मने ॥

एकैव मूर्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचिद्वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥

इत्यादिकुमारसम्भवस्थपद्यरत्नान्यस्य महाकवेः आनन्दैकरसे कूटस्थाद्वैतब्रह्मणि विद्यमानं भावातिशयं श्रुतिवेदान्तसूत्रपारदृक्त्वञ्च स्पष्टमवबोधयन्ति । एवमयं महाकविः सरससरलैः पद्यैः काव्यानि विरचयन् , तत्र च वेदान्ताभ्यासैकसमधिगम्यं गहनतरविचारसम्प्रधारणीयमलौकिकमौपनिषदं तत्त्वमुपदिशन् साहित्यस्यापि दर्शनत्वं प्रतिपादयतीत्यहो कौशलं कालिदासस्य ! अत एव केवलं बोधपरेभ्योऽपि ग्रन्थेभ्यः काव्यस्याधिक्यं 'कान्तासम्मिततयोपदेशयुजे' इत्यादिना वर्णयान्ति मम्मटाचार्याः । स्वतन्त्रोऽप्ययं कदाचिद्रसवशो भूत्वा विचित्रेण प्रकारेण विविच्य विषयान् सुलभमाकर्षति शासनीयान् । यथा हि मालिको मनोहरैरेव सुमनोभिर्बन्धानुबन्धसरणिमाहृत्य विचित्रां मालां ग्रथ्नाति तथैव कविर्मनोहरैः पदैर्गरीयसी कवितां सम्पादयति, अलङ्करोति च तया रसिकनां कण्ठतलं मनांसि च ।

कालिदासकवितामधिकृत्य ब्रुवतो मे नेदं कथनमनुचितं स्यात् यत्किल 'निरङ्कुशाः कवयः' इति । एतेन कवीनां केवलं स्वातन्त्र्यमुक्तमित्यपथे गन्तव्यमिति न तात्पर्यम् , किन्तु कविसमये कृतसङ्केतानां शास्त्रमर्यादामनुपालयतामेषां रसमार्गे स्वतन्त्रं सञ्चरितुमेवाधिकारः । अत एव शास्त्रमर्यादानतिक्रमणमेव कवितायाः प्रणवः । अत एवोक्तम्—

'विद्वत्कवयः कवयः केवलकवयस्तु केवलं कपयः' इति ।

अतश्च कविभिः कवितायाम्—शब्दार्थयोस्संस्कारः, औचित्यं, वैदग्ध्यं, कविसमयबोधः, गुणसंस्कारः, रीतिनियोगः, दोषदूषणं, अलङ्कारविचारः, रसपुष्टिरित्यालङ्कारिकैः परिगणिताः पदार्था अवश्यं परिपालनीयाः । व्याकरणे कृता-

१ अयञ्च विषय पण्डितकुलवतंसै श्री रामचन्द्रदीक्षितमहोदयै मैलापूर संस्कृत महाविद्यालयाध्यक्ष्यमावहद्भिः 'कालिदासीयं दर्शनम्' इत्यनल्पे स्वविरचिते प्रबन्धे सविस्तरं न्यरूपि ।

भिनिवेशाः, अधिगतशब्दकोशाः, अवलम्बितव्यवहारमर्यादाः, प्रमाणीकुर्वन्तश्च कविसमयं कवितावर्त्मनि पदं निक्षिपेयुः। अयमेव शब्दार्थविचारः शब्दार्थसंस्कार इति कथ्यते। एवमधिगतशब्दार्थविचारः कविसमयमनुरुन्धन् काञ्चन मर्यादामाप्नोति। तामेव मर्यादामभिज्ञा औचित्यं वदन्ति। औचित्यज्ञश्च कवितायामाप्नोति वैदग्ध्यम्। तच्च कवेर्वैदग्ध्यमितिहासपरिचय एव। एतादृशं परिचयं विना कश्चित्कथञ्चित्काव्यं निर्मायापि तत्र तत्र स्खलितगतिरेव भवति।

एवं वैदग्ध्यं प्राप्यापि कविरवश्यं कविसमये मतिं कुर्वीत। पुरातनैः कविवर्यैः यो यस्समयो निर्दिष्टः तस्मिन्नेव विहिताभिनिवेशः कविः प्रौढः कवितायां परां प्रतिष्ठां लभते। स च समयो वामनेन स्वसूत्रावल्यां स्पष्टं प्रदर्शितः, कविभिश्च प्रचीनैः प्रयोगेण प्रदर्शितः। यथा—'मालिन्यं व्योम्नि पापे यशसि धवलता वर्ण्यते हासकीर्त्योः रक्तौ च क्रोधरागौ' इत्येवमादि। एवं कवितायामवश्यं गुणा अपि विनिवेशनीयाः। गुणाः खलु रीतिनां प्राणाः। ते हि—ओजः, प्रसादः, श्लेषः, समता, समाधिः, माधुर्यम्, सौकुमार्यम्, उदारता, अर्थव्यक्तिः, कान्तिश्चेति दशधा शब्दार्थगतत्वेन विभक्ता आलङ्कारिकैः। यथा च गुणाः कवितायामुत्कर्षाधायकाः, तथा रीतयोऽपि। रीतिर्नाम पदसङ्घटना न गुणेष्वन्तर्भवति। पदसङ्घटना विदर्भगौडपाञ्चालदेशीयैः कविभिः पृथक् पृथङ्निर्दिष्टत्वात् वैदर्भी गौडी पाञ्चालीति त्रिधा भवति। तत्र कालिदासेन स्वीयेषु काव्येषु सर्वत्र वैदर्भी रीतिरेव समाश्रितेति न वक्तव्यं मया। एवमधिगतसहायः कविः काव्यशोभाकरेष्वलङ्कारेषु रुचिं कुर्वीत। अनवगतालङ्कारतत्त्वः कवितामार्गे सञ्चरिष्णुरन्ध इव योग्यतां नैव लभते। शब्दार्थयोरलङ्कारा रसानुपकुर्वन्तीत्यतोऽलङ्काराणां विचारः कवितायां गामिव रसं दुधुक्षतां प्रधानतमः। इत्थमधिगतसाहित्यः स्वसाहित्यं रसाभिमुखं कुर्वन् कविः शब्दार्थालङ्काररसकालुष्यकारिषु दोषेषु विशेषेण सावहितो भवेत्। दोषो हि स्वभावमञ्जुलामपि कवितां क्षणेनैवाधः पातयेत्।

तदल्पमपि नोपेक्ष्यं काव्ये दुष्टं कथञ्चन।
स्याद्वपुः सुन्दरमपि श्वित्रेणैकेन दुर्भगम्॥

इति वदति दण्डिनि सर्वाङ्गदोषकलिलाः श्लोकाः शोकायैवेत्यत्र कः सन्देहः? कस्मिंश्चिदंशे कश्चिद्दोषः सम्पूर्णमपि पद्यमावृत्य दूषयतीत्यत्र सुलभान्युदाहरणानि।

एवं दूरीकृतदोषां पूर्वोक्तालङ्कारिकमर्यादां साकल्येन परिपालयन्, सतीश्च कामपि शिक्षापद्धतिमौपनिषदं तत्त्वञ्चोपदिशन् महाकविः कालिदासो दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशा अभूत्। तस्येयमेव कविता शरदिव सरो हृदयं विमलं कुर्वाणा सम्प्रति रसिकैस्सानन्दमाद्रियते, एनामेव कविताकलां चन्द्रकलामिवास्वाद्यास्वाद्य रसिकानां चेतःकुवलयममुत्फुल्लं सगन्धञ्च भवति। महाकविरयं स्वैरं कविताविपण्यां व्यवहारमाचरन्, ग्राहकाणां शासनीयानां चञ्चलं मनः स्वकरे कृत्वा क्रय्यमक्षयं बोधरूपं तेभ्यः प्रदाय यशश्शरीर इदानीमप्यस्माकं मार्गप्रदर्शको वर्तत इत्यभिधाय विरमामि।

श्रीकाशी
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